

20/10/1950
CPL

JOURNAL

of the

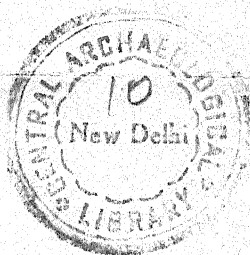
Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

33328

Vol. XXIII
1950



891.05
J.M.B.R.A.S.

SINGAPORE
MALAYA PUBLISHING HOUSE, LTD.

1950

✓

CONTENTS VOL. XXIII.

Part 1—February, 1950

Council for 1950	v
Editorial & Notice to Contributors	vi
Annual Report & Statement of Accounts for 1949 ..	vii
Rules of the Society	xi
List of Members for 1949	xiv
Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya, pt 6, <i>by</i> Dato Sir Roland Braddell, <i>M.A., D.Litt.</i>	1
Lung-ya-men and Tan-ma-hsi, <i>by</i> Dato Sir Roland Braddell	37
Governor Bannerman and the Penang Tin Scheme, 1818-19, <i>by</i> C. D. Cowan, <i>M.A., Lecturer in History in the University of Malaya</i>	52
Munshi 'Abdullah's account of the Malacca Fort, <i>by</i> A. H. Hill, <i>M.A., B.Sc.</i>	84
A note on Early Legislation in Penang, <i>by</i> Tan Soo Chye, <i>Archivist Raffles Museum & Library</i>	100
The Indonesian Trading Boats reaching Singapore, <i>by</i> C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i>	108
Short Notes	
The Origin of "Batu Gajah", <i>by</i> H. A. L. Luckham, <i>M.C.S.</i>	139
The Cannon on Pulau Aur, <i>by</i> C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i> ..	139
The "White Tiger" in Penang, <i>by</i> Katharine Sim ..	142
The Racing Jong, <i>by</i> C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i>	144
Neolithic Implements from North Borneo, <i>by</i> H. G. Keith, <i>B.Sc.</i>	148
The Mandulika of Sungei Ujong, <i>by</i> Sir Richard Winstedt, <i>K.B.E., D.Litt. (Oxon)</i>	150
Indra & Saktimuna, <i>by</i> Sir Richard Winstedt ..	151
A Note on Takota, Langkasuka and Kataha, <i>by</i> Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, <i>Ph.D., D.Litt.</i>	152
A Note on the "Four Main Waves", <i>by</i> Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales	153
Errata, Vol. 22 (1949)	155
Obituary: Dr. C. O. Blagden, <i>D.Litt.</i> , <i>by</i> Dr. W. Linehan <i>D.Litt.</i>	156

Part 2—March, 1950

Editorial	vi
Early Penang and the rise of Singapore; a selection of the manuscript records of the East India Company over the period 1805-32, <i>chosen & edited, with an introduction, by C. D. Cowan, M.A., Lecturer in History in the University of Malaya</i>	1

Part 3—August, 1950

Editorial	vi
Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya, pt 7, <i>by Dato Sir Roland Braddell, M.A., D.Litt.</i>	1 ✓
The Sabaeans and possible Egyptian influence in Indonesia, <i>by H. G. Quaritch Wales, Ph.D., D.Litt.</i> . .	36
Malay Manners and Etiquette, <i>by Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad</i>	43
The Malayan Purse Seine (Pukat Jerut) Fishery, <i>by K. Gopinath, Senior Research Officer, Fishery Development Scheme, Travancore</i>	75
Notes on Kampong Officials in the Alor Gajah district of Malacca 1932-35, <i>by A. B. Ramsay, M.C.S.</i> . .	97
An inscribed Tin-Ingot from Kuala Dipang, District of Kinta, <i>by W. Linehan, C.M.G., D.Litt.</i>	102
The Sarawak Turtle Islands' "Semah", <i>by Tom Harrisson, D.S.O., Government Ethnologist Sarawak</i>	105
The reminiscences of Colonial Nahuys, <i>by C. E. Wurtzburg, M.C.</i>	127
The Baptist Mission Press at Bencoolen, <i>by C. E. Wurtzburg</i>	136
Some Coins and Tokens of Malaya, <i>by E. Wodak, B.Sc.</i> . .	143
The Fishing Boats operated from Singapore Island, <i>by C. A. Gibson-Hill, M.A., F.R.A.I.</i>	148

INDEX OF AUTHORS' NAMES

Braddell, Dato Sir Roland, S.P.M.J., M.A., D.Litt.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya, pt 6.	pt 1	pp. 1- 36
Lung-ya-men and Tan-ma-hsi	pt 1	pp. 37-51
Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya, pt 7.	pt 3	1- 35

Cowan, C. D., M.A.		
Governor Bannerman and the Penang Tin Scheme, 1818-19.	pt 1	52-83
Early Penang and the rise of Singapore, 1805-32: a selection of the manuscript records of the East India Company, edited by	pt 2 pp.	1-205
Gibson-Hill, C. A., M.A.		
The Indonesian trading boats reaching Singapore	pt 1	108-38
The Cannon on Pulau Aur	pt 1	139-42
The Racing <i>Jong</i>	pt 1	144-48
The Fishing Boats operated from Singapore Island	pt 3 pp.	148-70
Gopinath, K.		
The Malayan Purse Seine (Pukat Jerut) Fishery	pt 3	75-96
Harrison, Tom, D.S.O.		
The Sarawak Turtle Islands' "Semah".	pt 3	105-126
Hill, A. H., M.A., B.Sc.		
Munshi 'Abdullah's account of the Malacca Fort	pt 1 pp.	84-99
Keith, H. G., B.Sc.		
Neolithic implements from North Borneo	pt 1 pp.	148-50
Linehan, W., C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt.		
Obituary notice of Dr C. O. Blagden	pt 1 pp.	156
An inscribed tin-ingot from Kuala Dipang, Kinta	pt 3	102-104
Luckham, H. A. L., M.C.S.		
The Origin of "Batu Gajah".	pt 1 pp.	139
Ramsay, A. B., M.C.S.		
Notes on Kampong Officials in the Alor Gajah district of Malacca 1932-35	pt 3	97-101
Sim, Katharine,		
The "White Tiger" in Penang	pt 1	142-44
Tan Soo Chye,		
A note on Early Legislation in Penang	pt 1	100-07
Wales, Dr H. G. Quaritch, Ph.D., D.Litt.		
A note on Takola, Langkasuka and Kataha	pt 1	152-53
A note on the "Four Main Waves",	pt 1	153-55
The Sabaeans and possible Egyptian influence in Indonesia,	pt 3	36-42
Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., D.Litt. (Oxon).		
The Mandulika of Sungei Ujong,	pt 1	150-51
Indra & Saktimuna,	pt 1	151-52
Wodak, E., B.Sc.		
Some Coins and Tokens of Malaya	pt 3	143-47
Wurtzburg, C. E., M.C.		
The reminiscences of Colonel Nahuys,	pt 3	127-135
The Baptist Mission Press at Bencoolen	pt 3	136-142
Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad.		
Malay Manners and Etiquette,	pt 3	43-74

Corrigenda, Vol. XXIII, pt 1.

- Hill, A. H.** Munshi 'Abdullah's account of the Malacca Fort.
Page 93, line 28. For "see Note 8 below", read "see Note 7 below".
Page 96, line 40. For "(Note 4)", read "(Note 3)".

Vol. XXIII

Part 1.

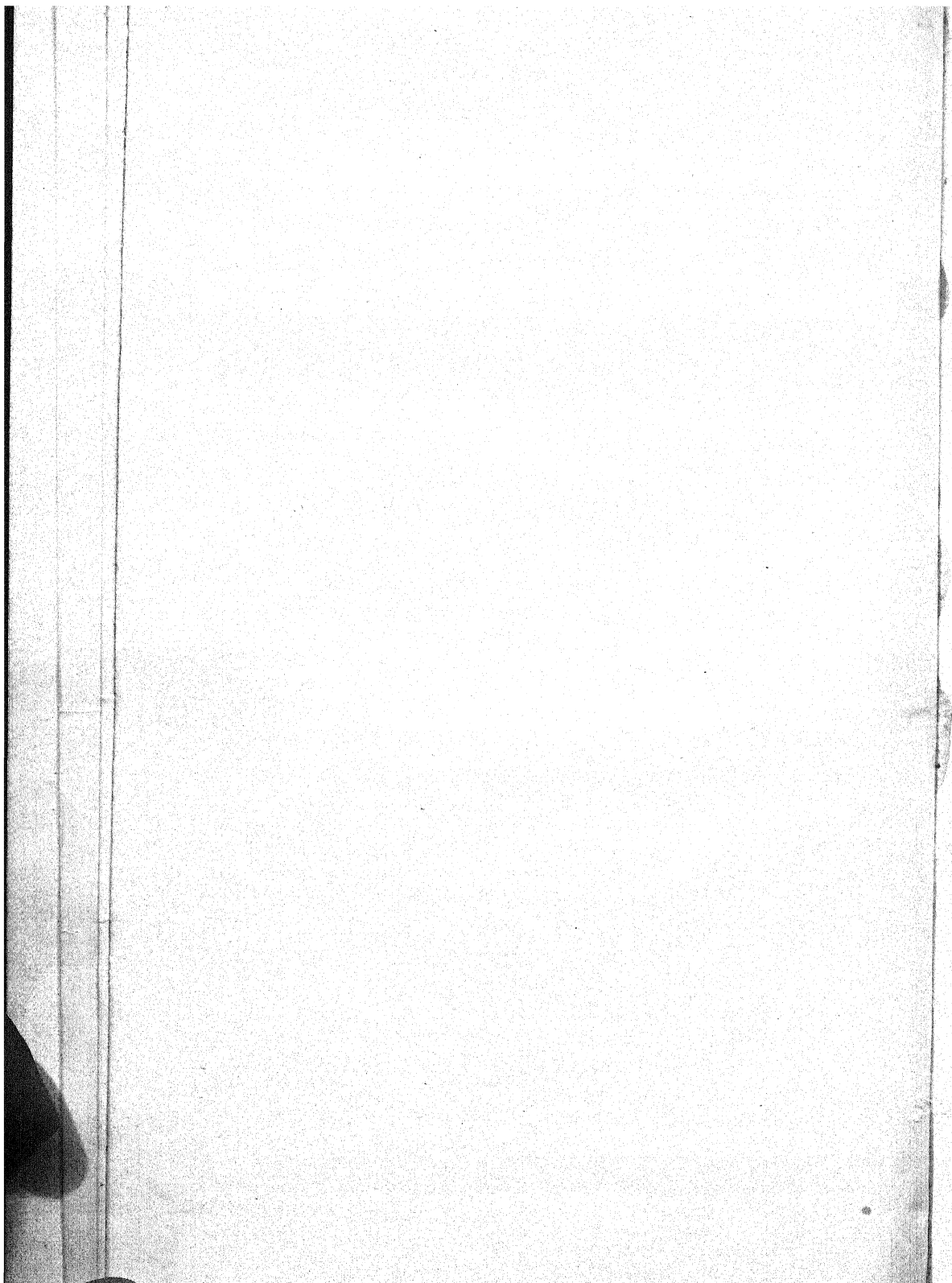
JOURNAL
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

**(Covering the territories of the Federation of Malaya,
the Colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo,
and the State of Brunei)**

February 1950

Miscellaneous Papers
by
Dato Sir Roland Braddell
C. D. Cowan
A. H. Hill
Tan Soo Chye
C. A. Gibson-Hill

SINGAPORE
Malaya Publishing House, Limited
1950



The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Patron:

His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C.

Council for 1950

Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *S.P.M.J., M.A.*, .. *President*

The Hon'ble Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, <i>D.K., S.P.M.K.</i> ..	}	
Mr. Anker Rentse, <i>S.M.K.</i>	}	
Mr. J. N. McHugh	}	
Mr. Brian Harrison, <i>M.A.</i>	}	
The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. Keith, <i>B.Sc.</i> ..	}	
Mr. M. C. ff Sheppard, <i>M.B.E., M.C.S.</i> ..	}	

Vice-Presidents

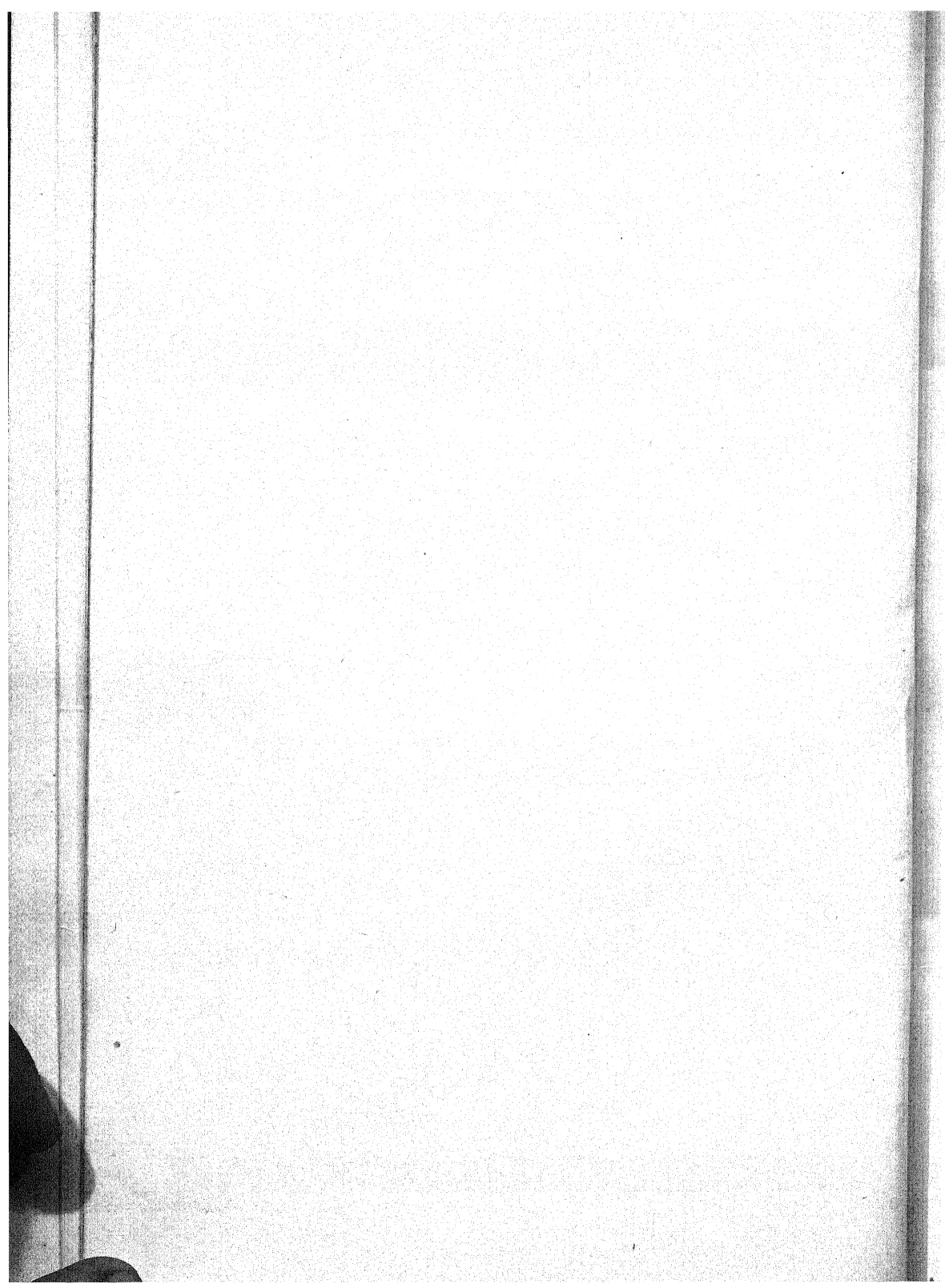
Mr. G. L. Peet	}	
Prof. R. E. Holttum, <i>M.A.</i>	}	
Mr. Hsu Yun-ts'iao	}	
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. N. Taylor ..	}	
Mr. B. A. Mallal	}	

Councillors

Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, *M.A.* .. *Hon. Secretary*
and
Hon. Treasurer

Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.* *Asst Hon. Secretary*

Hon. Editor: Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*



CONTENTS

Volume 23, part 1, published February, 1950.

Council for 1950	iii
Editorial & Notice to Contributors	vi
Annual Report & Statement of Accounts for 1949 ..	vii
Revised Rules of the Society	xi
List of Members for 1949	xiv

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya <i>by</i> Dato Sir Roland Braddell, <i>M.A., F.R.G.S.</i>	1
Lung-ya-men and Tan-ma-hsi, <i>by</i> Dato Sir Roland Braddell	37
Governor Bannerman and the Penang Tin Scheme, 1818-19, <i>by</i> C. D. Cowan, <i>M.A., Lecturer in History in the University of Malaya</i>	52
Munshi 'Abdullah's account of the Malacca Fort, <i>by</i> A. H. Hill, <i>M.A., B.Sc.</i>	84
A note on Early Legislation in Penang, <i>by</i> Tan Soo Chye, <i>Archivist Raffles Museum & Library</i>	100
The Indonesian Trading Boats reaching Singapore, <i>by</i> C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i>	108

Short Notes

The Origin of "Batu Gajah", <i>by</i> H. A. L. Luckham, <i>M.C.S.</i>	139
The Cannon on Pulau Aur, <i>by</i> C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i>	139
The "White Tiger" in Penang, <i>by</i> Katharine Sim ..	142
The Racing <i>Jong</i> , <i>by</i> C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i> ..	144
Neolithic Implements from North Borneo, <i>by</i> H. G. Keith, <i>B.Sc.</i>	148
The Mandulika of Sungei Ujong, <i>by</i> Sir Richard Winstedt, <i>K.B.E., D.Litt. (Oxon.)</i>	150
Indra & Saktimuna, <i>by</i> Sir Richard Winstedt ..	151
A Note on Takola, Langkasuka and Kataha, <i>by</i> Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales, <i>Ph.D., D. Litt.</i> ..	152
A Note on the "Four Main Waves", <i>by</i> Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales	153
Errata, Vol. 22 (1949)	155
Obituary: Dr C. O. Blagden, <i>D. Litt., by</i> Dr W. Linehan, <i>D. Litt.</i>	156

Editorial

This issue, which forms the first part of Volume 23 (1950), is devoted to miscellaneous papers by five different authors. It also contains nine short notes on matters of interest, contributed by six different authors. It is hoped that the section of short notes will become a permanent feature of the first part for each year, and members of the Society are asked to send in any items which they think might be of value to the readers of the Journal.

The second part for this year, which will be distributed in March, is devoted to the publication of a selection from the manuscript records of the East India Company dealing with the early commercial history of Penang and Singapore over the period 1805-32. The items have been chosen by C. D. Cowan, M.A., Lecturer in History at the University of Malaya, who also contributes an introduction and notes. An extra 500 copies of this issue have been printed for use in the University of Malaya.

The third, and last, part for this year will be published about August. The title-page and index for Volume 23 will be distributed to members with it. It will be another miscellaneous number. The authors will include Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales, Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad, A. B. Ramsay, K. Gopinath, Tom Harrisson, C. A. Gibson-Hill and Dr W. Linehan.

The Annual General Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on Friday, 3 February. The President, Dato Sir Roland Braddell, was in the chair. The members present approved the Annual Report for 1949, and the tentative programme for 1950-52 contained in the last section of it. The Officers and Council for 1950 were elected, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the Council for its work in 1949. The meeting confirmed the revised draft of the Rules of the Society, which had been approved at a general meeting held on 25 November 1949. These rules, which are printed on pages xi-xiii of the present Journal, are now in force. Members are reminded that under them publications will not be distributed to those whose subscriptions are in arrears after 30 June in any year.

Back Numbers and Additional Copies of the Journal

The special reduced price to members for back numbers of journals published since the war is \$3.50 per copy. Pre-war numbers may be bought for \$2 each, except for Sir Richard Winstedt's *A History of Malaya* (Vol. 13, pt 1, March 1935), which is \$3.50 unbound and \$5 in cloth covers. Members are reminded that under Rule 19 any one member may not, under normal circumstances, buy more than one copy of a particular issue at the reduced price during the course of a year. The price to non-members is \$5 per copy for all back numbers, except for the *A History of Malaya* which costs \$7.50 unbound and \$8.50 in cloth. Approximate numbers of the stock in hand of all issues published before 1948 is given in appendices to the Index to the papers in Volumes 1-20 (Vol. 21, pt 3, October 1948).

ANNUAL REPORT

of the
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
for 1949.

Membership. The number of members at the end of 1949 was 540. There were 499 members at the end of 1948, 407 at the end of 1947 and 508 at the end of 1941. Several former members have rejoined during the course of the year and 77 new members have been added to the Society. In part this gratifying figure is undoubtedly due to the talk on the activities of the Society given over Radio Malaya by the President, and in part to the fact that several of the leading local papers have published notices of the material appearing in the different journals during the course of the year.

The roll for the end of 1949 consisted of 14 Honorary Members and 526 Ordinary Members, of whom 114 are Life Members. Two Honorary Members, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and C. E. Wurtzburg, *M.C.*, were proposed and elected during the year for their services to the Society and to scholarship in South-East Asia. In addition in redrafting the rules of the Society the Council decided to eliminate the category of Corresponding Member, and the three Corresponding Members, A. W. Hamilton, Dr F. F. Laidlaw and Dr E. D. Merrill, were elected Honorary Members. We regret to announce that Dr C. O. Blagden, and C. Boden Kloss, both Honorary Members of the Society, died in August. An obituary notice of Dr Blagden by Dr W. Linehan appears on page 155 of this journal.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on Friday, 4 March. In the absence of the President the Honorary Secretary, Mr M. W. F. Tweedie, took the chair. There were seventeen other members present. The most important decision was the unanimous agreement that the Society's rules stood in need of general revision. On the suggestion of Sir Ralph Hone a committee was appointed consisting of the President and the two Honorary Secretaries with instructions to prepare an amended draft and circulate it to the members of the Council. This was done and the revised rules were approved by the Council at a meeting held in the Raffles Museum on Friday 20 October. The new rules were then printed and circulated to the members of the Society resident in Malaya. They were subsequently accepted unanimously at a General Meeting held on 25 November and confirmed at the Annual General Meeting held in February this year. These rules, which are printed on pages xi-xiii of the present journal, are now in force.

Revision of the Rules. held at the Raffles Museum on Friday, 4 March. In the absence of the President the Honorary Secretary, Mr M. W. F. Tweedie, took the chair. There were seventeen other members present. The most important decision was the unanimous agreement that the Society's rules stood in need of general revision. On the suggestion of Sir Ralph Hone a committee was appointed consisting of the President and the two Honorary Secretaries with instructions to prepare an amended draft and circulate it to the members of the Council. This was done and the revised rules were approved by the Council at a meeting held in the Raffles Museum on Friday 20 October. The new rules were then printed and circulated to the members of the Society resident in Malaya. They were subsequently accepted unanimously at a General Meeting held on 25 November and confirmed at the Annual General Meeting held in February this year. These rules, which are printed on pages xi-xiii of the present journal, are now in force.

Franking Privilege. In July the Colonial Secretariat, Singapore, informed the Honorary Secretary that the franking privilege previously accorded to the Society had been withdrawn. It was estimated that payment of postal charges for

letters and journals sent to destinations inside the Colony of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya would cost the Society about \$400 a year. Representations to this effect were made to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary by the President and Secretary of the Society, and the Government of Singapore subsequently agreed to increase its annual grant from \$700 to \$1,000 to off-set this charge. The effect was to be immediate, and the additional \$300 was paid for 1949.

Journals. Four journals were published during the year, dated March, May, June and September; the title-page and list of contents for the volume were distributed with the fourth part. The first journal was of a miscellaneous character, and contained eleven papers by different authors in addition to eight short notes on matters of interest and two book reviews. The authors included Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Sir Richard Winstedt, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, J. A. E. Morley, Tom Harrisson, C. E. Wurtzburg and C. A. Gibson-Hill. The second part for the year was devoted to a paper on Sungei Ujong by J. M. Gullick. The third part contained four papers on subjects relating to Trengganu, including a short history of the state by M. C. ff Sheppard; the other contributors were A. H. Hill and C. A. Gibson-Hill. The fourth part for the year consisted of papers related to the find of gold and other objects at Sambas in west Dutch Borneo. The contributors were Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales, Tan Yeok Seong and Tom Harrisson, the last of whom provided a valuable and detailed survey of all the finds of similar objects recorded from British Borneo.

Finance. Subscriptions and Life Membership fees received during the year amounted to \$3,559, but these included \$455 towards subscriptions for 1950-51. Government contributions, including the extra \$300 from the Government of Singapore, amounted to \$4,230. The total income for the year, including the sale of back numbers of the journals, was \$11,414.97. In February 1949 it had been estimated that it would only be in the neighbourhood of \$9,000. The difference was in part due to the welcome continued increase in membership, and in part to the large sale of back numbers following the publication of the index to Vols 1-20 at the end of 1948. At the beginning of the year it had seemed that only about \$8,000 could be spent on printing if the Society was to maintain a reasonable working reserve. In actual fact the total amount spent on printing was in the region of \$9,000. The increase was due to two important papers published in the last two journals which when delivered proved to be much longer than their authors had originally estimated that they would be. In view, however, of the sound financial situation of the Society they were printed as they stood, and not held over until 1950. As a result the Council gave the members of the Society approximately 500 pages of good, well illustrated material during the course of the year.

Two bills amounting to about \$140 for printing done during 1949 had not been presented for payment by the end of the year. The actual effective reserve on 31 December 1949 was therefore about \$3,300. A forecast of the expected income for 1950, as given below, suggests that approximately \$8,000 from the Society's normal sources of revenue will be available for printing in 1950. In addition the Society should receive about \$1,000 more than the cost of production for 500 copies of the second part for this year; these have been ordered in advance, as a special printing, by the Department of History in the University of Malaya. It is proposed that of this total approximately \$8,500 should be used for printing in the course of 1950, and that no attempt should be made to touch the reserve which has been built up. This sum will be used to produce three journals. The first and third of these will be of a miscellaneous character and will contain approximately 160 and 140 pages of text respectively. The second part for the year will occupy about 210 pages; it will consist of a selection from the manuscript records of the East India Company chosen by C. D. Cowan to illustrate the early commercial progress of the settlements of Penang and Singapore over the period 1805-32. This will again mean an annual volume of about 500 pages.

During the course of 1951 and 1952 the Society hopes to publish an English text of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, prepared with critical notes by C. C. Brown of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, several unpublished diaries of Sir Frank Swettenham relating to official journeys in Perak during the years 1874-76, and the testament of John Clunies-Ross, the founder of the settlement on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. One of Swettenham's manuscripts is the property of the Association of British Malaya and the remainder are held by the Government of the Federation of Malaya; permission has been granted for their transcription and publication, and it is hoped that C. D. Cowan will be able to edit them for the Society. It seems advisable that the present reserves held by the Society should be retained so that the volumes for the years 1951 and 1952 can also contain about 500 pages each, and thus allow for the publication of an appreciable number of original papers in addition to the edited manuscripts.

The figure of \$8,000 given above is arrived at as follows,

Expected Income from Regular Sources.

Subscriptions & Life Memberships	..	\$	4,200	
Sale of Journals	..	\$	1,000	
Government Contributions	..		4,330	
Interest on Investments	..		370	\$ 9,900

Expected Expenditure (excluding publishing)

Salary for the Society's Clerk	..	900	
Postage, Sundries, Bank Commission, etc.		1,000	\$ 1,900

Balance likely to be available for printing \$ 8,000

C. A. GIBSON-HILL,
Asst Hon. Secretary.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year 1949.

RECEIPTS.

Balance at Mercantile Bank at 31st December 1948	..	\$ 2,798.93
Petty Cash December 1948	..	35.23
		<u>\$ 2,834.16</u>

Subscriptions:—

For 1947	..	12.00
For 1948	..	130.00
For 1949	..	2,660.00
For 1950	..	447.00
For 1951	..	8.00
		<u>3,257.00</u>

Life Memberships:—

	..	302.00
	..	3,173.69

Sales:—

Government Contributions:—

Federation of Malaya	..	3,000.00
Colony of Singapore	..	1,000.00
Colony of Sarawak	..	150.00
State of Brunei	..	80.00
		<u>4,230.00</u>

Interest from Investments:—

405.15

Miscellaneous:—

Refund of Postage	..	12.30
Bank Commission from Members	..	34.83
		<u>47.13</u>

\$ 14,249.13

PAYMENTS.

Publications:—

Printing Vol. 22 pt. 1	..	\$ 2,772.00
Blocks Vol. 22 pt. 1	..	128.69
Separates Vol. 22 pt. 1	..	145.50
		<u>\$ 3,046.19</u>
Printing Vol. 22 pt. 2	..	1,275.00
Map Vol. 22 pt. 2	..	91.80
		<u>1,366.80</u>
Printing Vol. 22 pt. 3	..	1,978.00
Separates Vol. 22 pt. 3	..	175.00
Blocks Vol. 22 pt. 3	..	218.04
		<u>2,371.04</u>
Printing Vol. 22 pt. 4	..	1,888.00
Title Pages for Vol. 22	..	45.00
Blocks Vol. 22 pt. 4	..	190.60
Corrigenda	..	3.00
		<u>2,126.60</u>

Miscellaneous:—

Clerk's Salary	..	900.00
Postage	..	569.44
Stationary	..	179.75
Circular Letter	..	32.75
Cheque Book	..	1.00
Sundries	..	171.39
Bank Commission	..	46.91
		<u>1,901.24</u>
Balance at Mercantile Bank at 31st December 1949	..	3,328.39
Petty Cash in hand at 31st December 1949	..	108.87
		<u>3,437.16</u>

\$ 14,249.13

M. W. F. TWEEDIE

Hon. Treasurer

Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

RULES

of the

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society, which is constituted as a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, shall be "The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society".
2. The activities of the Society shall cover the territories of the Federation of Malaya, the Colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo, and the Protected State of Brunei.
3. The objects of the Society shall be the increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning the territories enumerated in Rule 2, including the publication of a Journal devoted to this end.

Membership.

4. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary Members, Life Members and Honorary Members.
5. Applications for Ordinary Membership shall be made to the Honorary Secretary. If possible the application shall be proposed and seconded by members of the Society. The Council shall have the right to refuse applications for membership, which may be referred to it at the discretion of the Honorary Secretary.
6. Ordinary Members shall pay an **annual subscription of \$10, payable in advance on the first of January in each year. Members who have failed to pay their subscriptions by the thirtieth of June shall be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid.** In default of payment within two years they shall be deemed to have resigned their membership. If they are subsequently re-admitted to the Society their membership shall date from the year of their re-admission.
7. Newly elected Ordinary Members may compound for life-membership by the payment of \$150. Other Ordinary Members may compound by payment of \$75, or \$150 less the amount already paid by them in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for Ordinary Membership, but may not become life members.
8. Distinguished persons who have rendered notable service to the Society or to scholarship in Malaya may, on the recommendation of the Council, be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General Meeting. They shall pay no subscriptions, but shall enjoy the free receipt of the Society's publications and all other privileges of Ordinary Members, except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office.

Officers.

9. The officers of the Society shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed. Permanent vacancies occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

10. The officers of the Society shall comprise:—

- A President,
- Vice-presidents, not exceeding six in number,
- An Honorary Treasurer,
- An Honorary Secretary,
- An Assistant Honorary Secretary,
- Councillors, not exceeding five in number.

11. Any two offices may be held concurrently, if this is in the general interests of the Society. In the temporary absence of the Treasurer or Secretary the Assistant Secretary shall automatically act for them.

Council.

12. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year. Its duties and powers shall be:—

- (a) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society, and to accept or decline donations on its behalf.
- (b) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society: every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.
- (c) to appoint a member of the Society to edit the Journal on its behalf, and to advise him in the selection of material when called upon to do so: the name of the Honorary Editor shall be printed with the list of the Council for the year at the beginning of each Journal, but the appointment shall remain valid until the holder resigns, or the members of the Council consider it advisable to make a new appointment.
- (d) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society, prepared by the Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Secretary.

13. Four officers shall form a quorum of the Council. A member holding more than one office is not entitled to more than one vote on each resolution, except in the case of an equality of votes, when the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his own.

General Meetings.

14. At least one week's notice of general meetings shall be given to all Ordinary Members known to be residing in the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore. Eleven Ordinary Members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

15. The Annual General Meeting shall be held between the middle of January and the end of February in each year.

16. The Council may summon a general meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Honorary Secretary of a written requisition signed by five Ordinary Members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such a meeting.

17. In the case of an equality of votes at any general meeting, the Chairman shall be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

Journal.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available and the financial condition of the Society renders it possible. The publications of each year shall together constitute one volume. The Report of the Honorary Secretary, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and Rules of the Society shall be published in the first number of each volume. A title-page and index of papers and authors for the volume shall be distributed with the last part for the year.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals. The remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct. A special reduced price shall be fixed for members, but any one member may not buy more than one copy of a particular issue during the course of a year.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them, or to the next Annual General Meeting. A statement or summary of the proposed amendment shall be included on the notice sent to members under Rule 14, informing them of the meeting. If it is approved, the amendment shall come into force on the date resolved by this meeting.

Affiliation Privileges of Members.

Members when temporarily resident in the United Kingdom are entitled to use the library, and attend the monthly meetings, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland at 56 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1., and, when visiting India, to attend the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

Notice to Contributors

Contributors are asked to keep their papers as brief as possible and to correct and return their proofs with the minimum delay. Contributions should be type-written, on one side of the paper, double spaced and with good margins. If foot-notes are used they must be numbered consecutively through the paper. Citations in the text should give the author, year of publication of the work and the page or pages to which reference is being made. No other details should be given in the text, but authors are requested particularly to give the page number as many of the works to which they refer are very long and without indexes. In the bibliography or list of references at the end of the paper contributors must cite the author, with initials, the year of publication of the work, the title of the book and the name of the town in which it was published, or the title of the article and the name of the Journal in which it was published together with volume and page numbers, in this order.

Contributors are supplied with 25 reprints of their papers, free, shortly after the publication of the Journal (Rule 20). Additional copies can be provided on payment if these are asked for when the paper is submitted, or when the galley proofs are returned to the Honorary Editor. Authors expecting to be on leave when their papers appear are asked to place with the Editor an address to which their reprints can be sent, or to ask specifically that they should be retained in the Raffles Museum until they write for them.

List of Members 1949

As far as possible this list has been corrected up to 31 December, 1949. A space has been left where the present address of a member is not known. The Honorary Editor would be grateful for any information leading to the completion of this list, or to the elimination of errors.

The names of Life Members are marked with an asterisk before the year of their election. In the case of Honorary Members the first column shows the year in which they were elected Ordinary Members of the Society, and the second the year in which they became Honorary (or Corresponding) Members.

Patron

His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C.,
Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia.

Honorary Members

Year of
Election

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1935 | Bosch, Dr F. D. K. Burggravenlaan 11, Leiden. Holland. |
| 1935 | Coedes, Prof. Dr George, 59 Avenue Foch, Paris 16e, France. |
| 1932 | 1934 Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., C.I.I., Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, 9 Gracechurch Street, London E.C.3. U.K. |
| 1915 | 1935 Hamilton, A.W.. Union Bank, Perth, Western Australia. |
| 1922 | Johore, H.H. The Sultan of, D.K.. G.C.M.G., K.B.E., Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M. |
| 1920 | Laidlaw, Dr F. F., M.A., Eastfield. Uffculme, Devon. U.K. |
| 1925 | 1948 Linehan, Dr W., C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt., Director of Museums F.M., Perak Museum, Taiping, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1933-35; Council, 1941-42; Pres., 1946-47). |
| 1903 | 1927 Maxwell, Sir W. G.. K.B.E., C.M.G., Chindles, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex, U.K. (Council, 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920; Pres., 1919, 1922-23, 1925-26). |
| 1920 | Merill, Dr E. D. Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. |
| 1890 | 1912 Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7 Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, U.K. (Council, 1890-94, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-93, 1896-1911). |
| 1916 | Sarawak, H. H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G. |
| 1949 | Sastri, Prof. Nilakanta, "Nilesvar," Edward Elliot's Road, Madras, India. |
| 1921 | Van Ronkel, Dr P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 41, Leiden, Holland. |
| 1921 | 1949 Wurtzburg, C.E., M.C., Glen Line, 20 Billiter Street, London, E.C.3. U.K. (Council, 1924-26, 1930; Hon. Sec., 1925; Vice-Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-35; Pres., 1936). |

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Year of
Election

- 1940 Abbas bin Haji Ali, Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- *1921 Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Ungku Y. M., D.K., C.M.G., Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1933-34, 1935, 1941-42, 1946-47).
- 1947 Abdul Aziz bin Zakaria, Students' Hostel, University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1926 Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, The Hon'ble Mentri Besar, M.C.S., State Secretariat, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1949 Abdul Rahim bin Hussin, 20 Mengkuang Road, (Govt Haig Road Quarters), Singapore.
- 1948 Abdul Rahim Ibrahim. 35 Geylang Serai, Singapore.
- 1947 Abdul Rahman bin Abdul Aziz, M.B.E., J.P., C-3183 Semabok Road, Malacca, F.M.
- 1933 *1947 Abdul Rahman bin Mat, Magistrate's Court, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- *1926 Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, The Hon'ble Dato, 3 Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1947 Abdul Wahab bin Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Haji, Dato Panglima Bukit Gantang, Mentri Besar, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Abdul Wahab Rashid, 12 Bussorah Street, Singapore.
- 1926 Abdullah bin Ibrahim, M.C.S., State Secretariat, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
- 1948 Abdullah bin Mohamed, State Secretariat, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1949 Abdullah bin Mohamed Salleh, 63 Jalan Trus, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1936 Abdullah bin Mohamed Ali, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Abdullah bin Sahat, M.A.S., District Officer Larut and Matang, Taiping, Perak, F.M.
- 1946 Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee, St. John's College, Cambridge, U.K.
- 1948 Adams, The Revd Canon R. K. S., St Andrew's School, Woodville, Singapore.
- *1909 Adams, Sir Theodore, C.M.G., United Universities Club, Suffolk Street. London, U.K.
- *1919 Adelborg, F., 40 Artillengatan, Stockholm, Sweden.
- 1947 Ahmad bin Mohamed Ibrahim, c/o Sandy Pillay & Ibrahim, Room No. 4, Laidlaw Building, Singapore.
- 1926 Ahmad bin Osman, M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Kubu Bharu, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Ahmad Nordin bin Md. Zain, Dept of Public Relations, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- 1939 Akers, R. L., Irrigation Department, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1949 Alexander, Mrs F.E.S., University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1949 Allen, A. W. c/o V. R. Vick & Co., Ltd, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Singapore.
- 1947 Allen, E. F., Dept of Agriculture, Teluk Anson, Perak. F.M.
- 1947 Allen, J. A. G., c/ Selborne Estate, Padang Tungku, Pahang, F.M.
- 1948 Allen, Mrs B. E. G., c/o Joseph Travers, P. O. Box 615., Singapore.

- 1949 Anderson, D. E. L., c/o Shell Co., Ltd, Penang, F.M.
- 1938 Anderson School. Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1949 Ang Gim Tong, Nanyang Siang Pau Press, 45/49 Robinson Road, Singapore.
- 1948 Angus, S., M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan F.M.
- 1946 Archey, Dr G., Auckland Institute and Museum, P.O. Box 27, Newmarket, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1926 Ariff, Dr K. M., 12 Beach Street, Penang, F.M.
- 1948 Association of British Malaya, Malaya House, 57 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2, U.K.
- 1948 Australian Commissioner for Malaya, Union Building, P.O. Box 99, Singapore.
- *1908 Ayre, C. F. C., Lloyds Bank Ltd, 6 Pall Mall, London S.W.1, U.K. (Hon. Treas., 1910-1911).
- 1948 Aziz bin Abdul Hamid, Ungku, 548 Jalan Dato Mentri, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1933 *1948 Azman bin Haji Abdul Hamid, Magistrate's Court, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.
- *1926 Bagnall, Sir John, K.B.E., The Straits Trading Co., Ltd, Singapore.
- *1919 Bailey, A.E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.
- *1926 Bailey, John., C.M.G., 197 Latymer Court, London, W.6 U.K.
- 1926 Bain, V. L., Forest Office, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Bainbridge, R. C., Mansfield & Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
- *1912 Baker, Capt. A. C., M.C., Glenthorne, Wye, Kent, U.K.
- 1949 Baker, Miss M. V., St George's School, Penang, F.M.
- 1949 Ball, W. A., Boustead & Co., Ltd, Singapore.
- 1949 Blackledge, J.P., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner's Office. Penang, F.M.
- 1935 Bangs, T.W.T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu Kelantan, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1947 Banks, E., 27 Stow Park Circle, Newport, Monmouthshire. U.K.
- *1899 Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
- 1932 Barrett, E. C. G., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.
- 1937 Barton, J. E., Shell Co., Ltd, Shell House, Collyer Quay, Singapore.
- 1947 Baughman, The Revd Burr H., Methodist Mission, Kapit, Sarawak.
- 1925 Bee, R. J., A.C.G.I., M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S., Public Works Dept, Singapore.
- 1941 Berwick, E.J.H., Dept of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1912 Bicknell, J.W., Bykenhulle, Hopewell Junction, Duchess County, New York, U.S.A.
- 1947 *1948 Biles, H.F., Social Welfare Dept, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
- 1947 Blaauw, Dr K.H., Tawau, North Borneo.
- *1923 Black, The Hon'ble Mr J.G., M.C.S., British Adviser, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1948 Blaney, A.J., Kuala Pertang Estate, Kuala Krai Post Office, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1921 *1947 Blasdel, The Revd R.A., Frewsburg, New York, U.S.A.
- 1925 Blythe, The Hon'ble Mr W.L., M.C.S., President Municipal Commissioners, Singapore.

- 1948 Boles, J.D., Colonial Secretariat, Jesselton, North Borneo.
- *1926 Boswell, A.B.S., Forest Dept, Taiping, Perak, F.M.
- *1919 Bourne, F.G., 23 Craythorne Road, Tenterden, Kent, U.K.
- *1919 Boyd, W.R., Aram, Holywood, Co., Down, Ireland.
- 1913 *1937 Braddell, Dato Sir Roland, S.P.M.J., M.A., Braddell Bros, P.O. Box 1001, Singapore. (Council, 1936-37; Vice-Pres., 1938-42, 1946-47; President, 1948-49).
- 1936 Braine, Dr G.I.H., 577 Sedlescombe Rd, St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, U.K.
- 1947 British Adviser Negri Sembilan, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1949 Broadcasting, Dept of, Cathay Building, Singapore.
- 1948 Brooks, R.J., District Office, Papar, North Borneo.
- 1947 Broome, N.R., M.C., M.C.S., Commissioner for Labour, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1915 Brown, C.C., School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, Malet Street, W.C.1, U.K.
- *1913 Bryan, J.M., Borneo Co., Ltd, 28 Fenchurch Street, London, U.K.
- 1932 Bryson, The Hon'ble Mr. H.P., M.C., M.C.S., The Residency, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- *1926 Burton, W., 1 Court Lane Gardens, Dulwich, U.K.
- 1947 Burton, W., Government English School, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.
- 1947 Butterfield, B.C., Karak Estate, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.
- *1921 Butterfield, H.M., "Kedah Peak", Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, U.K.
- *1913 Caldecott, Sir Andrew, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Pier Point, Itchenor, Chichester, Sussex, U.K.
- 1949 Calderwood, Miss J.B., M.B.E., Medical Dept Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Cameron, Dr John, Health Officer Johore South, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1925 *1937 Carey, H.R., c/o The Standard Bank, Adderley Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
- 1949 Cave, J.E.M., M.C.S., Office of British Adviser, Selangor, P.O. Box 506, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1921 Cavendish, A., 3 Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London S.W.10, U.K.
- 1946 Chan Peng Yin, P.O. Box 533, Singapore.
- 1949 Cheah Chooi Leong, c/o Penang Library, Penang, F.M.
- *1924 Cheeseman, H.R., 6 Cannon Road, Ramsgate, Kent, U.K.
- 1949 Chen Cheong Lok, Ph.B., J.D., Kwang Tung Provincial Bank, 19-25 Cecil Street, Singapore.
- 1949 Chew Kia Song, 131A, Owen Road, Singapore.
- 1936 Chew Lian Seng, Wah Lam Co., Ltd, 3rd Floor, China Building, Chulia Street, Singapore.
- 1949 Chew Woon Poh, 80 Lorong "L", Telok Kurau, Singapore.
- 1948 Chong, Peter, 7 & 9 Robinson Road, Singapore.
- *1913 Choo Kia Peng, C.B.E., Ampang Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1941 Chu Chit Chin, National Yunnan University, Kunmin, Yunnan, China.

- 1948 Chung, S., Civil Hospital, Tawau, North Borneo.
- *1926 Clarke, G.C., Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd, St Helen's Court, Great St Helen's, London E.C., U.K.
- 1948 Clunies-Ross, F.S., Dept of Broadcasting, Jurong Transmission Station, Jurong Road, Singapore.
- 1947 Coates, P.A., M.C.S., Financial Secretary's Office, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1920 Collenette, C.L., 107 Church Road, Richmond, Surrey, U.K. (Council, 1922).
- 1947 Collings, H.D., B.A., Raffles Museum, Singapore.
- 1947 Colton, A.G., M.C.S., c/o Chartered Bank, Singapore.
- 1948 Combe, The Hon'ble Mr R.G.P.N., North Borneo Civil Service (on leave).
- 1948 Commonwealth Relations Office Library, Division B, King Charles Street, Whitehall, London, S.W.1, U.K.
- 1948 Coolhaas, Dr W. Ph.
- 1926 *1941 Coope, A.E., M.C.S., 219 Percy Road, Whitton, Twickenham, Middlesex, U.K.
- 1929 Corner, E.J.H., Dept of Botany, Downing Street, Cambridge, U.K. (Council, 1934, 1936-41).
- 1925 Corry, The Hon'ble Mr W.C.S., M.C.S., British Adviser, Pahang, F.M.
- 1947 Cowan, C.D., M.A., Dept of History, University of Malaya, Singapore.
- *1923 Cowgill, J.V., 21 Brunswick Drive, Harrogate, Yorkshire, U.K.
- 1948 Croger, J.M., Cable & Wireless Ltd, Hongkong.
- 1947 Cubitt, T.W., Drainage & Irrigation Dept, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- *1921 Cullen, W.G., Bartolome Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, Argentine,
- 1947 Currid, Dr P.G., State Medical & Health Officer, Raub, Pahang, F.M.
- 1949 Cunningham-Brown, J.S.H., M.C.S., Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1923 Curtis, The Hon'ble Mr R. J. F., M.C.S., British Adviser, Selangor, F.M.
- *1910 Daly, M.D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Eire.
- 1948 Davis, J.L.H., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C.S., Labour Office, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.
- *1927 Dawson, The Hon'ble Mr C.W., C.M.G., M.C.S., Chief Secretary, Sarawak.
- 1923 Day, The Hon'ble Mr E.V.G., M.C.S., British Adviser, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- 1940 De Silva, G.W., Advocate & Solicitor, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1949 De Silva, Richard, P. O. Box 1265, Singapore.
- 1930 De Vos, A.E.E., 323 Tupai Road, Taiping, Perak, F.M.
- 1949 Dean, Squadron-Ldr Hugh, Royal Air Force Regiment, Tengah, Singapore.
- 1926 *1936 Del Tufo, The Hon'ble Mr M.V., M.C.S., Deputy Chief Secretary, Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1922 Denny, A., Sungei Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.
- *1921 Dickson, The Revd P. L., The Chantry, Tuxford, Near Newark Nottinghamshire, U.K.

- *1926 Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
- *1923 Doscas, A.E.C., Department of Agriculture, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1936 Douglas, Dato F.W., Kampong Jawa, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Drake, A. J., Presgrave & Mathews, Penang, F.M.
- *1915 Dussek, O.T., Colonial Office Welfare Dept, 15 Victoria Street, London S.W.1, U.K.
- 1931 Earl, L.R.F., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor F.M.
- 1946 Easaw, Dr T.C. Health Office, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- *1922 Ebben, W.S., M.C.S., Malaya House, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W.1, U.K.
- 1947 Eber, J.F. St. J., Eber & Koek, 4A Raffles Place, Singapore.
- 1922 Eckhardt, H.C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- 1922 *1947 Edgar, A.T. M.B.E., Anglo-Oriental Building, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1927 Education, Department of, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- 1927 Education, (Malay), Asst Director of, Dept of Education, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Edwards, Capt. M.
- *1947 Edye, I.M., M.C.S., The Residency, Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu, F.M.
- 1947 Eklund, The Revd Abel, 1 Wesley Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.,
- 1947 Elbury, E.T.F., Public Works Dept, Singapore.
- 1921 *1939 Elder, Dr E.A., British Dispensary, 33 Raffles Place, Singapore.
- 1946 Eldridge, C.H., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Batavia, Java.
- 1947 Engelman, K., Malayan Wire Mesh & Fencing Co., Ltd, Mercantile Bank Building, Singapore.
- 1932 English School Union, Muar, Johore, F.M.
- 1924 *1940 Evans, I.H.N., c/o District Office, Kota Belud, via Jesselton, North Borneo. (Vice-Pres., 1926-30).
- 1947 Evans, P.R.J., Harrison & Crosfield (Malaya) Ltd, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Eyre, R., Palmer & Turner, P.O. Box 771, Singapore.
- 1939 Fairmaid, G.H., Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd, Sungei Lembing, Pahang, F.M.
- 1947 Falquier, G.A., Consulate of Switzerland, Union Building, Singapore.
- 1909 Farrer, R.J., C.M.G., St John's Island, Singapore, (Council, 1925-37).
- 1946 Federation of Malaya, Secretariat Library, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1911 Ferguson-Davie, The Revd C. J., Fort Hare University, Alice, Cape Province, South Africa. (Council, 1912-13).
- 1937 Ferguson, D.S., Drainage & Irrigation Dept, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1946 *1948 Fiennes, David, Colonial Development Corporation (Far East) Ltd, Jesselton, North Borneo.
- 1948 Findlay, D.A., Administrative Officer, Sandakan, North Borneo.
- *1919 Finnie, W., 73 Forest Road, Aberdeen, U.K.
- 1947 Firth, Prof. Raymond, London School of Economic & Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C1, U.K.

- 1947 Fitch, F.H., Geological Survey, Jesselton, North Borneo.
- 1928 Foenander, E.C., Forest Dept, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.
- 1923 Forest Botanist, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.
- 1926 Forestry, Director of, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.
- 1946 Forsyth, C.R., M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
- *1949 Foss, Carlton H., 440A Tranquerah Road, Malacca, F.M.
- *1918 Foxworthy, Dr F.W., 762 Arlington Avenue, Berkeley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923, 1926-27).
- 1935 Francois, The Very Revd Father J.P., Church of St Michael, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- *1908 Freeman, D., 96 Priory Road, West Hampstead, London N.W.6, U.K.
- 1947 Gabb, F.,
- 1931 Gardiner, E.A., Superintendent State Engineer, P.W.D., Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1920 *1949 Geale, Dr W.J., Grove House, Clare, Sudbury, Suffolk, U.K.
- 1949 Geological Survey, Federation of Malaya, Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Ghani, Hashim, 6th Police Court, Singapore.
- 1949 Ghosh, B.C., Principal Anglo-Chinese School, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.
- 1948 Gibbs, Howard D., Director Pittsburgh Numismatic Museum, Room 402, California Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1949 Gibbs Panheri, P.J.
- 1940 *1947 Gibson-Hill, Dr C.A., M.A., F.Z.S., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Ag. Hon. Sec. & Treas., June 1947 to April 1948; Hon. Editor. 1948-49).
- 1923 Gilmour, The Hon'ble Mr A., M.C.S., Secretary for Economic Affairs, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- 1947 Girdler, A. H., O.B.E., M.C.S., Administrative Officer, Kluang, Johore, F.M.
- 1947 Godesen, A.E.H., East Asiatic Co., Ltd, P.O. Box 145, Penang, F.M.
- 1949 Goodrich, B.U.F., 9 Mount Faber, Singapore.
- 1948 Goodwin, J.W., The Singapore Free Press, Cecil Street, Singapore.
- 1920 *1940 Gordon-Hall, W.A., M.C.S., Dudley House, Gorey, Jersey, Channel Islands, U.K.
- 1931 Gregory, C.P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1946 Grehan, D.W., M.A., B.A.I., (Dublin), A.M.I.C.E., P.W.D., Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.
- 1947 Gullick, J.M., M.C.S., The Secretariat, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1946 Gunaratinam, Mrs. A., Art Mistress, Raffles Girls' School, Singapore.
- *1923 Hacker, Dr H.P., Long Acre, Downe, Kent, U.K.
- 1949 Hall, D.G., Customs Office, P.O. Box 1002, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Hamdan Tahir, c/o Hamid Aljohary Tahir, District Hospital, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- 1924 Hamzah bin Abdullah, The Hon'ble Dato, State Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1946 Han Wai Toon, 1003 Upper Thomson Road, Singapore.
- 1949 Han, S.Y., Outram Road School, Singapore.
- 1933 Hannay, H.C., Hannay & Steedman, P.O. Box 41, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.

- 1937 Harrison, B., M.A., Dept of History, University of Malaya, Singapore. (Council, 1938-39; Hon. Treas., 1941-42; Vice-Pres., 1948-49).
- *1926 Hastings, W.G.W., 56 Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1921 Hawkins, G., O.B.E., M.C.S., Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.
- *1904 Haynes, A.S., C.M.G., J.P., "Treetops", Park Road, Leamington Spa, U.K.
- 1932 Hayward, M.J., M.C.S., Financial Branch, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1936 Headly, D., M.C.S., North Borneo Civil Service (on leave).
- 1948 Henderson, J.A., c/o P.W.D., P.O. Box 1047, Kuala Lumpur, Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1921 Henderson, M.R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1928; Hon. Treas., 1928-34; Hon. Sec., 1946)
- 1947 Henry, J.S., High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Hess, P.O., Asst Controller of Supplies, Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu, F.M.
- 1948 Hesse, V., Caxton Press Ltd, P.O. Box 307, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
- *1923 Hicks, E.C., Education Office, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1939 *1948 Hill, A.H., Superintendent of Education, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1949 Hislop, J.A., Game Warden Perak, Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.
- *1923 Hodgson, D.H., Forest Dept, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1947 Hoey, Major R., 2238 North Vermont Street, Arlington, Virginia, U.S.A.
- 1948 Holley, W.S., North Borneo Civil Service (on leave).
- 1922 Holtum, Prof. R.E., M.A., Dept of Botany, University of Malaya, Singapore. (Council, 1933, 1935, 1940-42, 1946-49; Hon. Treas., 1923-26, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1929, 1936-37).
- 1946 Hone, H.E. Sir Ralph, K.B.E., M.C., K.C., Governor of North Borneo.
- 1949 Hoover Institute & Library, Stanford University, Stanford, California, U.S.A.
- 1949 Hose, H.R., P.O. Box 5, Singapore.
- 1948 Howe, C.E., M.C.S., District Officer, Jelebu, Kuala Klawang, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1940 *1947 Hsu Yun Ts'iao, South Seas Society, P. O. Box 709, Singapore. (Council, 1946-49)
- 1949 Hughes, T. Eames, M.C.S., Dept of Social Welfare, Singapore.
- 1949 Hume-Brett, J.G., Police Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1935 Humphrey, A.H.P., M.C.S., Malayan Establishment Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Hunt, Mrs. W.E., "Moycraig", Penang Hill, Penang, F.M.
- 1949 Hurlimann, M., c/o Diethelm Co., Ltd, P.O. Box 191, Singapore.
- 1947 Hussain Baba, Police Headquarters, Kangar, Perlis, F.M.
- 1949 Hussein bin Onn, M.B.E., District Office, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1927 Ibrahim School, Sungei Patani, Kedah, F.M.
- *1926 Ince, H.M., Kencot Lodge, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, U.K.
- 1930 Ince, R. E., Education Office, Raub, Pahang, F.M.

- 1949 India, Representative of the Government of, Singapore.
- 1948 Ingleton, Miss. Dr., "Carcosa", Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Institute of Social Anthropology, 1 Jowett Walk, Oxford, U.K.
- 1949 Irvine, I.D., M.C.S., Service Branch, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1926 Irving, Mrs G.C., c/o Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Ismail bin Tungku Muhammad, Tungku, State Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Jack, Dr H.W., O.B.E., 71 Holland Road, Singapore.
- 1947 Jakeman, R.W., M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- 1948 Jamaluddin bin Kulop Udi, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1946 Jamuh, George, Mukah, Sarawak.
- 1947 Jennings, E.L.S., Straits Times Press, Cecil Street, Singapore.
- * 1921 Jermyn, L.A.S., 71 Carter Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, U.K.
- 1947 Jessamine, J.E.B., Eng Kee Estate, Tangkak, Johore, F.M.
- 1949 Job, A.L., Ulu Klang Tin Ltd, Ampang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Jobling, Mrs Jane, c/o G.L. Jibling, Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., U.K.
- 1948 Jones, L.W., Deputy Commissioner of Immigration, Sandakan, North Borneo.
- 1949 Jones, R.A., Immigration Officer, Padang Besar, Perlis, F.M.
- * 1913 Jones, S.W., 5 Boscombe Cliff Road, Boscombe, Bourmouth, U.K. (Council, 1935, Vice-Pres., 1939-42).
- * 1919 Jordon, The Revd A.B., The Parsonage, Marshall Hill Drive, Mapperly, Nottingham, U.K.
- * 1921 Kay-Mouat, Prof. J.R., 16 Camp Hospital, Ingleburn, New South Wales, Australia.
- 1949 Kearney, N.A., Shell Co. of Singapore Ltd., Collyer Quay, Singapore.
- 1926 Keith, The Hon'ble Mr H.G., Forest Dept, Sandakan, North Borneo. (Vice-Pres., 1948-49).
- * 1921 Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.O., Chegar Perak, Pahang, F.M.
- 1947 Kemp, A.S.H., M.C.S., Segamat, Johore, F.M.
- 1949 Kesselring, The Revd R., Anglo-Chinese School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Kesteven, K.L., D.Sc., Maliwan Mansion, Phra Atit Rd, Bangkok, Thailand.
- 1926 Khoo Sian Ewe, 380 Burmah Road, Penang, F.M.
- 1948 Kiddle, J.O., M.C.S., Economic Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Kidner, M.A., M.C.S., "Carcosa", Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1946 King George V School, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1949 Klana Petra Mohamed Kassim bin Dato Nika Haji Abdul Rashid, Undang Luak Sungei Ujong, Dato, Balai Undang, Ampangan, Seremban, F.M.
- 1947 Kupusamy, V.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., Anglo-Chinese School, Kampar, Perak, F.M.
- 1935 Lai Tet Loke, 121 Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Lane, F.L., Mansfield and Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.

- 1949 Langley, G.A., Telecommunications Dept, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Lawton, G., Police Headquarters, Pasir Mas, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1949 Leger, F.P.Y.L., Socfin Co. Ltd, P.O. Box 330, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1913 Leicester, Dr W.S., Sungei Lembing, Pahang, F.M.
- 1949 Lind, P., 94 Brewster Road, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1938 Le Mare, D.W., Director of Fisheries F.M., Penang, F.M.
- *1925 Leonard, R.W.F., Mansfield & Co. Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
- *1948 Lewis, Miss B., School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, London W.C.1, U.K.
- 1941 *1947 Lewis, Dr G.E.D., Principal Clifford School, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
- 1938 Lewis, L.I., Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1922 Leyne, E.G., Connemara Estate, Semenye, Selangor, F.M.
- 1934 Library of the University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1936 Lim, C.O., Lim, Lim & Oon, Advocates & Solicitors, 29 Church Street, Penang, F.M.
- 1947 Lim, R.K.C., 55 & 57 Hill Street, Singapore.
- 1947 Lim, S.K., Ho Hong Building, 65 Chulia Street, Singapore.
- 1947 Lim Bee Pin, Government High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Lim Chong Eu, Dr, 215 MacAlister Road, Penang, F.M.
- 1947 Lim Keam Chye, 15 Chancery Lane, Singapore.
- 1948 Loch, J.H., M.C.S., District Officer, Parit, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Lock, M., Kuala Sidim Estate, Kuala Ketil, Kedah, F.M.
- 1948 Longfield, J.E., O.B.E., Resident, Labuan and Interior, Beaufort, North Borneo.
- 1930 Luckham, H.A.L., M.C.S., District Officer Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 Lundeen, The Revd Reuben A., Basel Mission, P.O. Box 188, Jesselton, North Borneo.
- 1936 Lyle, C.W., M.C.S., Labour Dept, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1920 MacBryan, G.T.M., 1, Woodstock House, 11 High Street, Marylebone, London, U.K.
- *1948 MacDonald, H.E. The Right Honourable Malcolm, P.C., Bukit Serene, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- *1933 MacDonald, P.J.W., Gang Cornelius 7, Batavia, Java.
- 1947 Macdonnel, H., Mercantile Bank, Singapore.
- 1929 Mace, N., Land & Survey Dept, Sibu, Sarawak.
- *1910 Macfadyen, Sir Eric, M.A., J.P., 1-4 Great Tower Street, London, E.C.3, U.K.
- 1939 MacLean, Mrs D.L., c/o Chartered Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1949 MacPherson, R. N.
- 1935 *1937 MacTier, R.S., Glen Line Ltd, 20 Billiter Street, London, E.C.3, U.K.
- 1946 Madoc, G.C., Malayan Police (on leave).
- 1929 Mahmud bin Jintan, Selangor Education Office, P.O. Box 1039, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

- 1937 Mahmood Mahyiddenn, Major Haji, D.P.M.K., M.B.E., *Kn. C.S.*, (ret'd), Pantai Chinta Berahi, Semut Api, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1947 Mahmud bin Mat, Dato, C.B.E., Mentri Besar, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
- 1932 Malacca Historical Society, Malacca, F.M.
- 1926 Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- 1948 Malay Mail Press Co., Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Malayan Airways Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
- 1935 Mallal, Bashir A., 20 Malacca Street, Singapore. (Council, 1946-49).
- 1949 Manikam, R., 15 Niven Road, Singapore.
- 1916 Mann, W.E., Kebajoran, Java.
- 1949 Mansfield, H., 14 Maxwell Road, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- 1934 Martin, J.M., 25 Pelham Place, London S.W.7, U.K.
- 1946 Mathias, T.J., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1922 *1938 May, Percy W., 6 Queen Anne's Garden, Bedford Park, London W.4, U.K.
- 1948 McCann, J.M.T., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1946 McDonald, E.M., Dept of Estate Duty, Kuala Lumpur, P.O. Box 1044, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 McGraw, E., Methodist Mission, Sibul, Sarawak.
- 1939 McHugh, J.N., Public Relations Dept, P.O. Box 1037, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1948-49).
- 1923 McKerron, H.E. Sir Patrick, K.B.E., C.M.G., Government House, Singapore.
- 1947 McLean, R., North Borneo Civil Service (on leave).
- 1939 Mead, The Hon'ble Mr J.D., Osborne & Chappel Ltd, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1927 Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, J.P., M.C.S., State Secretariat, Perak, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Meissonier, The Revd Father Ph., Bishop's House, 31 Victoria Street, Singapore.
- 1948 Melliar-Smith, P.L., Warden of Mines, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1948 Mendel, I.B., M.C.S., District Officer, Temerloh, Pahang, F.M.
- 1922 Merican, Mohamed Ismail, J.P., 29 Alor Muah, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- 1948 Metcalfe, P.R., M.C.S., c/o Chinese Secretariat, Havelock Road, Singapore.
- 1941 Meyer, A.G., Raffles Institution, Bras Basah Road, Singapore.
- *1926 Miles, C.V., Rodyk & Davidson, Chartered Bank Chambers, Singapore.
- 1925 Miller, G.S., 67 John Street, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire, U.K.
- *1921 Miller, J.I., M.C.S., 4 Orley House, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, U.K.
- 1926 *1947 Mills, J.V., Hotel Stuart, Richmond, Surrey, U.K. (Council, 1919-30, 1932-33, 1936, 1938; Pres., 1937).
- 1933 Milne, Mrs C.E.L., Government English School, Muar, Johore, F.M.
- 1947 Mitchell, W.S., Boots Pure Drug Co (Far East) Ltd, Union Building, Singapore.

- 1948 Mohamed Ali bin Mohamed, Education Office, P.O. Box 1039, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Mohamed Hashim bin Mat Piah, Malay College. Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- 1949 Mohamed Eusoff, Haji, Co-operative Societies Dept, P.O. Box 1025, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1936 Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu, High School, Kajang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Mohamed Kassim bin Bador, Institute of Medical Research, P.O. Box 1005, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Mohamed Kassim bin Dato Nika Haji Abdul Rashid, Dato Undang of Sungei Ujong, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1922 Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji, *D.A.M.J., P.I.S.*, Private Secretary to H. H. the Sultan of Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1921 Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, The Hon'ble Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1948 Mohamed Shariff bin Osman, The Hon'ble Haji, *C.M.G., C.B.E.*, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
- 1946 Mohamed Seth bin Mohamed Said, 5 Bukit Meldrum. Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1948 Mole, R.F., Colonial Secretariat, Kuching, Sarawak.
- 1949 Mooney, T.H., *O.C.P.D.*, Gurun, Kedah, F.M.
- 1949 Moorthy, E. Sundra, Straits Times Press, Cecil Street, Singapore.
- 1946 Morgan, E.D., *M.C.S.*, Labour Office, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- * 1926 Morice, J., Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Morley, J.A.E., *M.B.E., M.C.S.*, Secretary to the British Adviser, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1948 Morrah, P., Malay Mail Press Co. Ltd, Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur-Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Morrell, Roy, Dept of English, University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1948 Morris, H.S., Colonial Secretariat, Kuching, Sarawak.
- 1948 Morris, R.H., Mukah, Sarawak.
- 1949 Morrison, A., District Officer, Lawas, Sarawak.
- 1949 Morrison, Mrs M., 17 Gallop Road, Singapore.
- * 1915 Mundell, H.D., Sisson & Delay, Singapore. (Council: 1918).
- 1948 Murray, H.L., Larut Tinfields, Taiping, Perak, F.M.
- 1934 Mustapha bin Tengku Besar Burhanuddin, Tungku, Ampang Tinggi, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1947 Namazie, The Hon'ble Mr M.J., 19 Malacca Street, Singapore.
- 1949 Nathan, K.W., Veterinary Dept, Tampin, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1947 Neill, T.D.H., *M.C.S.*, Secretariat for Chinese Affairs. Singapore.
- 1946 Newbould, Sir Alec, *K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C., E.D., M.C.S.*, Chief Secretary, Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1934 Nightingale, H.W., *M.C.S.*, Singapore Club, Singapore.
- 1933 Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, The Hon'ble Dato, *D.K., S.P.M.K.*, Mentri Besar, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1948-49).
- 1948 Nuttal, F.A., *S.H.Q.* Sgts' Mess, Royal Air Force, Changi, Singapore.
- 1947 Oppenheim, Prof. A., Dept of Mathematics, University of Malaya, Singapore.

- 1935 Oppenheim, H.R., Peet, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., Union Building, Singapore.
- 1925 Owen, A. I., c/o Chartered Bank, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1929 Pagden, H.T., Department of Agriculture, P.O. Box 1004, Kuala Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Panglima Bukit Gantang, Dato, 21 Hale Street, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1937 Payne, Dr C.H. Withers, Drew & Napier, P.O. Box 152, Singapore.
- 1937 Payne, E.M.F., M.A., B.Sc., Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1948 Peach, P.L., 2 Wesley Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1931 Peet, G.L., Straits Times Press, Cecil Street, Singapore. (Council, 1948-49).
- 1947 Pekelharing, R.C., Netherlands Consulate-General, Singapore.
- 1926 Penang Library, Penang, F.M.
- *1926 Pengilly, E.E., E.D., M.C.S., Office of the Commissioner of Lands Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1938 Persekutuan Guru-Guru Melayu, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- *1920 Peskett, A.D., Barclay's Bank, Weston-Super-Mare, Somerset, U.K.
- 1948 Phillipps, A.E., North Borneo Trading Co. Ltd, Sandakan, North Borneo.
- 1939 Pillay, Sandy G., 2nd floor, Laidlaw Building, Singapore.
- 1949 Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, U.K.
- 1937 Pooley, F.G., Messers Pregrave & Matthews, Penang, F.M.
- 1928 Powell, I.B., 100 Westward Rise, Barry, Glamorgan, U.K.
- 1932 Pretty, The Hon'ble Mr E.E.F., M.C.S., British Adviser, Brunei.
- 1935 *1947 Purcell, Dr V.W.W.S., C.M.G., Clutton, Normandy, near Guildford, Surrey, U.K.
- 1948 Purchase, C.E., Asst Attorney-General, Jesselton, North Borneo.
- 1947 Raja Ayoub bin Raja Haji Bot., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1929 Raja Razman bin Raja Abdul Hamid, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
- 1937 Ramani, R. K., M.A., B.L., Braddell & Ramani, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1929 *1949 Ramasay, A.B., M.C.S., Adviser of Lands, Alor Sar, Kedah, F.M.
- 1948 Rawson, Dr C.P., Department of Social Welfare, Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1932 *1940 Rawlings, G.S., M.C.S., Collector of Land Revenue, Malacca, F.M.
- 1947 Rea, Miss C.L., Methodist Girls' School, Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.
- *1924 Read, Dr J. G., M.B.E., Sungkai, Perak, F.M.
- 1937 Register, P.J.D., O.B.E., 6/8 Mountbatten Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1910 Reid, Dr Alfred, Batang Padang Estates, Tapah, F.M.
- 1930 Rentse, A., S.M.K., Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1947 Rentse, Miss B., c/o A. Rentse, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- *1921 Rex, Marcus, M.C.S., C.M.G.
- *1926 Rigby, W.E., M.C., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1938 Robb, L.T.A., Telok Pelandok Estate, Coast Road, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

- 1947 Robertson, Mrs D.S., Shell House, Shell Co. Penang, F.M.
- 1926 *1935 Robinson, P.M., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.3, U.K.
- 1936 Ross, A.N., M.C.S., Adviser Lands & Mines, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1949 Rowson, Major T.J., R.A., Mess, Blakang Mati, Singapore.
- 1949 Rubber Research Institute of Malaya, P.O. Box 150, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Salt, H., Straits Times Press, Cecil Street, Singapore.
- 1948 Samuels, A.B., Methodist Boys' School, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Samy, P., 2, Raffles Place, Singapore.
- *1923 Sanson, C.H., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd, Section G3, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1, U.K.
- *1919 Santry, D., Selamat, Hospital Road, Hill Crest, Natal, South Africa.
- 1946 Savage, H.E.F., Geological Survey F.M., Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.
- 1947 Schofield, M., 26 Swettenham Road, Singapore.
- 1935 Schweizer, H., Diethelm & Co. Ltd, P.O. Box 191, Singapore.
- 1947 Scott, Mrs G.J., P.O. Box 262, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1920 Scott, Dr W., Sungei Siput, Perak, F.M.
- 1948 Searl, G., Shell House, Collyer Quay, Singapore.
- 1948 Sehested, K., Singapore Club, Singapore.
- 1922 *1939 Sehested, S.
- 1949 Selangor Normal Students Association, c/o Batu Road School, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1937 Seri Maharaja, Tungku, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1949 Setchell, P.H., M.C.S., British Adviser's Office, Alor Star, Kedah.
- 1947 Shamaruddin bin Haji Abdulrahman, Dato, Kuala Klawang, Jelëbu, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1947 Shaw, H., M.C.S., Administrative Officer, Besut, Trengganu, F.M.
- 1929 Sheppard, M.C. ff., M.B.E., M.C.S., on leave (Vice-Pres., 1948-49).
- 1946 Sheridan, C.M., c/o Attorney General, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Silcock, Prof. T.H., Dept of Economics, University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1948 Sim, Mrs K., 24 Green Lane, Penang, F.M.
- 1948 Simmins, Major C.W., Department Custodian Enemy Estates, Tawau, North Borneo.
- 1948 Sinclair, J., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
- 1931 Singam, S. Durai Raja, Abdullah School, Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.
- 1947 Singaram, K., 121 Buffalo Road, Singapore.
- 1934 Sivapragasam, T., Co-operative Societies Dept, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1935 Skeat, W.W., "Pixies Holt", Llme Regis, Dorset, U.K.
- 1947 Skeldon, J., Mansfield & Co. Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
- *1926 Sleep, A., C.M.G., M.C.S., c/o Standard Bank of South Africa, Adderley Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
- 1948 Smith, F.M., British Adviser's Office, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
- 1924 Smith, The Hon'ble Mr J.D.M., C.M.G., M.C.S., Financial Secretary, Singapore.

- *1930 Soang, A.I.C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, S.E. Borneo.
 1940 Somerville, D. A., M.C.S., Administrative Officer, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.
 1949 Spradbrow, W.A., Superintendent, Government Printing Dept, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
 1949 Stanford University, Hoover Library of, Stanford, Southern California, U.S.A.
 1948 Staniforth, Major N., Depot Malay Regiment, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
 1928 *1940 Stanton, W.A., Woodland Manor, R.F.D. No. 3, Rockville, Maryland, U.S.A.
 1948 Starkey, C.Q., Mansfield & Co. Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
 1948 Steincke, M., East Asiatic Co. Ltd, Clarke Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
 1941 Stewart, Mrs N. I., Froynesfield Cottage, Nairn, U.K.
 *1917 Stirling, W.G., c/o Cox & King 10 Haymarket, London, S.W.1, U.K.
 1949 Stogdale, V.D.D., c/o P.W.D., Dungun, Trengganu, F.M.
 *1939 Stubbs, G.C., Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
 1946 Stutchbury, A.D., M.C.S., Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
 1926 Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.
 1949 Summer, J. H., Central Electricity Board, Govt Offices, Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.
 1947 Sundram, S.S., Government High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
 1949 Suter, H.U., Diethelm & Co. Ltd, P. O. Box 191, Singapore.
 1949 Syed Zainal Abidin bin Syed Hussain, State Public Relations Officer, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
 1948 Sykes, J. P., Cable & Wireless Ltd, Hongkong.
 1947 Tan, S. H., 82 Orchard Road, Singapore.
 1908 Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96 First Cross Street Malacca, F.M.
 1913 Tayler, C.J., c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
 *1928 Taylor, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E.N., Judge's Chambers, Supreme Court, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1948-49).
 1948 Taylor, Mrs E.M., Selayang Tin Dredging Ltd, Batu Caves, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
 1948 Taylor, T.K., High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
 1949 Ten Yoon Fong, Dr.
 1947 Texeira, The Revd Father M., Portuguese Church, Victoria Street Singapore.
 1941 Thambiah, S., B.A., Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
 1947 Thom, R.C., Malayan Police, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
 1938 Thomas, Francis, B.A., St Andrew's School, Singapore.
 1947 Thomas, N.E., Asst Controller of Telecommunications, Singapore.
 1948 Thompson, D.F., M.C.S., District Office, Bukit Mertajam, Province Wellesley, F.M.
 1946 Thomson, G.G., Public Relations Secretary, Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.
 1949 Treble, G. D., Semantan Estate, Mentakab, Pahang, F.M.

- 1947 Tratman, Prof. E.K., Faculty of Medicine, University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1949 Treeby, J.W.C., A.C.S.M., "Huma House", Batu Feringghi, Penang, F.M.
- 1948 Tuanku Mohamed School, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
- 1947 Tubb, J.A., Fisheries Dept, Sandakan, North Borneo.
- 1936 Triplicane University Library, Triplicane, Madras, India.
- 1930 Turner, H.G., M.C.S., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1932 Tweedie, M. W. F., M.A., C.M.Z.S., Director, Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore. (Hon. Treas., 1936-40; Hon. Secr. & Treas., 1946-49).
- 1947 Vaughan, R.F., Sandakan, North Borneo.
- 1937 Wade, G. H., Borneo Co. Ltd, Penang, F.M.
- 1948 Wagner, E.A.S., 5 Old Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1938 Wales, C.A., Tabanoc Estate, Lahud Datu, *via* Sandakan, North Borneo.
- 1931 Walker, F.S., Forest Office, P.O. Box 1042, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1947 Walker, G.S., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner's Office, Malacca, F.M.
- *1926 Wallace, W.A., Tewantin, *via* Cooray, Queensland, Australia.
- 1948 Wan Abdul Hamid, University of Malaya, Singapore.
- 1948 Wan Chik bin Ismail, Royal Air Force Regiment (Malaya) Depot, Sembawang, Singapore.
- 1923 Wan Idris bin Ibrahim, The Hon'ble Dato, D.P.M.J., P.I.S., Johore Bahru, Johore.
- 1949 Watson, Dr W.H., P.O. Box 6, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Weinbergen, W.M., c/o Lloyds Bank, Regent Street, London, U.K.
- 1949 Wernli, A., c/o Hooglandt & Co., P.O. Box 245, Singapore.
- 1949 West, R., M.C.S., Commissioner General's Office, Phoenix Park, Singapore.
- 1949 Wetzel, A., c/o Diethelm & Co. Ltd, P.O. Box 191, Singapore.
- 1948 Whale, K.L.V., Mansfield & Co. Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
- 1946 White, F.T.M., Mines Dept, Court Hill, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1935 White, L.E., Tebing Tinggi Estate, Kusial, Kelantan, F.M.
- 1923 Whitfield, L. D., P.O. Box 1053, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1926 Wilcoxson, W.J., Straits Trading Co. Ltd, Singapore.
- 1949 Wilfred, S.W., Bedford Estate, Slim River, Perak, F.M.
- *1926 Willan, The Hon'ble Sir Harold. C.M.G., M.C., Chief Justice F.M., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- *1921 Willbourne, Dr E.S.,
- 1947 William, E.C., Cold Storage Creameries Ltd, 186 Orchard Road, Singapore.
- 1921 *1946 Williams, R.M., "The Laurels", Cossington, Bridgwater, Somerset, U.K.
- 1946 Williams-Hunt, Major P.D.R., F.S.A., F.R.A.I., F.R.G.S., c/o Social Welfare Department, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Willis, I.R.M., M.C.S., District Officer, Christmas Island, *via* Singapore.

- 1949 Wilson, D.C.L., Settlement Collector, Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu, F.M.
- 1940 Windsor, Mrs E., Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.
- 1937 *1946 Winsley, Capt. T.M., 7 Burton Road. Mill Park. Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
- 1949 Wodak, E., 20 Fort Road, Singapore.
- 1934 Wolfe, Dr E.D.B., Deputy State Surgeon, Sungei Patani, Kedah, F.M.
- 1941 Wolters, O.W., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
- 1948 Woodroffe-Hill, M.J., Rothmans Ltd, P.O. Box 1098, Singapore.
- *1935 Worthington, A.F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hampshire, U.K. (Vice-Pres., 1924).
- 1948 Wu Lien-Teh, Dr, 12 Brewster Road, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
- 1940 Yao, T.L., c/o Hsu Yun Tsi'ao, P.O. Box 709, Singapore.
- 1948 Yapp Man Siu, District Office, Lamag, Kinabatangan. *via* Sandakan, North Borneo.
- *1923 Yates, H.S., 331 Jiannini Hall. Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
- 1932 Yeh Hua Fen, The Revd, 3A Asia Gardens, off Neil Road, Singapore.
- 1949 Yeoh Eng Hoe, H., Mawai Estate, Kota Tinggi, Johore, F.M.
- *1920 Yewdall, Major J.C., "Seatoller", Berkhamsted, Herts, U.K.
- *1904 Young, H.S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, U.K.
- 1920 Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, U.K.
- 1939 Zainal Abidin bin Kasahatan, District Office, Kuala Kubu Bahru, Selangor, F.M.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

by ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (OXON), F.R.G.S.

(Received, August 1949)

(Continued from *J.R.A.S.(M.B.)* Vol: XX, Pt: 1, pp: 161-186;
Pt: 2, pp: 1-19: Vol: XXII, Pt:1, pp: 1-24).

6. Langkasuka and Kedah

As stated in the 1948 edition of his history (272) the present views of Professor Coedès concerning Langkasuka are as follows, using his own spelling of the names:—

(1) P. 72, the Lang-ya-sieou of the *Liang Shu*, which reappears in the 7th century under the name of Lang-kia-chou and in the 12th under that of Lang-ya-sseu-kia is the Langkasuka of the Malay and Javanese Chronicles of which the name survives in modern geography as that of a tributary of the upper Perak River. ✓ It must have been situated astride the Peninsula with access to the Gulfs of Siam and Bengal and with a land-route;

(2) Pp. 133-134, the Kāmalanka of Huan-tsang is perhaps the same as the Lang-kia-chou of Yi Tsing, that is the same as Lankasuka, and it must, without doubt, be looked for in the Malay Peninsula;

(3) P. 241, Ilangācogam is Lankasuka;

(4) P. 383, the Long-ya-si-kao of Wang Ta-yuan in the middle of the 14th century is Lankasuka.

These views are different from those which he put forward in 1918 (315). There, as Dr. Luce says, he "connects the Ilangācogam of the Tanjore inscription (1030), the Lingya-ssū-chia of Chao Ju-Kua (1225) and the Lēnkasuka of the Nāgarak-ṛetāgama (1365), but distinguishes them from the Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang Shu*, the Lang-ya-hsü of the *Sui Shu*, and the Lang-chia-shu of I-ching" (229, p. 166).

It will be noticed that Professor Coedès now abstains from identifying Langkasuka with the settlement at the foot of Kedah Peak and leaves it generally on the Malay Peninsula. He considers that Kaṭāha and Kaḍāram represent Kedah (272, pp: 240, 242) and, when one compares that with what he says about Ilangāsōka, it seems clear that he does not hold any longer to the 1918 identification.

It is proposed now to discuss chronologically the available evidence for the location of the Ilangāsōka (Langkasuka) and Kaḍāram, which appear in the Tanjore inscription. Nearly all of

it is derived from Chinese sources, in connection with which there are many difficulties for those who are not sinologists.

Chinese Names. In the first place, as Mr. Forrest says (330, p. 15) "The romanisation of Chinese is at present in confusion, and even if we were to confine our attention to the northern ('Mandarin') dialects, it is not easy to pick out a system in all respects suitable for our purposes. The Wade system has wide currency among foreign students of the standard dialect; but it is hardly phonetically precise enough for scientific use, and suffers from the fault of being inadaptably to the representation of the sounds of non-"Mandarin" dialects, let alone those of the aboriginal or contiguous language with which Chinese is to be compared. These faults it shares with the new and officially adopted 'National Alphabet', which adds others of its own; both were devised to meet practical ends rather than linguistic". These difficulties are illustrated by reference to McGovern (331, p. 459), Dubs (332, p. 23), and Lafourette in his recent *Short History of the Far East*, 1947, pp: 6-7, n.

One finds great divergences in the romanisation of Chinese place-names amongst those who write in English, though modern writers in French display a welcome uniformity since they follow the method prescribed by the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*. In this paper the romanisation of the main authority cited will be used with such variants in brackets as seem to be useful: the main place-names are printed in heavy type and the Appendix contains the necessary Chinese characters. For modern Chinese names the excellent collection by Mr. Firmstone (333) is most useful.

In searching for the Malaysian equivalent of a Chinese place-name, we have to remember the local dialects, as to which a writer in the *Geographical Journal*¹ says "Any Chinese who speaks Northern Mandarin, which has come to be called the National Language, would read the character of every Post Office name in the Northern pronunciation, unless he has local knowledge, and would not recognize the correct dialect pronunciation. Thus the name which is printed conventionally in the Post Office List as Hongkong, and is locally pronounced something like Hoenggong, would be read by him as Shiang-gaang".

The most important dialects in the South Sea to-day are the Amoy-Swato and the Cantonese ones. It is reasonable to think that this must have been so from the earliest times of Chinese enterprise overseas, since it is South China to which we must look for the sea connection with Malaysian ports. Many local names must have been carried back to China in these dialects. Thus, the

(1) The Romanisation of Chinese Place-names by A. R. H., 1943, vol: CII, no: 2, pp: 67-71.

old indigenous name for Singapore was Tamasek in Malay and Tumasik in Javanese. It appears in the Peking dialect as T'an-ma-hsi but in Amoy Hokkien it is Tam-ma-sek, the exact equivalent (321, p. 22). Accordingly, one is more likely to reach a proper idea of an indigenous name, which was imported by seamen into China, by rendering the sound in the Amoy-Swatow or Cantonese dialects than in the Peking pronunciation, into which sinologists always romanize.

It is clear, at all events, that nobody, who is not a skilled sinologist, should attempt himself to find similarities between extant Malaysian names and Chinese ones; but, though the sinologists must supply the necessary facts, it is possible for others to consider what conclusions should be drawn from those facts.

The next difficulty arises out of the different series of names which we get at different periods. Not only do we get different names but often the same name appears in different characters; and the name of what is apparently the same place or district is often given in variant form. We have been unable to find any explanation of these facts by a sinologist. For the earliest series of names Hirth (261, pp: 11-12) has suggested that foreign embassies and travellers were subjected to a kind of set cross-examination when they reached the Court and that this was done by one or several interpreters. He accepts the view that in Han times the trading language of the Orient was Greek and for that he cites Reinaud (334, p. 162), whose book, though published in 1863, is still of great importance for the earliest connections of the West with India and China. Hirth thinks that the language spoken by the embassy or the traveller would be translated by an interpreter, who understood it, into Greek and then, perhaps by a different interpreter, from Greek into the language spoken at the Chinese court. The early Chinese records speak frequently of "double interpreters" and "envoy interpreters" so that one does get the general impression that Hirth's suggestion is right in principle. When received by the Chinese officials, the sounds as they conceived them to be would have been expressed in *kuan hua*, the "official speech" of the court and its capital.

When the Chinese themselves traded overseas, one imagines that they would have brought back names which may well have passed into current usage; and the sounds of these names would have been carried from one dialect to another, reaching the records in the official speech. There were, too, changes of the capital at different times and this may have affected the sounds of the names.

The last difficulty, which may be noted, is the vagueness of so much geographical information in the dynastic histories and ency-

clopaedias. During Han times and thereafter it became recognized that it was the duty of a dynasty to cause the history of its predecessor to be compiled and a nearly uniform model was followed based upon the first of the histories, Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, or Historical Record, which he wrote at the close of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century B.C. (151, p. 84).² In the histories there are three main sections, the last of which contains biographies of eminent persons and a detail of all that was known respecting foreign nations (335, p. 15). But Professir Dubs points out that the histories were merely records of events "written by bureaucrats attached to the central government and for the use of such bureaucrats" (332, pp: 29, 31). Such persons, one would imagine, would not be interested greatly in exact geographical details and this may explain the loose generalities so often found.

The old Chinese encyclopaedias consist almost entirely of selected quotations from earlier writers and the name of encyclopaedia is applied to them only because they comprise the whole realm of knowledge (336, p. 85). Hardly ever do they give the sources from which they are quoting and this makes it difficult often to ascertain the exact dating of the facts and place-names which they give.

Sea-Route. It is as well to remember some of the general facts concerning the sea-route from China to Malaya and India, which ran down the coast of Indo-China for so many centuries.

"The history of eastern Indo-China begins, towards the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., with the founding of the kingdom of Nan-yue (Ann. Nam-viêt), of which the sovereign Tchao T'ò (ann. Trieu Da) subdued Tonkin and North Annam, which he divided into two large provinces: Kiao-tche (ann. Giao-chi) and Kieou-tchen (ann. Cün-chân), the first corresponding to the Tonkinese delta, the second to the three northern provinces of the present Annam: Than-hoa, Nghe-an and Ha-tinh" (150, p. 63).

The capital of Nan Yüeh (Nan-yue) was at what is now Canton and the kingdom seems to have comprised much of the present Kwangsi and Kwangtung together with the portions of Indo-China mentioned above (151, p. 107). The ancient pronunciation of Chiao-chih (Kiao-tche) was Kiao-chi (154, p. 3, n. 2) and the Chinese knew the Gulf of Tongking as the Sea of Chiao-chih. In 108 B.C. the Western Han Emperor Wu Ti conquered Nan Yüeh and added its territories to the Han empire, which before his death extended on the south to include much of what is now Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hainan, the north-eastern section of French Indo-China, Kweichow, and Yunnan

(2) This authority is cited now in the Third Edition Revised, 1946.

(151, pp: 107, 108). Wu Ti divided the Indo-Chinese part of his empire into three commanderies: Chiao-chih, Chiu-chên (Kieou-tchen) and Jih-nan (Je-nan), which last formed the southern-most part of the Chinese empire. It is agreed that the northern limit of Jih-nan was the modern Hoanh-son, but there is a difference of opinion as to the southern, Maspero thinking that it reached the modern Huè, Pelliot that it reached Tcurane, and Aurousseau that it extended as far as Cape Varella (150, p. 63, n. 2). Professor Coedès (272, p. 77) puts Jih-nan as "between Porte d'Annam and the Col des Nuages", while Dr. Chang (154, p. 2) says that it "more or less corresponds to the modern province of An in Annam".

A passage in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, the history of the Western Han dynasty written by Pan Ku, 32-92 A.D. (337), gives a sea-route "from the barriers of Jih-nan, Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u" as far as a kingdom called Huang-chih (Houang-tche). This passage, which has been translated in full by Dr. Luce (338, pp: 97-99), is considered by Pelliot to form historical proof that China was in sea-communication with India from the first years of the first century B.C. (339, p. 459, n.). He says (*ibid*: p. 460) that the account clearly joins information going back to the period 140-86 B.C. with information obtained from an embassy sent to Huang-chih by the Emperor Wang Mang, whose period, 8-23 A.D., divided the Western from the Eastern Han. On the outward journey Huang-chih was reached by a final sea stage from the kingdom of Fu-kan-tu-lu, an overland route having been used to the latter from the Shên-li kingdom, up to which point the journey had been all by sea. On the return journey, however, the route is stated as being entirely by sea. The various places mentioned on the voyage after the starting points cannot be located, except possibly Huang-chih and Fu-kan-tu-lu; but it seems to be accepted that Pelliot's view is in general correct (see 185, 186). It is worthy of remark that a Chinese coin about the 2nd century B.C. was found in excavations at Candravalli in Mysore (185, pp: 386-7). Dr. Luce has discussed the various views in his valuable paper, which deals more particularly with Fu-kan-tu-lu (338). Ferrand considered that Huang-chih was Kāñcī, modern Conjeeveram, and that Fu-kan-tu-lu was the ancient Pagan, the ruins of which stand on the left bank of the Irrawaddy River, 21° 10' N (144, xiv, pp: 45-48).

Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u were two sub-prefectures of Ho-p'u on the southern coast of the present Kwangtung province (338, p. 97, n. 1) and the starting points of the route in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* were, therefore, in south China and north-eastern Annam. The account makes it perfectly clear that the Chinese at that time travelled in "the merchant ships of the barbarians".

Ptolemy's Geography was written while the Eastern or Later Han dynasty, A.D. 25-220,³ was ruling China from its capital Lo-yang, which was near the present Honanfu in the province of Honan. From Ptolemy we get the first full statement of the trade-routes by land and by sea to China from the Roman Orient, which the Chinese called Ta-ch'in. The land route passed through the Tarim Valley into north China, which Ptolemy called Sērīkē, its people being the Sērēs and its metropolis Sēra. These three names derive from the Greek word *sēr*, "silk", which in turn was derived from the Chinese *ssi*, meaning the same. The northern land route is often called the Silk Route, the southern sea route being the Spice Route. Ptolemy gives the terminus of the latter as "Kattigara, the harbour of the Sinai" and says that the northern limits of the Sinai touched Sērīkē. It is considered usually that the country of the Sinai represented the southern part of the Chinese empire as it was then and thus included Tongking and north-eastern Annam. Modern opinion in general places Kattigara on the delta of the Red River in Tongking and possibly where Hanoi is to-day. It should, however, be noted that in consequence of the discoveries at Go Oc Eo, at Rachgia in about 10° N., R.A. Stein and Paul Levy have concluded that Kattigara was located in what is now Cochinchina, probably near the present Baria, and Stein identifies it with the Ch'ü-tu (Chü-tu-kien) of the *Liang Shu*. Unfortunately, their respective papers are not yet in Singapore and, for the time being, I can only refer the reader to the review of the 1948 edition of Professor Coedès' history (272) by Professor Lawrence P. Briggs in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. VIII, Number 3, May 1949, at pp: 373-375. The capital of the Sinai was Thinai which, if historically possible, might have been the old Chien-yeh or Chien-k'ang, modern Nanking, "south capital". On the historical facts Sēra must have been Lo-yang.

At Kattigara goods were landed and passengers disembarked, the rest of the journey to the Chinese capital being made along post-roads.

In 192 A.D. the kingdom of Champa came into being and comprised in course of time the Indo-Chinese coast-line as far south as Panduranga with the more northern provinces of Kanthāra (Khanh-hoa), Vijaya (Binh-dinh), Amāravatī (Quang-nam), and the capital at the present Tra-Kieū, 30 km. south of Tourane (150, p. 65). The first Chinese name for Champa was Lin-i (Lin-yi; Ling-i).

The ancient kingdom of Funan (Fou-nan) can be traced to the beginning of the Christian era and attained its highest power towards 200 A.D. It occupied the delta and lower valley of the

(3) There is much confusion as to Chinese dating but the latest views are used in this paper.

Mekong with the coast of the present Cochin-China, and extended its power into the present Siam and as far south as the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and the isthmuses of Kra and Ligor. It derived its wealth and power from the command of the sea-route but towards the end of the 6th century A.D. it was overwhelmed by its vassal, the Khmer state which the Chinese called Chên-la; and the command of the sea-route with the consequent wealth and power then passed to Chên-la.

The so-called embassy of Roman merchants to China in 166 A.D. arrived by sea in north-eastern Annam and proceeded by land in all probability to the Court of the Emperor Huân, where offerings were made. But it seems safe to say that, though Jih-nan and Chiao-chih continued for long to be important terminuses, Canton had become the end of the sea-route by the second half of the 3rd century A.D. (154, p. 14).

2512549

After the disruption of the Han Empire there followed the disturbed period which the Chinese call the Six Dynasties and which is often described as the Dark Ages in China. These dynasties were the Wei, Chin, Sung, Chi, Liang, and Ch'ên, the whole period lasting from 220-589 A.D. Strangely enough, commerce continued to flourish despite the political disturbances and the sea-route maintained its activity, due to the energy of Indians, Arabs and Persians (154, p. 5). About 226 A.D. Ardashir founded the Sasanid dynasty in the province of Pars, or Persia, in the southwestern portion of the Iranian plateau, and thereafter the Sasanids extended their dominions until they controlled the coasts. They built up a powerful marine and their ships in course of time became familiar in Chinese ports, where they were known as *Po-ssî*. The histories of the Six Dynasties, particularly the *Sung Shu* and the *Liang Shu*, contain much information about countries in the South Sea and the history of Langkasuka begins in the *Liang Shu*, which says also that the South Sea countries were, generally speaking, situated at the south-west of the land of Chiao-chih on the islands of the sea and that since the accession of the Liang dynasty (502-557 A.D.) they had come over the sea every year for getting an almanac and paying tribute, in greater numbers than in any former time (148, p. 128).

The Liangs were followed by the Ch'êns (557-589 A.D.), after whom China became unified once more under the Suis (589-618). Then came the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), whose glory has caused the Chinese of the far South to denominate themselves "the men of T'ang" (151, p. 215). Foreign trade now reached greater proportions than ever; but, once again, it was due chiefly to the initiative of foreigners (151, p. 193). The sea-routes to the south saw a great increase of shipping and in T'ang times Canton (Kwang-chow) won its final supremacy over the Indo-Chinese ports, while Ch'üanchow, near the present Amoy, entered into strong com-

petition for overseas trade by the 9th century A.D. (154, p. 12). Archaeologically, it may be noted that Chinese celadon ware becomes almost universal in Asia in and after the 9th century A.D. Professor Latourette (151, p. 195) writes of this period "Whether many Chinese merchants journeyed to foreign lands seems very doubtful. We know that for at least a time under T'ai Tsung an imperial rescript forbade Chinese going abroad—from which it may be fair to assume that some were in the habit of doing so. Chinese knowledge of the geography of neighbouring lands was increasing, but, with the one exception to be noted in a moment, the accounts that have come down to us in any complete form appear not to have been derived through first-hand observation but from the kind of information which might seep through from aliens". His one exception was Hsüan-chuang but, as will be seen, that first-hand information applied to the land routes. For the sea-route in the 7th century A.D. we have the first-hand information of I-ching (Yi-tsing, I-tsing).

Of the histories of these dynasties it should be noted that the *Sung Shu*, the *Chin Shu* and the *Ch'i Shu* were compiled by Shen Yo, 441-512 A.D.; the *Liang Shu* and the *Ch'ên Shu* were compiled by Yao Chien, who died in 643 A.D.; the *Sui Shu*, according to Dr. Luce, was compiled by Wei Cheng, 581-643 A.D., but, according to Professor Latourette, by an imperial commission under T'ang Tai Tsung, who reigned 627-649 A.D.; the *Pei Shih*, or Northern History, and the *Nan Shih*, or Southern History, were compiled by Li Yen-shou of the 7th century A.D. (see generally 151). Unfortunately, there are two T'ang histories, the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, or Old T'ang History, and the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, or New T'ang History, and the latter is the source of much trouble and confusion. The former was compiled shortly after the fall of the dynasty and the latter in the 11th century A.D. The former appears to be of the greater value as evidence, for the reasons which have been stated in my paper on Sambas and Borneo.⁴ An exceedingly valuable authority for the T'ang period is the *T'ung T'ien*, an encyclopaedia completed by Tu Yu in 812 A.D., of which, however, only a few passages have been translated.

After the T'angs came the period known as the Five Dynasties, 907-960 A.D., and then the Sung dynasty, 960-1279 A.D., which is divided usually into Northern Sung up to 1127 A.D., when it lost northern China to the Mongols, and Southern Sung thereafter, when the capital became fixed at Lin-an, the present Hangchow (151, p. 229). Of the histories of these periods it may be noted that the *Chin Shih* and the *Sung Shih* were compiled by T'o-t'o, a Mongol, whom Dr. Luce dates 1313-1355 A.D.

(4) J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XXII, Pt: 4, p. 5.

It was during the Sung period that the compass ("south-pointing needle") came into use by the Chinese for navigation and that for the first time the Chinese obtained control of the sea-route to the South Sea and to India: and during this period Chinese trade reached its greatest extension, Chüanchow becoming predominant as the chief centre of their overseas enterprise (151, p. 237). For the understanding of Sung navigation and their geographical ideas of the countries in the South Sea three encyclopaedias are of outstanding importance, the *P'ing-chou k'o tan* of Chu Yü, completed in the first quarter of the 12th century A.D., the *Ling Wai Tai Ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei, compiled in 1178 A.D., and the *Chu Fan Chi* of Chau Ju-Kua, compiled in 1225 A.D.; but of these a complete translation of the last only is available (226). For the others one can use only such few passages as have been translated. Other important encyclopaedias of the Sung period are the *T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi*, compiled by Li Fang (925-996 A.D.) and completed in 978 A.D., the *T'ai P'ing Yu Lan*, also compiled by Li Fang and others and completed in 978 A.D., and the *T'ung Chih*, compiled by Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162 A.D.). In modern times the *T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi* and the *T'ai P'ing Yu Lan* "have been among the principal sources from which lost pre-Sung writings have been re-collected" (336, p. 92). For all these encyclopaedias, again, we have to rely upon mere references for the most part. Finally, we can note here the *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*, an encyclopaedia compiled by Ma Tuan-lin, who lived at the end of the Sung and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, 1279-1368 A.D. Other authorities will be noted as they are cited below. Ma Tuan-lin's work has been translated in full by de Saint-Denys (230) but the translation is said to be indifferent. The material in Ma Tuan-lin "on the period before A.D. 756 was almost all taken from the *T'ung Tien*, although a certain amount of material neglected by that work was supplied from other sources. The material for the period between 756 and 1224 was collected by Ma, his sources being standard histories, *hui yao*, such individual records as he considered reliable, and writings of the kind generally classified as belles-lettres. The Sung dynasty is more fully treated than any other, valuable material frequently being included which does not appear in the *Sung Shih*" (336, p. 131).

It is very clear that local sinologists can assist greatly in the reconstruction of the history of ancient Malaysia by providing translations of such relevant passages as are yet untranslated, and a great debt would be owed to such of them as would be content merely to supply those translations, giving the Chinese names and characters without any attempt to locate them in the text and thus avoiding the pit-falls of Groeneveldt (148).

Lang-Ya-Hsiu. There is general agreement amongst sinologists and historians that this Chinese name represents the Malay

Langkasuka and, accordingly, it can be said that the history of Langkasuka begins with the Chinese notices of Lang-ya-hsiu (Lang-ya-sieou), which is recorded in the *Liang Shu* as having sent embassies to China in 515, 523 and 531 A.D. and in the *Ch'ên Shu* as having sent one in 568 A.D. (129, p. 405). The notice in the former history has been translated in full by Groeneveldt, who writes the name as Lang-ga-siu (148, pp: 135-137), and almost in full by Luce (229, pp: 163-164), whose romanisation of the name we follow.

At the time when Lang-ya-hsiu first appears, Funan would seem to have been still the overlord of the Malay Peninsula; and the first envoys from Lang-ya-hsiu stated that according to the tradition of their kingdom it had been founded 400 years ago, which would take us to the 1st century A.D. Whether that tradition was correct or not, it is safe to say that Lang-ya-hsiu was an ancient kingdom before ever it came into relations with China.

The only geographical information in the *Liang Shu* is that Lang-ya-hsiu was in the South Sea 24,000 *li* from Canton and that from east to west it was 30 days' march, from south to north 20 days' march. Its climate and products were stated to be somewhat like those of Funan; aloes and camphor were specially abundant. The name is written in the *Liang Shu* also in the shorter form Lang-ya.

The notice in the *Ch'ên Shu* has not been translated and Pelliot (129, p. 405, n. 7) refers also to the *Ts'e Fu Ywan Kuei*, an encyclopaedia completed in 1013 A.D., which again has not been translated. Mr. Hsü in his summary of references to Lang-ya-siu, as he writes it, does not mention this encyclopaedia or the *Ch'ên Shu*, but says that the account in the *T'ung Tien* is similar to that in the *Liang Shu* (340, pp: 57-58).

So far the facts do not enable one to place Lang-ya-hsiu but the *Chiu T'ang Shu* says (229, p. 170) that P'an-p'an "lies to the south-west of Lin-i (Champa) in a corner of the sea. To the north it is parted from Lin-i by a small sea. One can reach it by boat from Chiao-chou (Tongking) in 40 days. The country is confederate with Lang-ya-hsiu", this last being written with the same characters as in the *Liang Shu*. Charignon (341, p. 241) gives the *Chiu T'ang Shu* as saying that "the country of P'an-p'an lies to the west of Lin-i, upon a cape in the South Sea". The "small sea" which parted P'an-p'an from Lin-i must be the Gulf of Siam (129, p. 229, n. 2). Dr. Luce discusses the various views up to 1924 as to the location of P'an-p'an and summarizes (229, p. 172) "That P'an-p'an was on the east coast of the peninsula, is not disputed; the only question is its latitude. In fixing this, we must bear in mind (i) that it was south of Dvāvaratī, (ii) that it was north-west

of Ko-lo, (iii) that it adjoined Lang-ya-hsiu". To explain this last sentence reference must be made first to the notice in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* of a kingdom which Mr. Hsü writes as Tuo-ho-lo and others as To-ho-lo. As translated by Mr. Hsü (342, p. 1) it runs "The State of Tuo-ho-lo is bounded in the south by P'an-p'an, in the north by Kia-lo-sheh-fu, in the east by Chen-la (Cambodia), and in the west by the great sea, being five month voyage from Canton". In the same history the notice of Chên-la says that this state is bounded on the west by Tuo-lo-po-ti (To-lo-po-ti) and in the south by a small sea. To-ho-lo, or To-ho-lo-po-ti, is accepted by all as Dvāravātī, the capital of which was at Nakon Prathom (272, p. 131).

The *Hsin T'ang Shu* says that south-east of P'an-p'an was Ko-lo, also called Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, and the references to Ko-lo are collected and discussed by Dr. Luce (229, pp: 178-189). The net result of Dr. Luce's discussion and the views of Pelliot and Ferrand as to the location of Ko-lo are summarized by Professor Coedès when he places it "in the region of Kedah or of Kra" (272, p. 159, n. 5).

Mr. Hsü has added a number of new translations and much useful information in his paper on Dvārapati (342) and it must be remembered in connection with this and his other papers that, in addition to being a Chinese scholar, he has lived in Malaya and in various parts of Siam, whose language he speaks, reads and writes. He cites the *T'ung Tien* (ibid: p. 59) as mentioning that "Ko-lo or Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo has been heard of since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) as having been situated south-east of P'an-p'an" and, after a discussion of various views as to its proper location, considers that it was the isthmus of Kra. He considers that "P'an-p'an should be identified with Pran-puri (Pranpun), as the *Sui Shu* says that T'u-ho-lo was bounded by P'an-p'an at the south. T'u-ho-lo has been identified with Dvaravati which represents the present Nakhon Prathom. Though Ko-lo is said to be at its south, that might be south-east since one would start sailing towards the east first, before turning to the south on account of the shoals along the coast" (340, p. 49).

Professor Coedès says that P'an-p'an was situated on the Malay Peninsula (272, p. 62), a coastal place on the Gulf of Siam (ibid: p. 90), but does not give any closer identification. Dr. Quaritch Wales thinks that Wieng Sra may well have been the first capital of P'an-p'an (228, pp: 74-75), which spanned the Malay Peninsula on either side of the trans-peninsular route (ibid: p. 85), and in his Map of Greater India (ibid: facing p. 12) shows it across the Peninsula above the Bay of Bandon.

The net result of the Chinese records, so far available to the non-sinologist, proves that in their ideas Lang-ya-hsiu was primarily

an east coast state and it is only the size of the kingdom as given in the *Liang Shu* which leads to the supposition that it traversed the Peninsula to its west coast. As we have seen, Professor Coedès accepts this supposition. Sir Richard Winstedt in his latest work *Malaya and Its History*, p. 28, writes that Langkasuka "with a capital in what is now Kedah, probably straddled from sea to sea, controlling one of India's early land-routes to Indo-China"; and it is clear from what he writes at p. 18, and again at p. 28, that he accepts the Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang Shu* as having been Langkasuka, which at p. 18 he equates with Kedah. Mr. Hsü after a summary of Chinese references identifies "Lang-ya-siu in the Liang dynasty as a Mon-Khmer country at Ligor"; and states his views as to the series of countries in the Sui and T'ang Dynasties that they were "P'an-p'an (now Pranpuri, i.e. Hua Hin) in the north, Ko-lo at the Isthmus of Kra, Lang-ya-siu in Ligor, Ch'ih-t'u in Singora, and Lo-yueh in Johore as identified by Pelliot" (340, p. 59).

We submit that there is nothing in these Chinese records which could enable one to say that the Lang-ya-hsiu of the Liang and T'ang periods was Kedah.

Dr. Linehan has suggested that the name Langkasuka may have been Langka Asoka, to which Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that he sees no objection except that there is no evidence to support the supposition.⁵ That is so: but there is a piece of evidence that at least one Chinese author confused Lang-ya-hsiu with the island of Langka (Ceylon). Charignon cites a work which he writes as the *Tien-hia-kiun-kuo* to the effect that "The country of the Mountain Silan is the ancient Lang-ya-sieou"; and the context shows clearly that Ceylon is meant.⁶ I have no note of this Chinese work.

Leng-Chia-Shu. The next reference to Langkasuka would seem to occur in the *Hsu Kao Seng Chuan*, an encyclopaedia compiled by Tao-hsuan, 596-647 A.D. (335, p. 206). Mr. Hsü (340, p. 58) says that this work "mentions that Kunarada wished to sail to the country of Leng-chia-shu" and he tells me that nothing beyond this bare fact is stated. He has supplied me with the Chinese characters which appear in the Appendix and tells me that this is the earliest record in which *Leng* or *Ling* appears as a variant for *Lang* in the series of Chinese names transcribing the Malay Langkasuka.

Lang-Ya-Hsu. It is accepted by sinologists and historians that the Lang-ya-hsü which we are about to discuss is the same as the Lang-ya-hsiu previously discussed and is a transcription of

(5) J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1948, vol. XXI, Pt. 1, pp. 119-123 at p. 122.
 (6) See his work on Pinto, 1936, p. 63.

Langkasuka. The name appears in the accounts of a mission despatched by the Sui Emperor Yang Ti in 607 A.D. under the leadership of Ch'ang Chün (Chang Tsun) to the kingdom which the Chinese called Ch'ih-t'u. Dr. Luce (229, pp: 174-175) has translated a large part of the account in the *Sui Shu* and Mr. Hsü (343, pp: 1-3) has translated the whole of it as well as the whole of the account in the *T'ung Tien* (ibid: pp: 3-4). There is also an account in the *Pei Shih* (229, p. 173) but it has not been translated. Reference for the account in the *Sui Shu* may be made also to Schlegel (174, ix, pp: 194-195), Charignon (341, pp: 325-326), Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 8, n. 2) and Ferrand (144, xiii, pp: 307-308). Mr. Hsü writes the name given in the *Sui Shu* as Lang-ya-hsü, as does Dr. Luce, but the name in the *T'ung Tien* as Lang-ya-hsiu. There can be no doubt that the two are one and the same place. Notices of Ch'ih-t'u will be found also in the *T'ung Chih*, not translated, and in Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp: 471-475).

Nearly all the names of places given in the *Sui Shu* and *T'ung Tien* accounts of Ch'ang Chün's mission occur nowhere else (343, p. 6) and there are divergences of opinion as to where exactly they should be located but everybody is agreed that the course taken was down the Indo-Chinese coast, across the bottom of the Gulf of Siam to the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and the description of the return journey makes this perfectly clear. As translated by Mr. Hsü (343, p. 3) the *Sui Shu* says of this return journey "Upon entering the sea swarms of green fishes hover above the water. After sailing for over ten days they reached the southeast of Ling-i, the vessel running between mountains, the straits being more than one thousand steps in width; but the water smelled yellowish raw for more than a whole day. It was said to be the odor emitted from the refuse of enormous fish. Along the shore northward they reached Chiao-chih (Annam)." Dr. Luce translates a very small part of this passage but is more clear where he has "After more than 10 days' sail over the sea, they reached the southeast of Lin-i and sailed parallel to the mountains" (229, p. 175). It would seem certain that the place where the water was yellow and smelled was opposite the mouth of the Mekhong and Crawford (84, p. 59) says that, as his ship approached Cambodia, "the water was as disturbed and muddy as at the mouth of the Ganges, in the westerly monsoon. This, as I afterwards understood, was occasioned by the river of Camao, called by the Kambojans, from the abundance of mud which it carries along with it, Takmao, or the "black stream"."

In Ch'ang Chün's voyage we get the first Chinese description of the coastal sea-route and this is a convenient point at which to illustrate the advantages of that route from statements made at the beginning of the 19th century.

In his navigational *Memoirs*, 1805, Horsburgh writes "Leaving Sincapour Strait or Pulo Aor, steer along the coast of Tringany to the Redang Islands; from thence across the mouth of the Siam Gulph, to the coast of Cambodia; keeping the coast of Cochin China on board to Cape Turon, smooth water will be experienced during the route. From Cape Turon, it is not above half a day's run to the south-west part of Hai-nam; this island may be coasted along to Hai-nam Head (being the N.E. promontory), passing between it and the Taya Islands. The run from thence may be accomplished in half a day to the coast of China, about Tien-pe-heim (or Tien-pak), or more easterly about Hai-liu. The islands may be coasted along at discretion, to Canton River; or shelter taken among them on emergency". This passage refers, of course, to the voyage up on the SW monsoon; and of the return passage he says "the coast of Cochin China is mostly all high land and safe to stand to near the shore there being no dangers but what are generally visible above water. On the North part of the coast there are land breezes in the mornings near the shore in the early part of the North-East monsoon and also to Southward light land and sea breezes at times in November. In general the wind most prevalent even in November and October and frequently in September is the North-East monsoon from Cape Turon to Cape Padaram."

The reader will find White's book (344) a most useful one for the navigational facts of what he calls the coast of Onam or Cochin-China. He says (p. 83) "The whole country, in its present limits, extends from the latitude of $8^{\circ} 40'$ to $17^{\circ} 0'$ north, and from Cape Avarella, in longitude $109^{\circ} 24'$ east, it extends from the coast about one hundred and fifty miles westward". A chain of mountains runs from Cape St. James to the gulf of Tonquin (as he writes it) and he says (pp: 72-73) "The coast is bold, abounding in great varieties of fish, and affords every facility to the navigator, having good anchorage in every part (though near Cape Avarella, the easternmost land of Cochin China, the soundings extend but a short distance from the shore); and there is no invisable danger on the coast, excepting Holland's bank, which lies three or four leagues to the north-west of the island of Pulo Ciecer de Mer, (between which two there is a safe channel,) Britto's Bank, (situated near the main land, on the same parallel as Pulo Ciecer de Mer,) and a shoal bank, situated between Pulo Ciecer de Terre and Cape Padaran, but the latter is not in the way of ships navigating along the coast".

This route would obviously have presented great attractions to navigators from the earliest times, more particularly as there were important trading stations along it.

✓ The course taken by Ch'ang Chün's mission was as follows. In the 10th moon of 607 A.D. it sailed from Canton on a fair wind,

i.e. the NE monsoon, for more than 20 days until it reached Tsiao Shih hill (Chiao-shih, "Scorched Rock"), which it rounded south-east and then anchored at Ling-chia-po-pa-to (Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to), which faced Lin-i (Champa) on the west and on which there was a temple. Ling-chia-po-pa-to is accepted as a transcription of the Indian name Lingaparvata. Then, going south, it reached Shih-tze-shih (Shih-tzu-shih, "Lion Rock"). From there, according to Dr. Luce, along a continuous line of islands, after 2 or 3 days' voyage, it opened in the west the mountains of Lang-ya-hsü kingdom. Mr. Hsü has "further south they reached Shih-tze-shih (the Lion Rock) whence islets appeared like chains", and the *Tung Tien*, as translated by him, has "where there appeared many islets". After Lang-ya-hsü the mission went to the south past Chi-lung (Cock Cage) island "within the jurisdiction of Ch'ih-t'u", according to Mr. Hsü. Dr. Luce has "Thence to the south they left Chi-lung ("Fowls' Cage") island and reached the borders of Ch'ih-t'u". Dr. Luce then omits some words and proceeds "Their boat being towed by cable, after more than a month they reached the capital". Mr. Hsü in the *Sui Shu* has merely "It took more than a month to reach the capital" and nothing at all about being towed by cable. His translation of the *Tung Tien* has "In a month's time they reached the capital" and there is nothing about towing. This is not unimportant since many writers have thought that Seng-chih, the capital of the State, must have been up a river; and Mr. Hsü is emphatic that there is no mention of any river in either account (343, p. 8). The name of the capital is given in the *Tung Tien* as Shih-tze-cheng, which is literally "the Lion City", and Mr. Hsü says that this accords with Singora "which in the *Maritime Chart of Cheng Ho* could be identified with Sun-ku-na, in *Ching Tung Tien* and *Ch'ing Tung K'ao* as Sung-chü-lao, in *Hai Kuo Wen Chien Lu* as Sung-chü, and in *Hai Lu* as Sung-k'a which is now a popular name among the Oversea-Chinese. The term Singora came from Sanskrit, meaning the Lion Seat or the Lion City." His view is that Ch'ih-t'u must be placed in Songkhla (Singora) and Patani: he does not accept the view of Mr. Moens that it should be identified with Pathalung. Professor Coedès, however, has adopted this last identification (272, p. 89). In either event it is the east coast and the argument resolves itself again into the question of latitude. Therefore, Lang-ya-hsü must also be on the east coast but north of Ch'ih-t'u, and Ligor fits in either view.

Ch'ih-t'u, means "Red Land" and was a name which the accounts in the *Sui Shu* and the *Tung Tien* tell us was given to it because the earth was coloured red. It would seem clear that the Chinese name is, accordingly, a transcription of the Malay name *Tanah Merah*, "red land"; but the latter is a name given to literally scores of places throughout Malaysia, where laterite and red earth form so marked a feature of the landscape. The most important of such places in the Peninsula to-day is the district of

Tanah Merah up the Kelantan River. Mr. Hsü in support of his identification of Ch'ih-t'u points to the fact that "in Singora and Pattani the earth is usually red in colour, known as the color of rusted iron. Moreover, according to the *Phongsawadan Mu'ang Songkhla*, it is recorded that the Malays built up their capital by the side of Khao Deng (the Red Hill) quite a happy coincidence" (343, p. 13).

Dr. Quaritch Wales (228, pp: 28-29) identified Ch'ih-t'u with the modern state of Kedah and invoked the 5th century inscription of Buddhagupta, as others have done: but on the facts of Ch'ang Chün's voyage this cannot be so.

As translated by Dr. Luce (229, p. 173) the *Sui Shu* says that Ch'ih-t'u to the north touches the sea and that south of it is the Ho-lo-tan kingdom: but Mr. Hsü romanizes this latter name as K'ou-lo-tan and considers that the Ho-lo-tan of the *Sung Shu*, the K'ou-lo-tan of the *Sui Shu*, and the K'ou-lo-chieh of the *T'ung Tien* are one and the same, the *chieh* in the last being faulty for *tan* (340, p. 47). All of them for him represent the present island of Java. De Saint-Deny's romanizes Ho-lo-tan as Ko-lo-tan (230, p. 266).

But the Ho-lo-tan of the *Sung Shu* is stated to be on She-p'o (Cho-p'o) island and there are difficulties in accepting that as Java at that time. In the *Sui Shu* it seems impossible to believe that, in the geographical facts given, there would have been a sudden jump from places in the north of the Malay Peninsula down to Java. One would say that the Ho-lo-tan (Ko-lo-tan) of the *Sui Shu* represented "Kelantan" on the geographical facts given but we have the difficulty of placing Tan-tan in that case.

It must be remarked here that in Malaysia it is completely unsafe to assume that, once a name has been identified as a particular place, it can only mean that place wherever and whenever the name re-occurs. The fact is that the same Malaysian name applies very frequently to several places in quite different parts and numberless instances of this can be cited. Moreover, the ancient Indians also often gave the same name to several different places. It is suggested, accordingly, that the facts in each case must govern and that there would be nothing in the least strange if more than one place were called Ho-lo-tan or Ko-lo-tan.

In its directions for reaching the state of P'o-li the *Sui Shu* says that one passes Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan and then comes to P'o-li. Mr. Hsü considers that Tan-tan represents Kelantan in the neighbourhood of Tendong, a village lying 10 miles from the mouth of the Kelantan River and about 5 or 6 miles from the present capital Kota Bahru (340, p. 53). He thinks, accordingly that

✓ Ko-lo-tan could not be Kelantan. On his facts and reasoning it seems quite an acceptable view that Tan-tan was in some part of the present state of Kelantan: but it does not follow necessarily that Ko-lo-tan could not also have been or that part of the present Patani might not have been called Ko-lo-tan. However, the question is immaterial for our present purposes. It is clear on the Chinese evidence that Lang-ya-hsü, Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan certainly were kingdoms which they placed on the east coast of the Peninsula.

Lang-Chia-Shu. The next evidence is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-ching (I-tsing, Yi-tsing) whose two works will be called here the *Memoirs* and the *Record*. The former has been translated by Chavannes (345) and the latter by Takakusu (227). I-ching first left China about 671 or 672 A.D. and returned for the last time in 695 A.D. (151, p. 196). Of the 60 Chinese pilgrims mentioned in the *Memoirs* no less than 37 took the sea-route.

In the *Memoirs* (345, pp: 56-59) we are told of three Chinese pilgrims named I-lang, Chih-ngan and I-hsüan, who sailed from a small port near Canton, passed Funan and reached the country of Lang-chia. We are told then that the king of Lang-chia-shu treated them with ceremony. Chih-ngan fell ill and died there, but I-lang and I-hsüan went on to Ceylon. Here we get Lang-chia and Lang-chia-shu just as before we had Lang-ya and Lang-ya-hsiu in the *Liang Shu*.

Lang-chia-shu is mentioned again in the story of I-hui (ibid: p. 78) who intended to go to India and reached Lang-chia-shu where he died.

Tao-lin (ibid: pp: 99-106) was tossed on ship over the seas of the south. He passed the Copper Columns (in Tongking) and reached the kingdom of Lang-chia, passed the kingdom of Ho-ling and the country of the Naked People (the Nicobars) and finally ✓ reached eastern India in the country of Tan-mo-li-ti, i.e. Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk in the Ganges Delta.

✓ Ho-ling is mentioned several times in the *Memoirs* and was an important Buddhist centre. Ch'ang-min (ibid: pp: 42-43) left in a ship for the South and went to the State of Ho-ling, from where he embarked for Mo-lo-yu (Mo-louo-yu) and there took ship for India but was wrecked and drowned. T'an-juen (ibid: pp: 77-78) left Lo-yang and travelled to Chiao-chih where he waited for the right monsoon. His ship reached Pou-p'en to the north of Ho-ling and there he died. Fa-chen (ibid: pp: 157-158) was tossed on the waves to the north of Ho-ling, traversed successively all the islands and reached little by little Chieh-ch'a, where he died. There are some other references to Ho-ling but they are not geographical. [Following Chavannes and Pelliot, Professor Coedès says that Ho-

ling must represent middle-Java (272, p. 131) but there are grave objections. The facts and views concerning Ho-ling will be examined in a later section of these *Notes*.

✓ From the *Memoirs* it appears that Lang-chia-shu was a stopping-place on the sea-route and was reached after Funan (present Cochin-China in this context) had been passed: in other words, it must have been the same place as Ch'ang Chün saw on the same route. ✓ Sinologists and historians all agree that Lang-chia-shu represents the Malay Langkasuka.

In the *Record*, as translated by Luce (229, p. 160), I-ching says that the country east of the famous Nālanda monastery was called "the East Frontier Kingdoms". Thereafter are the Great Black Mountains, the southern frontier of T'u-fan (Tibet). "Southward from this the country borders the sea; it is the kingdom of Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo (Criksetra). To the south-east of this is the kingdom of Lang-chia-shu. Further east is the kingdom of Shé (? = Tu)-ho-po-ti (? Dvāravatī). Further east finally one reaches the kingdom of Lin-i (Champa)".

✓ In the biography of the 7th century pilgrim Hsüan-chuang, whose name is written almost every way, there is the following passage as translated by Luce (ibid: p. 159) "Then northeast, beside the great sea in a valley of the mountains, is the kingdom of Shih-li-ch'a-a-ta-lo (Criksetra). Further, to the south-east, in a corner of the great sea is the kingdom of Chia-mo-lang-chia (Kāmalanka). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravatī). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of I-shang-na-pu-lo (Icānapura). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of Mo-ho-chan-po (Mahāchāmpā): this is what we (Chinese) call Lin-i. Further, to the west is the island kingdom of Yen-mo-lo. In the case of all these six kingdoms the paths across mountains and streams are difficult". Hsüan-chuang travelled on the northern land-route from and to China, and never visited any of the places mentioned in this passage. For a well-known study of Hsüan-chuang (and also of I-ching) the reader should refer to Grousset (346).

Criksetra is generally accepted as being the ancient name of Prome (272, p. 132). Professor Coedès (ibid: pp. 133-134) says "To the west of Dvāravatī and to the south-east of Criksetra, Hsüan-tsang places "near a great bay" the country of Kāmalanka, which is perhaps identical to the Langkia-chou of Yi-tsing, that is to say to Lankasuka; it must at any rate be looked for on the Malay Peninsula"; and in considering the Mēvilimbanṅam of the Tanjore inscription he says that it is "identified with Karmaranga, or Kāmalanka on the isthmus of Ligor" (ibid: p. 241).

✓ The general result of the above evidence must be to place I-ching's Lang-chia-shu as primarily an east coast state.

Chieh-Ch'a. As has been seen, Fa-chen died in Chieh-ch'a. The *Memoirs* tells us also that Wu-hing (345, pp: 138-157) embarked in China "in the time of the east wind" and in a month reached Srīvijaya where the king honoured him. Then in one of the king's ships he reached Mo-lo-yu at the end of 15 days and after another 15 days Chieh-ch'a, where "the last month of winter being come" he changed the course of his navigation and went to the west, reaching Negapatam in 30 days and then sailing from there for 2 days to Ceylon.

I-ching himself was in Chieh-ch'a and Takakusu (227, pp: xxvii-xxxvi) has collected all the facts concerning the pilgrim's travels. The following appear concerning Chieh-ch'a which Takakusu writes as Ka-cha:—

(1) After his first visit to Srīvijaya I-ching went to Mo-lo-yu where he stayed for 2 months and then, changing his direction, went to Chieh-ch'a, where he re-embarked in one of the king's ships in the 12th moon: going north after more than 10 days' sail he came to the Nicobars, lying to his east, and from there in the north-west direction he reached Tāmralipti in about half a month;

(2) having travelled and stayed in India, he returned to Tāmralipti and then took ship to Chieh-ch'a where he landed;

(3) Tāmralipti was the place, he says, where we embark when returning to China and sailing from there two months in the south-east direction we come to Chieh-ch'a, by which time a ship from Srīvijaya will have arrived, generally in the 1st or 2nd moon; we stay in Chieh-ch'a till winter, then start on board ship for the south and come after a month to Mo-lo-yu, which has now become Srīvijaya, arriving generally in the 1st or 2nd moon; we stay there till the middle of summer and sail to the north reaching Kwangtung in about a month, by which time the first half of the year will have been passed.

In the last passage, which is not too clear, it would seem that by Mo-lo-yu he really meant Srīvijaya, Palembang. Mo-lo-yu (Malayu) is stated by Professor Coedès to be centred in the region of Jambi on the east coast of Sumatra and to have sent its first embassy to China in 644-645 A.D. (272, p. 138). Upon I-ching's evidence this kingdom was subdued by Srīvijaya and became part of the latter. It is the Mo-lo-yu of Jambi to which Wu-hing sailed. He took a month from Srīvijaya (Palembang) to Chieh-ch'a and in the reverse direction I-ching also gives a month, taking him to mean Srīvijaya and not the Jambi Mo-lo-yu.

I-ching's facts make it clear that Chieh-ch'a must have been the ancient Kedah settlement on the Merbok estuary and that it

✓ was an entrepot. Phonetically, Pelliot says that Kie-tch'a (Chieh-ch'a) must represent Kaḍa and he agrees with Beal, who (as far back as 1881) had found the Malay Kedah in the name (129, p. 351, and n. 6). Professor Coedès (315, p. 21) considered that Kie-tch'a, as he writes it, corresponded to Kaṭāha and referred to the Khmer *Khḍāh* (pronounced *Khteuh*) and the Siamese *Kadah* (pronounced *Kāthah*). In his latest work (272, p. 73) he writes "The archaeological remains found in Kedah are from different periods. They prove the antiquity of this site which we shall find later on under its sanskrit name of Kaṭāha, and its Chinese name of Kie-tch'a".

Ma Tuan-lin (230, p. 461) says that in 638 A.D. the kingdom of Kia-tcha, as de Saint-Denys romanizes it, sent an embassy to China. The characters differ from those of Chieh-ch'a but Ferrand says that they equal phonetically the Malay Kedah (144, xiii, p. 249).

From these views, and from the actual facts, it is a fair proposition that Chieh-ch'a was the same place as the sanskrit Kaṭāha, tamil Kaḍāram, and that the true origin of the name Kedah is to be found in these Indian names.

✓ It is submitted that on all the evidence which has been summarized so far Langkasuka was primarily an east coast state and Kedah a west coast state, and that the two were not one and the same. The next evidence comes at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century.

Chia-Tan. The most celebrated T'ang cartographer was Chia Tan (Kia Tan), 730-805 A.D. His work was compiled between 785 and 805 A.D. and in it he gives first an itinerary by land from China and then one by sea; but the original work has disappeared and there are only quotations in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* and the *T'ai ping huan yu chi*, an encyclopaedia compiled in the period 976-983 A.D. The two itineraries were the subject of Pelliot's famous paper in 1904 (129) and have been studied by Hirth and Rockhill (226, pp: 9-14), Ferrand (172, ii, pp: 642-644) and Luce (229, pp: 185-189).

In the land itinerary we are told that Chên-la had been divided into a northern portion called Land Chên-la and a southern called Water Chên-la, and that south of the latter is a "little sea", south of which is the kingdom of Lo-yüeh and still further south the Ocean. (The "little sea" would seem to be the Gulf of Siam and the Ocean the South China Sea.

In the sea itinerary we get a picture of the route from Kwang-chow (Canton) to the Malabar coast and then to the Persian Gulf.

The route passes the island of Hainan across to the Indo-Chinese coast and down that coast to a place called Kun-t'u-nung. From there after 5 days' sail a strait is reached which the barbarians call Chih (Tche) "from north to south it is a hundred *li*. On the northern shore there is the kingdom of Lo-yüeh; on the southern shore there is the kingdom of Fo-shih (Palembang). Eastwards from the kingdom of Fo-shih, sailing for four or five days, you reach the kingdom of Ho-ling; it is the largest of the islands of the south. Then, westwards, issuing from the strait, in three days you reach the kingdom of Ko-ko-seng-chih, which is on a detached island at the north-west corner of Fo-shih. The inhabitants are great plunderers; voyagers on junks are in dread of them. On the northern shore there is the kingdom of Ko-lo. West of Ko-lo there is the kingdom of Ko-ku-lo" (229, pp: 185-186).

It is the view of Ferrand (172, ii, p. 644, n. 1) that this part of the sea itinerary "has been shortened and re-shaped by a compiler who was but little familiar with the geography of Malaysia"; and Luce writes "this passage, which Pelliot calls "obscure and seemingly inaccurate", seems to be corrupt" (229, p. 189). However, for our present purposes, only the names Ko-lo and Lo-yüeh are essential. The Chih quite obviously is the Straits of Singapore. We leave Ko-lo until we have considered the Arab evidence and Lo-yüeh until we consider Marco Polo: it is sufficient here to note that Ko-lo must have been somewhere on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and was a place distinct from Lo-yüeh.

The next Chinese evidence comes in the *Chu Fan Chi* of 1225 A.D., but the long gap is filled by the Indian evidence examined in the last two sections of these *Notes*, and by the Arab evidence to which we pass now.

Kalah. The main authority for the Arab voyages is that of Ferrand in his *Textes Géographiques* (172) and the gap which has to be filled in is covered from Ibn Khordādzbeh, 844-848 A.D. to Yākūt, 1179-1229 A.D.; but there are only two descriptions of the sea-route by authors who actually travelled along it. They are Sulaymān, 851 A.D., and Abū Dulaf Mis'ar, ca: 940 A.D., whose work is preserved in quotations by Yākūt and Kazwīnī, 1203-1283 A.D. Ibn Khordādzbeh is also a good authority, since he was a post-master and wrote from information received in the course of his duties from travellers.

Ya' kūbī, ca: 875 or 880 A.D. (172, i, pp: 49-50), states the seven seas between Persia and China as follows:—

(1) the sea of Fārs (the Persian Gulf) on which one embarked at Sīrāf and which ended at Rās al-hadd, in the south-east of Omān;

- ✓ (2) the sea of Lārwi, through which the ship's course had to be steered by the stars;
- (3) the sea of Harkand, which contained the island of Sirandib (Ceylon) noted for its precious stones;
- (4) the sea of Kalāh-bār, which was shallow and contained large serpents and where often the wind was so strong as to cause ship-wreck; in this sea were islands which produced the camphor-tree;
- (5) the sea of Salāhit, a large sea containing many marvels;
- (6) the sea of Kundrang, where there was much rain;
- (7) the sea of Cankhay (China Sea), on which one could travel only with the south wind up to the estuary of a large river along the banks of which were military posts and inhabited country.

Kundrang (the Kun-t'u-nu-na of Chia Tan) corresponds to the sanskrit Kunduraṅga, of which it is the regular Arabized form (172, i. p. 17). Salāhaṭ, or Salāhit, as it was also called; corresponds to Chia Tan's Chih and the Malay *selat*, and would seem from various other statements to have included the seas south of Singapore. The sea of Harkand seems to have been the Gulf of Bengal.

Sulaymān (ibid: pp: 35-41) says that from Muscat the course went to Kūlam Malaya, i.e. Quilon on the Malabar coast, where fresh water was taken on board before sail was set for the sea of Harkand as far as Laṅgabālūs, i.e. the Nicobars, and thence to the sea of Kalāh-bār. He explains then that *bār* designates both a kingdom and a coast. It corresponds, of course, to the sanskrit *vāra* and *vāṭa*. Kalāh-bār, he says, is a dependency of Djawāga, i.e. Srīvijaya, Palembang. At Kalāh-bār the ships got well-water which is preferable to spring or rain water. The distance between Kūlam and Kalāh-bār was one month's sail. The ships then sailed to Tiyyūma, generally taken to be Tioman island, where there was fresh water, if needed, and this occupied 10 days sailing. From there the ships made for the place called Kundrang which was reached in another 10 days and where there was fresh water and a mountain. After that the ships went to a place called Campa (Champa), where there was fresh water and from which the kind of aloes called *canfi* was exported. This was reached after another 10 days' sail; and, when the ships had taken in fresh water, they sailed for the place called Cundur-fūlāt, which was the name of an island where fresh water could be got. It took another 10 days to reach Cundur-fūlāt, after which the ships entered the sea called Cankhay and passed the Gates of China, which consisted of mountains washed by the sea with an opening in between through which the ships passed. "When, by divine favour, the ships have emerged safe

and sound from Cundur-fūlāt, they set sail for China and reach there at the end of a month. Of this month seven days are spent in traversing the straits formed by the mountains" (ibid: p. 41).

Ferrand (ibid: p. 40, n. 6) says that Cundur-fūlāt "is the island of Poulo Condore which is situated some 40 miles south of the delta of the Mekong"; but on Sulaymān's course that is impossible. *Fūlāt* represents the plural of the Malay *pulau*, island, and *Cundur* corresponds to Condore: but Sulaymān's island must have been far north of the present Condor group and so may have been Culao Cham, but certainly some island off the north part of the Indo-Chinese coast.

Abū Dulaf Mis'ar, as quoted by Yākūt, says (ibid: p. 221) that he found Kalah (*sic*) to be very large, surrounded by big walls, with numerous gardens and abundant streams of water. He found there a mine of tin such as existed nowhere else and called *kala'a*, from which *kala'i* swords were forged and they were "true Indian swords." Between this town and the town of China, he says (ibid: p. 222), there are 300 parasangs. Around Kalah there was a succession of towns, small market-towns, and gatherings of houses. "Their king is under the suzerainty of the sovereign of China and makes the *khutba* to the name of the latter"; and he says that the *kibla* of the king of Kalah is oriented towards China, while the royal prayer-house is consecrated to the king of China. From Kalah he left for Malabar.

Later he gives us two places (ibid: p. 230) *Kalah* "country at the extreme limit of India from which aloes is exported" and *Kalah* "port of the sea of India, mid-way between Omān and China. Its situation in the inhabited world is on the line of the equator". Kazwīnī (172, ii, p. 312) in "the First Climate" has "*Kalah*. Town of India mid-way between Omān and China. Its situation in the inhabited world is exactly on the equator. At mid-day one does not cast the least shadow. One finds there plantations of bamboo which is exported all over the world"; and (at pp: 313-314) in "the Second Climate" he has "*Kalah*. Large town of India well fortified, with raised walls. Numerous gardens are found there. It is a rendezvous for the Brahmans who are the sages of India. Mis'ar bin Muḥallil says "It is the first of the countries of India in the neighbourhood of China; it is the last point to be reached by the ships which cannot go further without shipwreck". There is a fortress there where the swords called *kala'iyya* are made; they are the best Indian swords; no other kind in the whole world are better than those of this *kala'a*. Its king is subject to the king of China, his *kibla* towards him; his prayer-house, his customs are the same as those of the king of China. They believe firmly that submission to the king of China is a blessing and that dis-

obedience to him would bring them evil. Between Kalah and China the distance is 300 parasangs”.

Abū Mis’ar, as quoted by Yākūt, tells us that from China he went to Kalah “It is the beginning of India and the last point which the ships can reach; it is not possible for them to go beyond without being wrecked”. The explanation of this would appear to be that the ships came down on the NE monsoon, which is also the fair season in the Straits of Malacca, and by the end of that monsoon they would have reached Kalah beyond which they could not make for Ceylon in the teeth of the SW monsoon. This would show that Kalah was an entrepot.

Other information in the *Textes* up to the period of the *Chu Fan Chi* can be summarized as follows:—

(1) Ibn Khordādzbeh (172, i. p. 27)—From Laṅgabalūs to the island of Kilah, six days’ sail; this island belongs to Djāba the Indian; it contains the famous mines of *kala’i* tin and bamboo plantations:

(2) Ibn al-Fakīh, 902 A.D., (ibid: p. 58)—Kalah-bār forms part of the empire of Djāwaga: one king rules over this empire:

(3) Abū Zayd, ca: 916 A.D. (ibid: p. 83)—The king of Djāwaga still counts amongst his possessions the island of Kalah which is situated half-way between the lands of China and the country of the Arabs: it is the centre of the trade in aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, tin, ebony, Brazil-wood, spices of all kinds, and other things it would take too long to enumerate: it is there that the fleets from Omān come and it is from there that the fleets sail for the Arab countries:

(4) Mas’ūdī, 943 A.D., (ibid: p. 95)—In the neighbourhoods of Kalah and Sribuza (Srivijaya, Palembang) there are mines of gold and silver: (p. 96) the country of Killa is nearly half-way on the route to China: to-day this town is the general rendez-vous for the Mussulman ships from Sīrāf and Omān, which meet there the fleets of China; but it was not so before: the Chinese ships went then to Omān, Sīrāf, etc, and those from these countries sailed in their turn to China: a merchant is mentioned who embarked on a Chinese ship to go from Killa to the port of Khānfū: (p. 98) the sea of Kalāh-bār, that is to say the sea of Kalah, like all shallow seas is dangerous and navigation is difficult; one encounters there many islands and of the kind which seamen call *surr*, plural *sarāṭr*, which is the point of junction of two straits or canals:

(5) The Summary of Marvels, ca: 1000 A.D. (ibid: p. 152)—The island of Kalah is a large one inhabited by Indians, where there are tin mines and bamboo plantations: (p. 156) the island of

Kalah is said to occupy a position mid-way between China and the the Arab land: it produces many commodities, aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, tin, ebony, logwood: to-day one goes there from Omān:

(6) Edrīsī, 1154 A.D., (ibid: p. 184)—The island of Kalah is very large and a king lives there called Djāba (al-Hindī) or Indian prince: there is a rich tin mine there: the metal is very pure and very bright but the merchants fraudulently mix it after its extraction from the mine and then carry it everywhere else: it produces rattan and excellent camphor:

(7) Ibn al-Bayṭār, 1197?-1248 A.D. (ibid: p. 288)—Camphor is brought from the country of Kalā;

(8) Ibn Saʿīd, 1208 or 1214-1274 or 1286 A.D. (172, ii, p. 343)—The town of Kalah is well known to travellers: it has given its name to the excellent, workable, soft tin called *kalahī*.

It is convenient also to collect here the further information up to that in the *Mohit* which will be examined separately below:—

(9) Dimaskī, *ca*: 1325 A.D., (ibid: p. 378)—The sea of Kalah is so called after the island of Kalah with a town of the same name, the largest of the four towns which are situated there: (p. 383) the island of Kalah, after which the sea that washes it is called, is very dangerous to land upon, its length is 800 miles, width 350, it contains the towns of Faṅṣur, Djāwa, Malāyur, Lāwri and Kalā: there are elephants introduced from the continent, which are reared and trained for the kings of the country;

(10) Nuwayrī, dead by 1332 A.D. (ibid: p. 396)—The island of Kalah with the towns of Faṅṣur, Malāyur, Lāwri and Kalah;

(11) Abūlfidā, 1273-1331 A.D., (ibid: p. 403)—The island of Kala is the port for all regions between Omān and China; tin is exported from there called by its name; there is a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims, Hindus and Persians; one notices there tin-mines, plantations of bamboos and camphor trees. Twenty days' sail separate it from the islands of the Maharāja, i.e. the king of Srivijaya:

(12) Ibn al-Wardī, *ca*: 1340 A.D., (ibid: p. 421)—The island of Kalah is a large one, which contains trees, rivers, and fruits; a king who is descendant of Djāba the Indian lives there; there are tin-mines, camphor trees, which can give shade to a hundred men and more, bamboo, and so many wonderful things that one could not relate them without being called a liar:

(13) Bākuwī, beginning of the 15th century A.D., (ibid: p. 463)—Kalah, a town of India, mid-way between Omān and China, situated on the continent upon the equator; all ships go there;

bamboo is found there (this place is in his "First Climate" and in his "Second Climate", p. 465, he has Kalbā, clearly a mistake for Kalah, since he gives in connection with it statements which he has taken from Abū Mi'sar) :

(14) Ibn Iyās, 1516 A.D., (ibid: p. 482)—Kalah is a little town between Omān and China, situated in the middle of the equator, at mid-day there is no shadow; it is the terminus for merchant vessels; bamboo grows there; it is a well known country.

When all the evidence above is examined and confusions are discarded, the result surely must be that the Arab accounts of Kalah co-incide with the Indian accounts of Kaṭāha and Kaḍāram which were examined in the last two sections of these *Notes*. It is clear that to the Arabs Kalah was the name both for an important entrepot and for the Malay Peninsula, just as to the Indians were Kaṭāha and Kaṭāha-dvīpa. Dr. Quaritch Wales has proved archaeologically that Kedah was a Hinduized settlement of importance throughout the period of the Arab evidence above and has carried that settlement back to the 4th century A.D. There is no other place in the Peninsula which can fit the facts. Warington Smyth (209, ii, pp: 30-31) has described Kra (Pakchan) and we suggest that neither physically nor archaeologically could it possibly have answered to the facts. We submit that the Arab entrepot called Kalah must have been the Kedah settlement on the Merbok estuary. But Ferrand rejected this identification on phonetic grounds and insisted that Kra was meant. Professor Coedès (272, p. 221) writes "Kalah (Kra = Malay Peninsula)" and in his map of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula shows Kalah in brackets below the name Kra. In venturing to dispute that view we do so with the utmost respect to one who is acknowledged to be the highest authority.

The question, we submit, is not whether Kalah is the phonetic equivalent of Kedah but what was the place which the Arabs called Kalah and for that their own statements, when combined with others, provide the answer.

Ko-Lo. In 1904 Pelliot discussed fully the question of Chia Tan's Ko-lo which he considered to have been the same as I-ching's Chieh-ch'a and the Arab Kalah (129, pp: 349-345); and again in 1912 he considered that "Ko-lo would at all events be on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with a margin of identification roughly between Malacca and Kedah". Ferrand (144, xiii, p. 312) agreed that Chia Tan's Ko-lo was the Arab Kalah but insisted on phonetic grounds that each of them was Kra, while the Ko-lo of the T'ang histories he placed on the east coast of the Peninsula. Luce has a long discussion of the views as they stood in 1924 (229, pp: 186-189) but is inconclusive. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* stated

Ko-lo to be south-east of P'an-p'an and to have contained 24 prefectures and to have supported a large army. P'an-p'an undoubtedly was on the east coast but Chia Tan shows clearly that Ko-lo was on the west coast, so that "south-east" must be wrong in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*. Ferrand got over the difficulty by having two Ko-los, as to which Luce wrote "It seems on the whole more probable that the Chinese accounts, drawn from miscellaneous sources and apparently inconsistent, contain mistakes, than that that there should be two Ko-lo's" (229, p. 189).

In 1918 Professor Coedès (315, pp: 21-22) accepted Pelliot's view that Ko-lo was Kedah but in his latest work (272, p. 159, n. 5) writes "Ko-lo, in the region of Kedah or of Kra". Mr. Hsü (340, pp: 48-49) gives some references to Ko-lo and (p. 59) identifies it as being "at the Isthmus of Kra".

The whole question is too long and complicated to consider here, and we would point out also that all the various references to Ko-lo have not yet been collected and translated. I-ching, we suggest, may have been transcribing Kaṭāha when he wrote Chieh-ch'a, for he was a sanskrit scholar; but it would seem that the more usual Chinese name was Ko-lo which was apparently the same as Kalah. This last, we have already submitted, could only have been Kedah and we submit, therefore, that, on the evidence at present available in translation, Kalah and Ko-lo should be identified with Kedah and not Kra.

Ling-Ya-Ssi-Kia. The *Chu Fan Chi* gives a place which Hirth and Rockhill writes as Ling-ya-ssī-kia, Luce as Ling-ya-ssuchia and Mr. Hsü as Ling-ya-ssi-kia, while the French way is Ling-ya-sseu-kia.

It would seem that the names of very many of the places in the *Chu Fan Chi* must have been given in the Fukien dialects to Chau Ju-kua, who was Inspector of Foreign Trade at Chüanchow and based a large part of the book on information gathered there from Fukienese sailors and travellers. Dr. Blagden (347, p. 169) complained that the transliteration of Hirth and Rockhill did not follow at all closely the dialect which Chau Ju-kua appeared to have in view and consequently did not always facilitate identification.

In the *Chu Fan Chi* Ling-ya-ssī-kia appears twice in that full form (226, pp: 62, 69) but in the notice of the place as Ling-ya-ssī (ibid: p. 68). It appears as one of the 15 dependencies of San-t'ang, i.e. Srīvijaya. The geographical facts are as follows:—

(1) Ling-ya-ssī can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland route;

(2) Fo-lo-an can be reached from Ling-ya-ssî-kia in four days; there is also an overland route;

(3) the neighbours of Fo-lo-an are P'öng-f'öng, Töng-ya-nung and Ki-lan-tan.

All are agreed that, wherever it should be placed exactly, Tan-ma-ling was an east coast state and that Ling-ya-ssî-kia is the same as I-ching's Lang-chia-shu and represents the Malay Langkasuka.

The modern Chinese name for Beranang, a village in Selangor on the Langat River, is given as Fu-lun-ngan by Mr. Firmstone, who says (333, p. 190) that it is also applied indiscriminately to some other places in the same district, e.g. Blau and Broga, and is apparently phonetic. Luce and Pelliot write Fo-lo-an as Fo-lon-gan. Hirth and Rockhill identify Fo-lo-an with the west coast Beranang but that is impossible because of the distance of four days and because the neighbours of Fo-lo-an were P'öng-f'öng, Töng-ya-nung and Ki-lan-tan, which Hirth and Rockhill (and everybody else) identify as Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan. Professor Coedès (272, p. 308) suggests with a query Pathalung for Fo-lo-an. The facts in the *Chu Fan Chi* show that, if not there, it must at any rate have been on the east coast, as must also have been Ling-ya-ssî-kia.

The evidence and views concerning Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an will be examined in a later section of these *Notes*. It is sufficient to note here that on the evidence each must have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Ki-t'o. The *Chu Fan Chi* also mentions a place called Ki-t'o in its account of Nan-p'i, i.e. Malabar. "Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ts'i, Kien-pi and Ki-t'o, and the articles they trade with are the same as in Nan-p'i". It is generally agreed that Kien-pi is the *Kampe* mentioned in the *Nāgarakretāgama* and that it was on the east coast of Sumatra (272, p. 309). Schlegel (174, ii (1901), p. 138) considered that Kien-pi was either the island of Kampei or Muara Kompeh at the confluence of the Kompeh and Jambi rivers, and Pelliot approved these views (129, p. 344, n. 4). Accordingly, two of the places from which the ships came to Malabar were from the west coast of the Straits of Malacca.

Wang Ta-yüan also gives Ki-t'o with the same characters but says only that it and A-chi (Acheen) were addicted to piracy (352, p. 253). This passage is repeated in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, 1436 A.D. (ibid. p. 254).

Ferrand (144, xiii, p. 285; xiv, pp. 225-226) considered that Ki-t'o represents the Malay Kedah and Coedès (315, p. 21) con-

sidered that it also represents the Tamil Kiḍa in Kiḍāram, variant for Kaḍāram. There seems to be general agreement that from its name Ki-t'ō must represent the Kedah of that time but there are no definite geographical facts yet available in translation which enable us to fix it positively. If Ki-t'ō is the same place as Chi-ta in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts (considered later), then, of course, there are such facts. Upon the etymological opinions cited above, it seems fair to say that Ki-t'ō and Chi-ta must be the same place.

Before leaving Ki-t'ō reference must be made to another place mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* without any geographical facts and written in the French way as Kie-t'ō. In 1918 Professor Coedès (315, pp: 19-21) considered the series of names Chieh-ch'a, Ki-t'ō and Kie-t'ō. As has been seen, his opinion was that Chieh-ch'a corresponded to Kaṭāha and that the form was exactly how the sanskrit name would be rendered in Indo-Chinese tongues. Though the character *t'ō* in Ki-t'ō and Kie-t'ō is dental, there are, he said, instances also of its use as a labial, for which he cited Sylvain Lévi. He considered that Kie-t'ō = Kaḍah and Ki-t'ō = Kiḍa. He equated the three Chinese names with the Kalah or Kilah of the Arabs and the Ko-lo of Chia Tan and the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, and considered that "all these different names represent phonetically and geographically Kedah". His present view, as has been seen, is that Chieh-ch'a and Kaṭāha are the equivalents of Kedah, that Ko-lo is in the region of Kedah or Kra, and that Kalah is "Kra = Malay Peninsula". Ki-t'ō and Kie-t'ō are not mentioned in his history (272).

But clearly the evidence of the *Chu Fan Chi* gives Ling-ya-si-kia and Ki-t'ō as distinct places.

✓ **Marco Polo.** At the beginning of 1292 A.D. Marco Polo sailed with a Chinese fleet from Zaitun, or Zayton, which is generally agreed nowadays to have been Chūanchow (the Arab Zītūn), and after a voyage of nearly two years reached his destination Hormuz. His course took him down the coast of Indo-China to the present Condore group from where he stood across to Locac, or Lochac, and thence to Pentan, which was clearly the island of Bintang, some 15 miles south of the south-eastern promontory of the Malay Peninsula. Its two hills are famous marks for vessels approaching the Straits of Singapore and must, in the nature of things, have been used by sailors for very many centuries.

In Penzer's edition of Frampton's translation of Marco Polo the Introduction contains a study by Dr. Blagden of Polo's route to the top of the Straits of Malacca (348, pp: lvi-lx) and there is an excellent map which has been reproduced in other books.

In Ricci's translation of Benedetto's text (349, p. 280), which is founded on the great Geographic Text, we are told that after

leaving the Condore group (Sondur and Condur) Polo sailed "for some 500 miles to the south-east. One then reaches a continental province called Locac, which is very large and rich. There is a great king in it", etc.

The Toledo text was discovered at the end of 1932 and was not available to Benedetto. It has been translated by Moule (350), who gives variants in italics; and this is the most complete edition of Marco Polo available in Singapore at present. Moule has (350, i, p. 369) "And then from these *two* islands one sets out *because there is nothing which does to mention*, and goes again *still sailing about 500 miles by the sirocco*, and then one finds a province *which is on the firm land*, which is called *Lochac*, which is very great and rich" etc. The sirocco is the south-east wind and so the south-east point of the compass (ibid: p. 55); and, whether we say that Polo sailed to the south-east or by the south-east wind, there must have been a mistake. He could only have sailed on the north-east wind and was going westerly. Yule (351, ii, p. 276) follows Pauthier's text and merely has "let us go on five hundred miles beyond Sondur", etc, which makes sense.

In Benedetto's text (ibid: p. 281) Polo says, after he has described Locac, "You must know that when one leaves Locac, one sails 500 miles to the south, and reaches an island called Pentan, which is a very wild place" etc. In Moule's text (ibid: p. 370) we get "Now you may know *again* that when one sets out from the *province* of Lochac and he goes *sailing* five hundred miles by mid-day then one finds an island *full of mountains* which is called Pentan which is *in* a very wild place". Here "midday" is the south wind and so south point of the compass.

It is, accordingly, clear that Polo's first landfall after the Condore group was the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; that Locac was on the north of that coast; and that leaving Locac there was a run to the south which, according to Polo, was 500 miles long, i.e. he sailed from there down the whole length of the east coast of the Peninsula.

Ferrand (330, xii, p. 91) says that Tomasek read Locac as *Lōsak*, which he says (ibid: p. 134) = Ling-ya-sseu-kia = Leñkasuka. He says also (ibid: p. 138) that the Lang-sakā of the *Mohit* (as to which later) is without doubt the same and that Locac reproduces the arabised form of the indigenus name, which is reproduced in the Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-kua. Professor Coedès (272, p. 339) accepts these views and writes "Lochac, that is to say Langkasuka on the Malay Peninsula".

Yule's view was that Polo's course "would bring us to the Peninsula somewhere about what is now the Siamese province of

Ligor, and that is the only position accurately consistent with the next indication of the route, viz. a run of 500 miles *south* to the Straits of Singapore" (351, ii, p. 279). Since Polo sailed from Chūanchow, it is more than likely that he was rendering in Locac a name which he got from a Fukienese shipmaster. Cordier thought (ibid: p. 278) that that name might have been in the Cantonese and Fukien pronunciation Lo-kok or "kingdom of Lo". He repeated Phillips' statement that in T'ang times Lo-yüeh was pronounced Lo-gueh, but Pelliot has described that as pure fantasy (129, p. 237); and he considered that Lo-yüeh on Chia Tan's statement must have represented the present State of Johore. Cordier says that Polo often gives *c* for *h*.

Dr. Blagden (348, p. lvii) says "The name Locac has been variously and doubtfully explained. Probably the last syllable is the Chinese word *kok*, or *kwok*, "country". The first one may be the same as the first syllable of Lo-yueh, an old Chinese name for Siam after Northern and Southern Siam had been united. But in Polo's time the Northern Siamese of Sukhotai had only recently occupied the isthmus of the Peninsula down to Ligor or Nakhon, about 150 miles N.W. of Patani. The suggestion that Locac is a drastic contraction of Lengkasuka, the name of an old state or district in the northern part of the Peninsula, seems improbable in view of the fact that the fuller form is mentioned in the Javanese poem *Nāgarakretāgama* in 1365 and has survived in local popular tradition down to modern times. At any rate in Polo's terminology Locac is the Malay Peninsula, and the fleet sailed down its eastern coast till it came to the island of Pentan": he thought that "the landfall must have been made at some point on the N.E. coast of the Malay Peninsula in the region of Patani, Kelantan or Trengganu".

But Polo makes it clear that his Locac is a province in the north-east of the Peninsula, not that it is a name for the whole Peninsula, and the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, as we shall see, place Langkasuka quite clearly in the present Patani. Moreover, Locac would not have been a drastic contraction of the Malay Langkasuka but a Chinese seaman's name for that place. Seamen often have their own way of pronouncing and contracting foreign names, e.g. Junk Ceylon for Ujong Salang and St. John's Island for Pulau Sikajang, each a name given by our own seamen. It does not seem unreasonable, then, that Lo-kok may have been a seaman's version of the shortened form of the name, and we have seen two instances already of a shortened form of Chinese names for Langkasuka.

However, whatever views may be taken concerning the name Locac, it clearly was the first landfall on the Peninsula after having sailed past the Condore group and must have been the same place as Ch'ang Chūn saw before he turned south for Ch'ih-t'u. The

result is that we have from Polo corroboration that Langkasuka was an east coast state.

Since Polo's course went along the western shores of the Straits of Malacca after he had emerged from the Straits of Singapore, there is no mention of any place on the eastern shores of those Straits and so none of Kedah.

Lang-Hsi-Chia. We pass now to the evidence which resulted from the voyages of Cheng-ho in early Ming times. The first six of them were made during the life of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo, 1403-1424 A.D., and the last after his death (151, pp: 287, 288).

The most important part of this evidence comes from the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, the Malayan parts of which have been studied so admirably by Mr. J. V. Mills (321). In them we get Lang-hsi-chia (Long-sai-ka in Amoy Hokkien and Cantonese) as to which Mr. Mills says (ibid: p. 37) "There can be little doubt that "Long-sai-ka" represents the same name as "Lung-saka" of the *Mohit*". Mr. Mills shows quite clearly that Lang-hsi-chia is placed on the chart as between the Telubiu River and Singora; and he says (ibid: p. 37) that "the chart definitely fixes Patani as the approximate situation of Langkasuka, the fairyland of Malay romance, and the most famous kingdom in Malaya", since, as he observes, Lang-hsi-chia beyond reasonable doubt must represent the Malay Langkasuka.

Rockhill (352) dates in 1349 A.D. the *Tao i chih lio* of Wang Ta-yüan, who visited a number of places for trade purposes. In this work we get the name Lung-ya-hsi-kio (Longya-si-kao) concerning which there are no geographical details. Pelliot (353, p. 330, n. 3) considered that Lung-ya-hsi-kio must be the same as the Ling-ya-hsi-kia of the *Chu Fan Chi* and Professor Coedès, as we have seen at the beginning of this paper, holds the same view.

It would seem, then, that the Lung-ya-hsi-kio of 1349 A.D., the Ling-ya-hsi-kia of 1225 A.D. and the Lang-hsi-chia of the *Wu-pei-chih*, which Mr. Mills thinks must date after 1433 A.D. (321, p. 5), are all transcriptions of Langkasuka and that they were on the north-east coast of the Peninsula.

Chi-Ta. The *Wu-pei-chih* charts give Chi-ta chiang (Kiet-tat Kang in Amoy Hokkien) which, as Mr. Mills shows, clearly represents "Kedah River", that is to say, the Merbok estuary. The first character is regularly used for the Malay *ke* as in keling, Kling (321, p. 14, n.); and *chiang* means, of course, "river". Mr. Firmstone (333, p. 200) gives the modern Chinese name for Kedah, the first character being the same as in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts; and he

romanizes it "Kit-ta" in Hokkien and "Kai-ta" in Cantonese. The *Wu-pei-chih* charts, therefore, show Langkasuka and Kedah as quite distinct places.

Mohit. The last piece of evidence comes from the *Mohit* and gives us clearly Langkasuka on the east coast and Kedah on the west coast of the Peninsula. Ferrand dates this work as 1554 A.D.

Lung-sakā is stated (172, ii, p. 530) as being "at the extremity of the coast of Cīn", and in a position "at 1 isba (= 1° 42' 50") north of "Kalāndan" (Kelantan), i.e. almost exactly half way between Singora and Lakon (Ligor)" (321, p. 37). Ferrand (354, xii, pp. 91, 138) and Luce (229, p. 166) calculate the exact position as 7° 43' N on the east coast of the Peninsula. Ferrand considers that Lung-sakā must represent Langkasuka and Ilaṅgasōka.

The *Mohit* gives Kīdā on the east coast of the Gulf of Bengal in a position corresponding to Kalāndan on the coast of Cīn (172, ii, p. 532). Ferrand says (ibid: n. 7) that it is Kedah, as seems clear.

In the *Mohit*, then, we have once more Langkasuka and Kedah as two quite distinct places.

Summary. It has been seen that Langkasuka first appears in Chinese records in Liang times but Kedah not until T'ang times. When they both appear together, it is always as separate places, one on the east coast and the other on the west. The only reason for saying that Langkasuka ever stretched across the Peninsula derives from the statement in the *Liang Shu* of its size from east to west and it is worth notice that this size is east to west, not west to east. But we have seen that as far back as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. the name Kalagam appears and thereafter Kaṭāha and Kaḍāram. They must have been the ancient settlement at the foot of Kedah Peak and, therefore, if Langkasuka really did stretch across the Peninsula it was not into Kedah. At the date of the Tanjore inscription Ilaṅgasōka and Kaḍāram are obviously distinct places and the evidence which we have summarized shows that the former must have been on the east coast and the latter on the west. How then can it be stated rationally that Ilaṅgasōka was in Kedah?

In his paper (355) on the political geography of Indo-China about 960 A.D. (i.e. more or less contemporaneous with the Tanjore inscription) Maspero has a map in which he places on the west coast of the Peninsula "Kedah (Kolo, Kilah, Kalah)" and below it "Laṅkasuka (Kaḍāram)", then "Beranan (Fo Lo An)" and, where Johore is to-day, "Lo Yue": but it is submitted on the

grounds above that these last three identifications are not supported by the evidence, though Lo Yue may well have included Johore. Maspero (ibid: pp: 79-80) says that the *T'ai ping huan yu chi* is a gathering together of documents all prior to the Sung dynasty and assembled uncritically. He considers the best authorities to be the *Ling Wai Tai Ta*, the *Chu Fan Chi*, the *Wên Hsien Tung K'ao* and T'o-t'o's *Sung Shih*, all of which are noted above.

(to be continued)

Appendix.

Langkasuka Series.

狼牙修	LANG-YA-HSIU—Liang Shu: Chiu T'ang Shu.
梭迦修	LENG-CHIA-SHU—Hsü Kao Sêng Chuan.
狼牙須	LANG-YA-HSU—Sui Shu.
郎迦戌	LANG-CHIA-SHU—I-ching.
迦摩浪迦	KIA-MO-LANG-CHIA—Hsüan-chuang.
凌牙斯加	LING-YA-SSI-KIA—Chu Fan Chi.
狼西加	LANG-HSI-CHIA—Wu-pei-chih.

Kedah Series.

羯茶	CHIEH-CH'A—I-ching.
迦乍	KIA-TCHA—Ma Tuan-lin.
箇羅	KO-LO—Chia Tan.
吉陀	KI-T'O—Chu Fan Chi.
吉達	CHI-TA—Wu-pei-chih.
	MODERN FORM (FIRMSTONE)
吉打	KEDAH—
芙蓉	BERANANG—

Citations.

- | F. E. Q. | Far Eastern Quarterly. |
|---|--|
| (330) FORREST, R. A.D. | The Chinese Language, 1948. |
| (331) McGOVERN, W. M. | The Early Empires of Central Asia, 1939. |
| (332) DUBS, HOMER H. | The Reliability of Chinese Histories, F.E.Q., 1946, vol: VI, no: 1, pp: 23-43. |
| (333) FIRMSTONE, H. W. | Chinese Names of Streets and Places in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1905, no: 42, pp: 53-208. |
| (334) REINAUD, M. | Relations Politiques et Commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale, 1863. |
| (335) WYLIE, A. | Notes on Chinese Literature, re-print, 1922. |
| (336) TENG, SSU-YU, AND BIGGERSTAFF, KNIGHT | An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works, 1936. X |
| (337) SARGENT, CLYDE B. | Subsidized History, Pan Ku and the historical records of the Former Han Dynasty, F.E.Q., 1944, vol: III, no: 2, pp: 119-143. |
| (338) LUCE, G. H. | Fu-kan-tu-lu, J. Bur: Res: S., 1924, vol: XIV, Pt: 2, pp: 90-99. ✓ |
| (339) PELLIOU, PAUL. | Critique, Hirth and Rockhill's Chau Jukua, T.P., 1912, 2nd ser., vol: XIII, pp: 446-481. ✓ |
| (340) HSU YUN-TS'IAO. | Notes on Tan-tan, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1947, vol: XX, Pt: 1, pp: 47-63. |
| (341) CHARIGNON, A. J. H. | La Grande Java de Marco Polo en Cochinchine, Bulletin de la Societe des Etudes Indochinoises, new series, 1929, vol: IV, no: 4, pp: 191-347. |
| (342) HSU YUN-TS'IAO. | Studies on Dvarapati, J.S.S.S., 1947, vol: IV, Pt: 1, pp: 1-9. |
| (343) HSU YUN-TS'IAO. | A Study on Ch'ih-t'u or the Red Land, J.S.S.S., 1941, vol: II, Pt: III, pp: 1-14. |
| (344) WHITE, JOHN. | A Voyage to Cochinchina, 1824. |
| (345) CHAVANNES, E. | Memoire compose a l'epoque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux eminents qui allerent chercher la Loi dans les pays d'Occident, 1894. |
| (346) GROUSSET, RENE. | In the Footsteps of the Buddha, 1932. |
| (347) BLAGDEN, C. O. | Some Remarks on Chau Ju-kua's Chu Fan Chi, J.R.A.S., 1913, pp: 165-169. ✓ |
| (348) PENZER, N. M. | Marco Polo, edited from the Elizabethan Translation of John Frampton, 1929. ✓ |

- (349) RICCI, ALDO. ✓ The Travels of Marco Polo, translated from the text of L. Benedetto, 1931.
- ✓ (350) MOULE, A. C. AND PELLIOT, PAUL. The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, the Description of the World, 2 vols., 1938.
- ✓ (351) YULE, SIR HENRY. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, 2 vols., 3rd edition, revised by Henri Cordier, 1926.
- ✓ (352) ROCKHILL, W. W. Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century, Part II, T.P., 1915, 2nd ser., vol: XVI, pp: 61-159: 236-271.
- (353) PELLIOT, PAUL. Les Grands Voyages Maritimes Chinois au debut du XVe Siecle, T.P., 1933, vol: XXX, pp: 237-452.
- (354) FERRAND, GABRIEL. Malaka, le Malayu et Malayur, J.As., 1918, vol: XI, pp: 391-484; vol: XII, pp: 51-154.
- (355) MASPERO, GEORGES. La Geographie Politique de l' Indo-Chine aux environs de 960 A.D., E.A., 1925, vol: 2, pp: 79-125.

N.B. (272) is now cited from the 1948 edition in the *Histoire du Monde Serie*.

Lung-Ya-Men and Tan-Ma-Hsi

by ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (OXON), F.R.G.S.

(Received August 1949)

See Photograph on Plate 5 between pages 38 & 39.

In a paper on Johore Lama, which appeared in a recent number of the *Journal of the South Seas Society*, Mr. Han Wai Toon (1) has put forward several novel theories and has reopened the identification of the ancient Chinese toponyms Lung-ya-men and Tan-ma-hsi. His paper is fortified by a postscript written by Mr. H. D. Collings, of Raffles Museum, (2) and is criticized by Mr. Hsü Yün-ts'iao (3).

Mr. Han considers that "the so-called Lung-ya-men in Sung and Yuan Dynasties seemed to have been the general name for Kuala Johore in the east strait of Johore. It could not have been either Lingga Island or Keppel Harbour." Mr. Hsü, however, considers that it was Keppel Harbour.

Tan-ma-hsi was identified with Singapore Island in 1904 by the late Professor Pelliot (4, p. 345, n. 4). This identification has been accepted generally ever since and is accepted by Professor Coedès in his latest work (5, pp: 341, 383, 407). Mr. Han, however, argues that it was the land adjacent to Kuala Johore and that Tan-ma-hsi-men (Tan-ma-hsi Gate), which is mentioned in the *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, represented the passage between "the Tanjong Tua and Tanjong Bulus of the west part of Johore Strait". Mr. Hsü accepts the orthodox opinion that Tan-ma-hsi represents Singapore and considers that Lung-ya-men and Tan-ma-hsi-men were different names for Keppel Harbour.

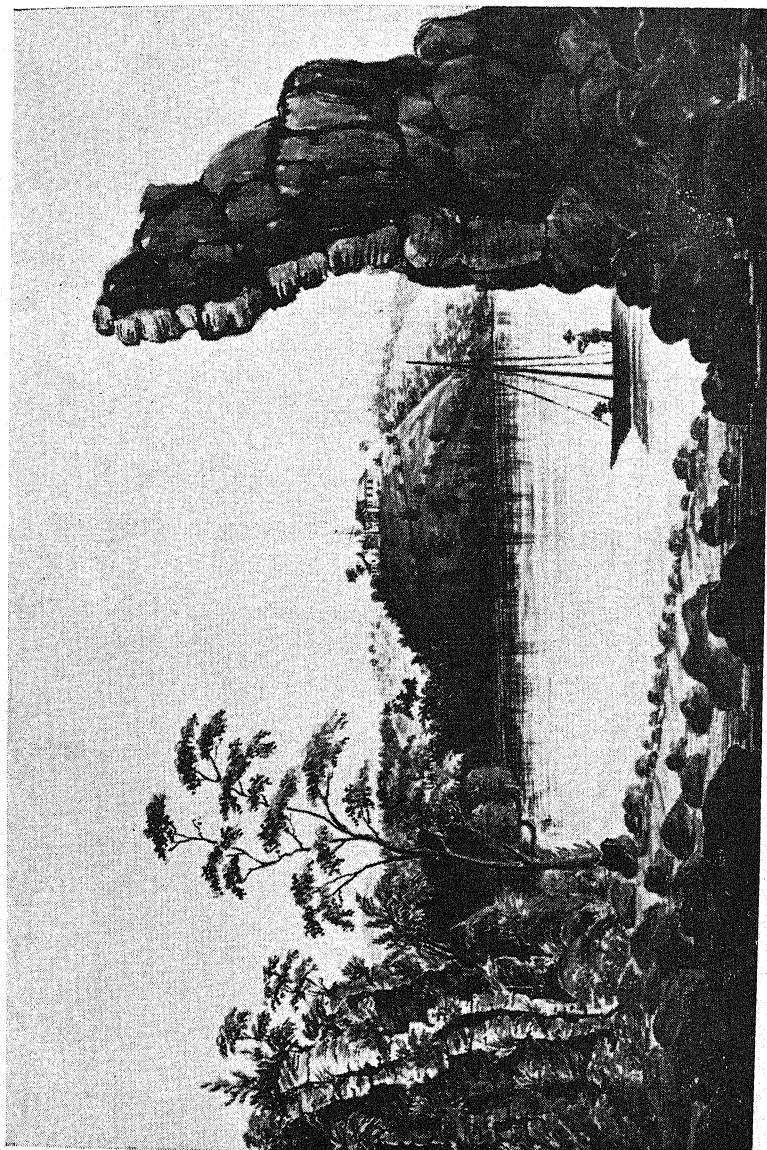
Mr. Collings (2) writes that "for a number of years I have found it hard to believe in the old tale of the town of "Singapura" on this island. My reason is that, with three exceptions, no archaeological remains have been found here. This is all the more odd since there can be few places in the Far East which have been so messed about as Singapore Island. Foundations have been dug, hills have been cut away and swamps have been filled in, but the only finds ever reported were the Singapore stone, the fort on Canning Hill and the small hoard of Hindu jewellery from the same place. There have been no signs of the many odds and ends, the shards, the bits of metal, the graves and so on, which are always found on old sites. Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: there never was a settlement of any size or age upon this island." He ends by saying "In every way the Johore River is an ideal living place and Mr. Han Wai Toon's argument, based

on old Chinese sources, should convince one that the so-called greatness of old "Singapura" and the very existence of Temasek, are probably but the fancies of Malay folk tales and the religious and political yearnings of the then ruling royal house."

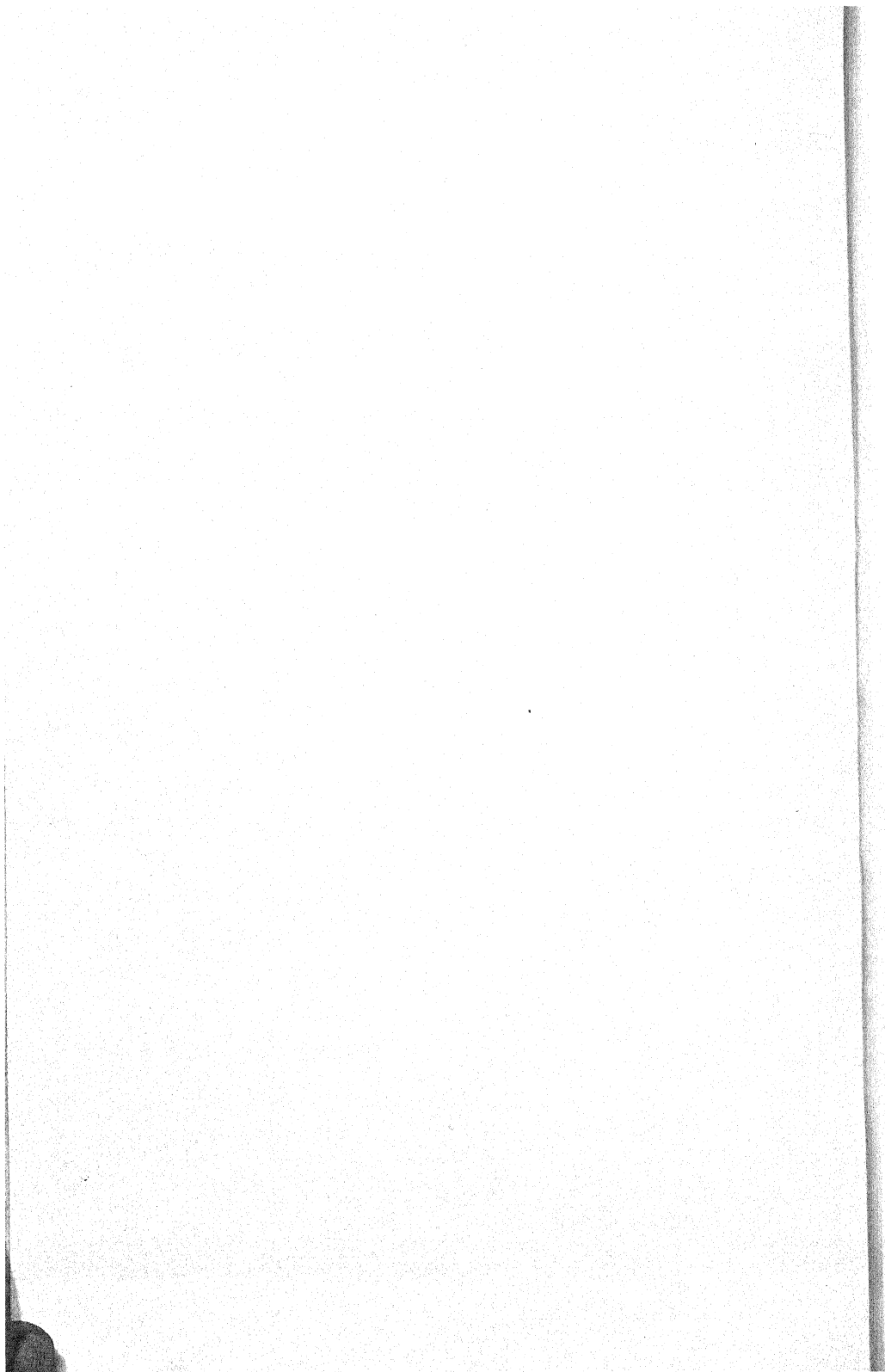
It is proposed in this paper to review the questions opened by Mr. Han and Mr. Collings; and we shall begin with the latter.

It seems to us impossible to deny the existence of Temasek. In the Javanese form, Tumasik, it occurs in the *Pararaton*, (6, pp: 143-149) and the *Nagarakretagama* (ibid: pp: 147, 149-150). The *Sejarah Melayu* tells us that a settlement was made on the island of Temasek, which Dr. Blagden says is pronounced by Malays as Temasak (ibid: p. 144), and that the name of Singapura (or Singhapura) was given to this settlement. This custom of giving honorific names to places was obtained from the Hindus and persists among Malays to the present time. Singapura was a Hindu-Malay rajadom. Dr. Lineham's latest dating (?) gives Singapura an existence from 1299 to 1391 A.D. and places its sack, so graphically recorded in the *Sejarah Melayu*, as having occurred in 1376 A.D. The *Nagarakretagama* is dated as 1365 A.D., the *Sejarah Melayu* is now dated by Sir Richard Winstedt (8, p. 130) as a 15th century history and the *Pararaton* is stated by Professor Coedès to date at the end of the 15th century A.D. (5, p. 314). The last only is accepted as containing real history; but all three are perfectly good and convincing evidence that there was such a place as Temasek and, accordingly, all scholars so far have accepted its reality and its identification with the island of Singapore.

The existence of the settlement called Singapura is proved by those who saw its remains after the British first came to Singapore, when there was much more archaeological evidence of it than is enumerated by Mr. Collings. We can, however, agree that its importance was exaggerated in the *Sejarah Melayu* and by de Barros. The earliest European seamen who came to Malayan waters in the 16th century found the name Singapura attached to the island, which fact alone proves that name. Writing to Marsden on January 31, 1819, Stamford Raffles (9, p. 376) said "Here I am at Singapore, true to my word, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasure which a footing on such classic ground must inspire. The lines of the old city, and its defences, are still to be traced, and within its ramparts the British Union waves unmolested." At that time the hill, now called Fort Canning, was a Malay tabu called Bukit Larangan (Forbidden Hill) and it must, beyond doubt, have been the one where the *Sejarah Melayu* records Sri Tri Buana as having been buried. We agree with Dr. Lineham (? , p. 118, n. 8) that "the neglected tomb there is probably the memorial of this founder of ancient Singapore", though,



Part of the New Harbour, Singapore, Mr Ker's House and the rock called *Batu Belayar* (Sailing Rock) or Lot's Wife. This is a reproduction of a water colour painting made by an unknown artist about 1845-50 and now in the Raffles Museum.



in point of fact, it is not neglected and, naturally, the identification is incapable of proof.

Stamford Raffles and Major Farquhar landed on Singapore Island on the morning of January 29, 1819, four and a quarter centuries after the ancient settlement had been abandoned. In March of that year, (10, i, p. 53) Farquhar ascended Bukit Larangan and shortly thereafter the hill was cleared and a road made up it. On January 21, 1823, Raffles wrote to Marsden (9, p. 535) "We have lately built a small bungalow on Singapore Hill, where, though the height is inconsiderable, we find a great difference of climate. Nothing can be more interesting and beautiful than the view from this spot. I am happy to say the change has had a very beneficial effect on my health, which has been better during the last fortnight than I have known it for two years before. The tombs of the Malay Kings are, however, close at hand; and I have settled that if it is my fate to die here, I shall take my place amongst these: this will, at any rate, be better than leaving my bones at Bencoolen". The house was enlarged later but from the time of its construction Bukit Larangan was known as Government Hill until Fort Canning was completed in 1861.

Another eye-witness, John Crawford, later to become Resident of Singapore, described the ancient Malay settlement in two entries in his Journal (11, i, pp: 68-73) on February 3 and 4, 1822. As his book is a rare one and as well-known things are apt to be overlooked, the whole passage is re-printed in the appendix to this paper.¹ So far as I have been able to ascertain, this is the only description of the ancient Malay settlement and it is that of a dilettante, leaving much unsaid that a modern archaeologist would have recorded. It shows very clearly that, at all events on the hill, there were remains of shards, bits of metal in the shape of dateable Chinese coins, and graves. But nothing has been preserved. Only the one Malay grave already mentioned remains now and I have been unable to find out what happened to the rest, if there were any. Mr. Buckley in 1902 wrote in connection with Farquhar's ascent of the hill in 1819 (10, i, p. 53) "The tombs of the old Rajahs were there, and it was considered sacred, as it is to the present day. Malays were frequently seen until late years crowding up the hill and decorating old graves there". I first went over Canning Hill in 1905 and I can recollect only the one which is still there. The plain truth is that until very recent times nobody bothered about archaeology. When the site of the old Malay settlement was cleared, when roads were made and buildings constructed within its confines, all kinds of debris might have come to light and, if so, would certainly have been regarded as rubbish. People who could blow up an ancient inscribed rock and not bother to protect its remains, would hardly have been likely to pay any

(1) See pages 49-50 in this Journal.

attention to such bits of old pottery or of metal as the changkot might expose. The plain truth is that in Malaya an argument based on the absence of archaeological data does not stand upon a strong foundation.

But enough has been said to prove the existence of ancient Singapura and its identity with Temasek. That it was not a very big place would go, one imagines, without saying. What place in Malaya could have been in those times? Such importance as it attained came not from size but situation on the sea-route between China and India. An examination of the early part of Mr. Buckley's *Anecdotal History*, combined with Mr. Crawford's description, will show that the settlement was reasonably strong for defence purposes. In effect, it comprised the hill and the plain in front of it running down to the sea-shore. It was protected by the big wall and moat, which ran from the sea round the hill to the marshes, flanking it on the north, and to the west was protected by the salt creek (now the Singapore River) and the marshes on its right bank, which the British filled in to construct Battery Road, Circular Road, Raffles Place, etc. Let it also be remembered in connection with the size of the Malay settlement that the ground which the British first took for their factory extended only from Tanjong Malang on the west (i.e. Teluk Ayer point) to Tanjong Katong on the east "and on the land side, as far as the range of cannon shot, all round from the factory" (10, i, p. 58).

In his privately printed *Notes on the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula*, 1949, pp: 22-23, Dato F. W. Douglas has an interesting note on the ancient name "Malaiur", in which he draws attention to Ramusio's version of Marco Polo. He says "Winstedt in his *History of Malaya* 1935 writes "attempts to connect Marco Polo's Malaiur with Singapore have not hitherto been accepted". He quotes the Ramusio version of Marco Polo but omits the important sentence "Chiamassie la citta de Malaiur e case l'isola de Malaiur". No one seems to have noticed that Chiamassie is certainly a transcription of the Malay Tumasik the old name for Singapore island in the Malay Annals. Marco Polo's description would therefore read "Not far from Bintang island there are two other islands—proceed between these two islands for 60 miles. The water is only about four paces deep and big ships when they pass through must haul up their rudders because they draw nearly four paces of water. After these 60 miles one sails to the south-east for some thirty miles. Then one reaches a kingdom Tumasik the city of Malayur and thus the island of Malayur. They have a King and language of their own. The city is very large and noble". Yule rightly says this is a description of the voyage from Bintang, then through the Johore Straits (Selat Tebrau) but he does not attempt to define the position of Chiamassie or translate the Ramusio version referring to it".

We can agree that Chiamassie may well be a transcription of Tumasik but unfortunately Chiamassie is omitted from Benedetto's edition of the Marco Polo MSS and also from the fuller edition by Moule. Benedetto (translated by Ricci, 1931, p. 281), after the passage dealing with Pentan (Bintang), has "Let us leave this place, and proceed between these two islands for some 60 miles. The water is only about four paces deep, and big ships, when they pass through, must haul up their rudders, because they draw nearly four paces of water. After these 60 miles, one sails on to the south-east for some 30 miles; then one reaches an island that forms a kingdom; both it and its capital are called Malaiur. They have a King and a language of their own. The city is very large and noble. There is a great deal of trade in spices and other wares. For there is great abundance in that island of such products. There is nothing else worth mentioning. And so we will leave this place, and proceed. We will tell you of Java the lesser, as you shall hear". Marco Polo then describes Java the Lesser, which undoubtedly was Sumatra. The reader should also see Moule's edition from which the following passage may be noted "And when one has gone *sailing* these sixty miles *and goes* again about *another* thirty miles forward toward the sirocco then soon afterwards one finds an island which is a kingdom, and the *chief* city is called Malaiur and the island *is named* Pentan".

Almost all the authorities take Malaiur to be Malayu (Djambi) in Sumatra but on the data how can that be? Marco Polo distinctly separates Java the Lesser (Sumatra) from Pentan and says that the city of Malaiur was on an island of the same name, but not on Java the Lesser. Clearly Singapore would be a much better identification but for two facts (1) according to present dating Singapore was not founded in 1292 A.D. when Polo passed by and (2) a "large and noble city" would not seem to fit it. But Polo indubitably passed Singapore, because either he went through the Straits of Singapore or he went through the Selat Tebrau. If his Malaiur were Singapore, then the dating in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* would receive corroboration; if it were not, then where was it?

One thinks that more consideration is necessary. The late Professor Blagden discussed the question in Penzer's edition of Frampton's Marco Polo, 1929, pp: lviii-l ix. He thought that the place must have been Malayu in Sumatra: but, if that was so, why was it not mentioned in connection with Java the Lesser and why did the language used so clearly separate it from Java the Lesser? Marco Polo clearly did not actually visit Malaiur: and one can only say that, while it cannot be located with any certainty, the case for Singapore is less weak than that for Malayu (Djambi) in Sumatra.

The shallowness of the water could well be explained by the disappearance of stretches of sand-banks; and we know that along the southern coasts of Singapore there has been in the past 40 years a tremendous disappearance of sand-banks and of coast also. But the real difficulty is the date 1292 A.D., if Dr. Linehan's dating is correct and 1299 A.D. was the year when Singhapura was founded.

Passing now to the two Chinese toponyms, we begin with their etymology. Tan-ma-hsi is the spelling of the characters in the Pekingese dialect, as given in Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary in the Pekingese dialect*. Mr. J. V. Mills, himself a sinologist, points out that the normal medium of transliteration in the *Wu pei chih* charts was the Amoy dialect and, using the spelling given in Douglas' *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken language of Amoy*, he gives Tam-ma-sak as the Amoy Hokkien pronunciation (12, pp: 47, 22). This latter is obviously the exact equivalent of the Malay Temasek (pronounced Temasak) and the inference is irresistible that the indigenous name was carried back to China by Fukienese sailors. Mr. Hsü, however, says that the name "should be pronounced as Tam-be-siak in Hokkien dialect and it could not be read as Tamasik" (3 p. 12). Yet he agrees that "the Tan-ma-hsi of the Yuan Dynasty really derives itself from the term Temasek of the Javanese" (ibid: p. 16). For ourselves, we prefer Mr. J. V. Mills and think it safe to say that the Chinese name is a transcription of the Malay.

Lung-ya-men means Dragon Teeth Gate or Strait and must clearly be a Chinese sailor's name. Mr. Warren D. Barnes, who was Chinese Protector in Singapore at the time, wrote in 1911 that "the words Lêng-gê-mûy (Amoy dialect) translated by Groeneveldt "the straits of Lingga" mean dragon-teeth gate, strait or passage, and in the Amoy dialect "dragon-teeth" is the name given to the two upright pegs in the bows of a ship through which the cable runs" (13, p. 25). It would, therefore, be the kind of name which Amoy sailors would give to any strait which passed close between two hills or prominences that resembled cable pegs and so might well be applied to more than one strait.

Besides Groeneveldt, Rockhill and others write about "the Strait of Lingga" or "the Straits of Lingga" but, in point of fact, there is really no such thing and it is not easy to know exactly what these writers mean, unless they mean a passage between Lingga and Singkep Islands. In any event, there is no such passage as could be called Dragon Teeth Gate. However, since the expression has been used so much, we retain it, though with this very necessary caution.

We pass now to the facts and, as Tan-ma-hsi is mentioned together with Lung-ya-men in most of the passages, we can consider them together.

In Chau Ju-Kua's *Chu fan chi*, 1225 A.D., we get two references to a place called Ling-ya-men, or Leng-ya-men. The first passage (14, p. 60) says that a junk sailing to San-fo-ch'i (Palembang) from Chüan-chou in Fukien could reach Ling-ya-men in a little more than a month with the monsoon and that a third of the passing merchants put in there before proceeding to San-fo-ch'i. The other (14, p. 220) refers to a foreign trade in mats at Ling-ya-men. We agree with Hirth and Rockhill that Ling-ya-men must be referred to Lingga, since Singapura was not founded at that time. Mr. Han and Mr. Hsü, however, take this strait to be the same as the Lung-ya-men which appears a century later, and the question cannot be said to be settled beyond doubt. There is a long note by Rockhill on the subject in 1915 and the reader is referred to that (15, pp: 129-131).

The master passage concerning Lung-ya-men occurs in the *Tao i chih lio*, dated 1349 A.D. and written by Wang Ta-yüan, "who visited for purposes of trade a considerable number of foreign localities during the *chih-ch'êng* period of the Yüan (1341-1367) and who recorded what he had seen in this work" (15, p. 12). His evidence, therefore, is of primary importance. The notice on Lung-ya-men is translated in full by Rockhill (*ibid*: pp: 129-132). It says that this strait is bordered by two hills of the Tan-ma-hsi barbarians (*fan*) which look like dragons' teeth, with a water-way between them. The people were addicted to piracy and neither fine products nor rare objects came from there, all they had of that sort being the product of their pillaging of the Ch'uan-chou traders; and later on the natural products are given as coarse laka-wood and tin, though doubtless these were not natural but imported. This passage shows that there was a trade but that in the middle of the 14th century Tan-ma-hsi could not have been a great entrepot. We are told of the defensive precautions against pillaging which the Chinese junks had to take on their passage home and that on their outward passage they were unmolested. There is a curious reference to the chief having found a jewelled cap while digging in the ground and we are told that on the new year's day the chief, attired in his finest robes, wore this cap while receiving the congratulations of his people. Since Tan-ma-hsi must certainly have been Singapore, this last passage should be remembered in connection with the story in the *Sejarah Melayu* concerning the loss of the crown. Each shows that there was some local legend of importance in connection with the crown of Singapore, though the two do not agree as to the legend.

In another passage in the same work (15, p. 100) we get a notice on Hsien (Siam) in which it is said that "in recent years they came with seventy junks and raided Tan-ma-hsi and attacked the city moat". Tan-ma-hsi closed its gates and resisted for a month when, an Imperial envoy passing through, the Siamese with-

drew. Mr. Crawford tells of the city moat of Singapura but not of any gates. The latter might possibly have been in an inner palisaded stronghold; but that is speculation.

The *Tao i chih lio* (15, p. 133) also tells us that Pan-tsu was the hill back of Lung-ya-men and that it was like a coil cut off, rising to a hollow-topped summit enclosed in a series of slopes, as a consequence of which the people lived all around it. This place had a ruler and produced cranes' nests of superior quality, middling quality laka-wood, and cotton. Rockhill, doubtfully, suggests that the name represented Panchor, which he says is a Malay name occurring in several places, as indeed most Malay place-names do. Since Lung-ya-men can only have been Singapore main strait or Keppel Harbour, as will be seen later, Pan-tsu, on the evidence above, must have been in the State of Johore and possibly Gunong Pulai.

Lastly, the *Tao i chih lio* in its notice on San-fo-ch'i says that one arrives in this country after a voyage of five days and nights from Lung-ya-men. Rockhill (who identifies Lung-ya-men with Singapore strait) says in a footnote (15, p. 134) that this passage is a quotation from the *Chu fan chi*. If that is the fact, then Wang Ta-yüan must have considered that his Lung-ya-men and Chau Ju-Kua's Ling-ya-men were one and the same, which would justify Mr. Han and Mr. Hsü in saying the same thing.

The *Wu pei chih* charts are considered to have embodied the navigational knowledge acquired from the various voyages of Cheng Ho but Mr. J. V. Mills thinks that the charts themselves cannot safely be dated prior to 1433 A.D. (12, p. 5). Sailing directions are given from the Kerimun Islands through Lung-ya-men to Pedra Branca and Tan-ma-hsi is marked in the map on the mainland of the Peninsula. We are inclined to agree with Mr. Hsü (3, p. 12) that this latter fact "shows that sailors in those days looked upon Selat Tebrau as an inland sea". At all events, sailing past Singapore, there is no particular reason to realize that it is an island, the western and eastern entrances of the Selat Tebrau (Johore Strait) looking like river mouths; and there is no reason to think that the Chinese in Cheng Ho's time made Johore a place of call or entered the Selat Tebrau at all. Malacca at that time was the trading-place *par excellence* and the Malay rajas had not moved into Johore. In our view Mr. Han's attempts to prove that the Chinese were trading to Pulau Tekong at this time are unsuccessful.

The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, dated 1436 A.D. and written by Fei Hsin, who was in Cheng Ho's suite during several voyages, has a notice on Lung-ya-men; but much of Fei Hsin's work was not original and this notice looks as though it had been copied from Wang Ta-yüan. It says that Lung-ya-men was to the north-west

of San-fo-ch'i, an extraordinary statement, and repeats the facts in the *Tao i chih lio* as to the ships passing through a waterway between two hills which looked like dragons' teeth. This same work in its notice on Tung-hsi-chu, or Pulau Aur, says "These islands in the sea face Lung-ya-men" (15, p. 124). That again is strange unless what is meant is that the group is passed on the way to Lung-ya-men. Pulau Aur, of course, has always been a much used sailors' mark.

Rockhill (15, pp: 130-131) refers to sailing directions from Palembang (Ch'iu-Chiang) to Malacca in the *Hsi yang chao kung tien*. I have no note of the date of this work but Rockhill points out that in the directions Malacca is called Wu-hsü (the Five islets) and that that name was only used by the Chinese prior to 1409 A.D., which may throw some light on the date of the directions. This passage in the Chinese work ends "It is also said that one (can) arrive (at Malacca from Ch'iu-chiang) by the Strait of the Island of Lung-ya, the shape of which passage is like the horns of a dragon". In this passage, as Rockhill says, "the strait of the island Lung-ya" can only be the Strait of Lingga". If that is so, then the passage confuses the "Strait of Lingga" with Lung-ya-men, since the former does not have the shape of the horns of a dragon.

The Pilots' Directory in the *Tung hsi yang k'ao* by Chang Hsi, 1618 A.D., has a passage dealing with Lung-ya-men, which has been translated by Mr. Hsü (3, p. 10). It begins by quoting from the *Hsing ch'a sheng lan* as to Lung-ya-men and then says "At present the ships still dare not sail in the night on account of the pirates as well as the Liang-shan Rocks in its south. Measuring the water, it is thirty *fo* (fathoms) in the middle, twenty *fo* in its south. Passing the Gate of Tan-ma-hsi, ship sails to 262.5° and 292.5° by three watches towards Chi-li-men Hill". This last is Kerimun and the course, therefore, is east to west, that in the *Wu pei chih* charts being west to east. Mr. Hsü (3, p. 12) takes Tan-ma-hsi-men and Lung-ya-men to be the same place in this passage; and we agree.

This concludes our review of the evidence and we turn to the problem of identification. As we have said, we would separate Ling-ya-men from Lung-ya-men and take the former to be the "Strait of Lingga" and the other a passage in Singapore waters, the choice lying between the Singapore main strait, which the Portuguese called Governor's Strait, and Keppel Harbour. The possibility of confusion between the two Chinese names seems obvious and may possibly explain the passages in the *Tao i chih lio* and the *Hsi yang chao kung tien*, where Lung-ya-men would seem to indicate the "Strait of Lingga" and so would be Ling-ya-men in reality.

The name Dragons' Teeth Gate seems to afford the best clue and was the one which led Mr. Barnes to identify it with Keppel Harbour. The western entrance to that harbour presents a very different appearance from what it used to do in olden times. Linschoten, 1598 A.D., in his full and very clear description of it says "The entrance of the straits is about a stone's throw across between two high mountains and runs a cannon-shot length to the East. The least depth in the straits is four and a half fathoms. At the entrance at the foot of the Northern mountain is a rock which looks like a pillar. It is commonly known as "Varella del China" (13, p. 27). This last is the Batu Berlayar, which we call Lot's Wife, a very considerable part of which was blasted away in 1848 to widen the entrance (10, ii, p. 489). The tops of the hills at the entrance were also higher before the British came to Singapore and buildings were erected on them. Another passage, quoted by Mr. Barnes (13, p. 29) and dating 1599 A.D., speaks of "so narrow a channel that from the ship you could jump ashore or touch the branches of the trees on either side". This writer's vessel stuck on a shoal. Linschoten (13, pp: 27-28) says, immediately after the description of the entrance which we have quoted above, "A little further on in the straits and on the South side is a bay in the middle of which is another rock below water and a shoal which reaches from this rock to the middle of the channel". This quite likely is the Liang-shan Rocks mentioned in the *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, since each was on the south side of the channel.

I have come across what must, I think, be a description in 1804 of the western entrance to Keppel Harbour and which accords well with those given in the 16th century A.D. It occurs in *The Oriental Voyager*, 1807, by J. Johnson, who was a surgeon in the Royal Navy. The passage (p. 143) is under date September 16, 1804, and reads:—"The straits of Singapore are formed by a cluster of innumerable little islands, lying off the most southern part of the Malay peninsula. They are covered with woods, have a great variety in their shapes, and are indented on all sides with pleasant little bays and sandy coves, where the finest turtle is found in great plenty. The passage between these islands is in some places so narrow, that we might have almost thrown a biscuit on shore; yet the water was deep, clear and smooth as glass". It seems to me that this last sentence shows that Johnson's ship, *H.M.S. Caroline*, passed through the present Keppel Harbour, though that, of course, is not completely certain. Another pointer to this strait is that he goes on to say "The natives came off in their canoes laden with turtle, some of which weighed three or four hundred pounds, and these they sold for a dollar or a dollar and a half each". For very many years there was a well-known settlement of *orang laut* on Blakang Mati island, which forms the south side of the entrance to Keppel Harbour, and de Barros gives *Cellates* from *selat* (strait) as the name of the *orang laut*. But I do not know how old was

the Blakang Mati settlement. Finlayson in his *Mission to Siam and Cochin China*, writing in 1821, says "In the numerous bays, inlets and creeks that surround Singapore an inconceivable number of families" of *orang laut* lived in boats. So it may well be that the Blakang Mati settlement produced Johnson's turtles.

It does not seem to us that Chinese sailors would have likened the entrances of either the "Strait of Lingga" or the Singapore main strait to the cable pegs on their junks. On the other hand, it would have been most apt for the western entrance of Keppel Harbour. Mr. Crawford sailed into that latter strait and recorded the fact in his *Journal* on January 27, 1822 (11, pp: 66-67). He says that the Malay name for the strait was "Selat Panikam", as he writes it, a name which seems now to be lost entirely. *Penikam* means "a pointed weapon" and thus is as descriptive a name for Keppel Harbour as Dragons' Teeth Gate would be.

But Mr. J. V. Mills, with assistance from Mr. C. C. Best, who had done much sailing in Singapore waters, has studied the actual sailing directions in the *Wu pei chih* charts and is convinced that the Lung-ya-men mentioned there must have been the Singapore main strait (12, pp: 23-24, 27-28). Mr. Hsü (3, p. 12) writes "Even in Cheng Ho's Chart it also mentions "One sails from Dragon's Tooth Gate to 82.5° by five watches to reach Pedra Branca". Therefore it must be placed in the Strait of Singapore, and the most suitable place is Keppel Harbour which is called Estreito Velho (the Old Strait) in Manoel Gohinho de Eredia's Map in the 17th century". It will be noted that Mr. Mills gives the course as *chia mao*, 75°, 90°, while Mr. Hsü gives it as 82.5°, presumably taking the mid-way between the two courses. The reader should see what Mr. J. V. Mills says about Chinese compass directions (12, pp: 8-9). Mr. Mills and Mr. Hsü are not in accord as to which passage was used.

Assuming that the *Wu pei chih* course did run through the Singapore Main Strait, there is the possible explanation that the Chinese changed their way of sailing and abandoned the Keppel Harbour passage for the one through the main strait but retained the old name. The Portuguese also changed their passage and mention the one through the main strait as Governór's Strait in 1615 A.D. (12, p. 41; 13, p. 30). Eredia's map, 1604 A.D., referred to by Mr. Hsü, has been reproduced by Mr. J. V. Mills in his paper (16). The plate faces p. 225 and shows quite clearly that at that time the Keppel Harbour passage was known as "Estreito Velho" and the main strait as "Estreito Novo."

There is, however, one objection to thinking that the Chinese at the material times used the main strait; and it is stated by Mr. C. C. Best as follows:—"The tidal swirls, almost amounting

to whirlpools, are worrying to a fully powered steamer and the depths sufficiently great, taking into accounts the strength of the tides, to make anchoring almost an impossibility for a small vessel. It is used today by all types of craft, but the men in charge of them are either skilled navigators or else have had long experience of Singapore waters. To newcomers, in clumsy ships equipped with primitive winches, cables and anchors it might well seem a place to be avoided, if an alternative and better known route was available" (12, p. 41, n.). The Portuguese had been in Malayan waters nearly a hundred years before they used the main strait in preference to the Keppel Harbour passage and, except for the working out by Mr. J. V. Mills of the sailing directions in the *Wu pei chih* charts, the difficulties of the main strait would lead one to think that Chinese junks might not have used it in the 14th century A.D., or even in the time of Cheng Ho.

Summarizing, it is submitted that

- (1) Tan-ma-hsi is a transcription of Temasek and, beyond doubt, is Singapore;
- (2) Ling-ya-men is the Strait of Lingga and probably is a transcription of that name;
- (3) Lung-ya-men is a sailor's name taken from the cable pegs of a junk and used for a passage round Singapore island;
- (4) Lung-ya-men could not have been the Strait of Lingga but must have been either the Keppel Harbour passage or the Singapore main strait;
- (5) Lung-ya-men may have been confused with Ling-ya-men in some passages in the Chinese records;
- (6) Lung-ya-men is a very apt name for the Keppel Harbour passage but not for the Singapore main strait;
- (7) it is possible that Lung-ya-men was first used for the Keppel Harbour passage and then transferred to the Singapore main strait;
- (8) but the balance of evidence, coupled with the difficulties of the passage through the Singapore main strait, may perhaps incline one to the opinion that Lung-ya-men was the Keppel Harbour passage.

The characters for the main places mentioned are as follows:—

Tan-ma-hsi 單馬錫 and 淡馬錫

Ling-ya-men 凌牙門

Lung-ya-men 龍牙門

Appendix

Feb. 3.—I walked this morning round the walls and limits of the ancient town of Singapore, for such in reality had been the site of our modern settlement. It was bounded to the east by the sea, to the north by a wall, and to the west by a salt creek or inlet of the sea. The inclosed space is a plain, ending in a hill of considerable extent, and a hundred and fifty feet in height. The whole is a kind of triangle, of which the base is the sea-side, about a mile in length. The wall, which is about sixteen feet in breadth at its base, and at present about eight or nine in height, runs very near a mile from the sea-coast to the base of the hill, until it meets a salt marsh. As long as it continues in the plain, it is skirted by a little rivulet running at the foot of it, and forming a kind of moat; and where it attains the elevated side of the hill, there are apparent the remains of a dry ditch. On the western side, which extends from the termination of the wall to the sea, the distance, like that of the northern side, is very near a mile. This last has the natural and strong defence of a salt marsh, overflowed at high-water, and of a deep and broad creek. In the wall there are no traces of embrasures or loop-holes; and neither on the sea-side, nor on that skirted by the creek and marsh, is there any appearance whatever of artificial defences. We may conclude from these circumstances, that the works of Singapore were not intended against fire-arms, or an attack by sea; or that if the latter, the inhabitants considered themselves strong in their naval force, and therefore thought any other defences in that quarter superfluous.

Feb. 4.—On the stony point which forms the western side of the entrance of the creek, on which the modern town of Singapore is building, there was discovered, two years ago, a tolerably hard block of sand-stone, with an inscription upon it. This I examined early this morning. The stone, in shape, is a rude mass, and formed of the one-half of a great nodule broken into two nearly equal parts by artificial means; for the two portions now face each other, separated at the base by a distance of not more than two feet and a half, and reclining opposite to each other at an angle of about forty degrees. It is upon the inner surface of the stone that the inscription is engraved. The workmanship is far ruder than any thing of the kind that I have seen in Java or India; and the writing, perhaps from time, in some degree, but more from the natural decomposition of the rock, so much obliterated as to be quite illegible as a composition. Here and there, however, a few letters seem distinct enough. The character is rather round than square. It is probably the Pali, or religious character used by the followers of Buddha, and of which abundant examples are to be found in Java and Sumatra; while no monuments exist in these countries in their respective vernacular alphabets. The only remains of antiquity at Singapore, besides this stone, and the wall and moat before mentioned, are contained on the hill before alluded to. After being cleared by us of the extensive forest which covered it, it is now clothed with a fine grassy sward, and forms the principal beauty of the new settlement. The greater part of the west and northern side of the mountain is covered with the remains of the foundations of buildings, some composed of baked brick of good quality. Among these ruins, the most distinguished are those seated on a square terrace, of about forty feet to a side, near the summit of the hill. On the edge of this terrace, we find fourteen large blocks of sand-stone; which, from the hole in each, had probably been the pedestals of as many wooden-posts which supported the building. This shows us, at once, that the upper part of the structure was of perishable materials; an observation which, no doubt, applies to the rest of the buildings as well as to this. Within the square terrace is a circular inclosure, formed of rough sand-stones, in the centre of which is a well, or hollow, which very possibly contained an image; for I look upon the building to have been a place of worship, and, from its appearance, in all likelihood, a temple of Buddha. I venture farther to conjecture, that the other relics of antiquity on the hill, are the remains of monasteries of the priests of this religion. Another terrace, on the north declivity of the hill, nearly of the same size, is said to have been the burying-place of Iskandar Shah, King of

Singapore. This is the prince whom tradition describes as having been driven from his throne by the Javanese, in the year 1252 of the Christian era, and who died at Malacca, not converted to the Mohammedan religion, in 1274; so that the story is probably apocryphal. Over the supposed tomb of Iskandar, a rude structure has been raised, since the formation of the new settlement, to which Mohammedans, Hindus, and Chinese, equally resort to do homage. It is remarkable, that many of the fruit-trees cultivated by the ancient inhabitants of Singapore are still existing, on the eastern side of the hill, after a supposed lapse of near six hundred years. Here we find the durian, the rambutan, the duku, the shaddock, and other fruit-trees of great size; and all so degenerated, except the two first, that the fruit is scarcely to be recognized.

Among the ruins are found various descriptions of pottery, some of which is Chinese, and some native. Fragments of this are in great abundance. In the same situation have been found Chinese brass coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The earliest is of the Emperor of Ching chung, of the dynasty of Sung-chao who died in the year 967. Another is of the reign of Jin-chung, of the same dynasty, who died in 1067; and a third, of that of Shin-chung, his successor, who died in 1085. The discovery of these coins affords some confirmation of the relations which fix the establishment of the Malays at Singapore, in the twelfth century. It should be remarked, in reference to this subject, that the coins of China were in circulation among all the nations of the Indian islands before they adopted the Mohammedan religion, or had any intercourse with Europeans. They are dug up in numbers in Java, and are still the only money used by the unconverted natives of Bali.

Citations

- (1) HAN WAI TOON. A study on Johore Lama, J.S.S., 1948, vol: V, Pt: 2, pp: 17-35.
- (2) COLLINGS, H. D. Postscript, J.S.S., 1948, vol: V, Pt: 2, p. 35.
- (3) HSU YUN-TS'IAO. Notes on Malay Peninsula in Ancient Voyages, J.S.S., 1948, vol: V, Pt: 2, pp: 1-16.
- (4) PELLLOT, PAUL. Deux Itinéraires de Chine à l'Inde à la Fin du VIII^e siècle, B.E.F.E.O., 1904, vol: IV, pp: 131-403.
- (5) COEDES, G. Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie, 1948, in Histoire du Monde series.
- (6) BLAGDEN, C. O. Notes on Malay History, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1909, No: 53, pp: 139-162.
- (7) LINEHAN, W. The Kings of 14th Century Singapore, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1947, vol: XX, Pt: 2, pp: 117-127.
- (8) WINSTEDT, RICHARD. The Malays, a Cultural History, 1947.
- (9) RAFFLES, LADY. Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., by His Widow, 1830.
- (10) BUCKLEY, CHARLES BURTON. An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore, 2 vols., 1902.
- (11) CRAWFURD, JOHN. Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochinchina, 1830, 2 vols.
- (12) MILLS, J. V. Malaya in the Wu-pei-chih Charts, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1937, vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 1-48, corrigenda vol: XVI, Pt: 1, p. 154.
- (13) BARNES, WARREN D. Singapore Old Straits and New Harbour, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1911, No: 60, pp: 25-34.
- (14) HIRTH, FRIEDRICH AND ROCKHILL, W. W. Chau Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi, 1911.
- (15) ROCKHILL, W. W. Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century, T'oung Pao, 2nd series, 1915, vol: XVI, pp: 61-159.
- (16) MILLS, J. V. Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1930, vol: VIII, Pt: 1, pp: 1-288.

33328

Governor Bannerman and the Penang Tin Scheme. 1818-1819.

by C. D. COWAN, M.A.

(Received May 1949).

This paper sets out to tell the story of one of the few attempts made by the British East India Company in the 19th Century to carry on trade in the Far East on its own account. Apart from the Canton tea trade the Company's commercial policy was in the main directed towards leaving private merchants to bear the risk of trade East of India. This applied most obviously to the China opium trade, but was also true of the trade of the East Indian Archipelago. Woollen goods and bar iron might be exposed for sale in the Company's warehouse at Penang, but the taking of these commodities to the markets of the Malay Peninsula and the Eastern Islands was left to private European and native merchants. The trade in tin undertaken by the Company from Penang in 1818 and 1819 was begun by the authorities on the spot without the prior sanction of the Court of Directors in London or of the Governor-General in India, and was prompted by strictly local considerations, not by any general change of policy.

Great hopes were placed on the future development of Penang when in 1805 it was created the Fourth Presidency of India, a step which placed it on an equal footing with Bengal, Madras and Bombay under the Governor General. The considerations which had led to its foundation in 1786 seemed about to be fulfilled. The most important of these considerations were the need for a base to serve the naval forces defending the East Coast of India during the North East monsoon, and for a port at which the Company's ships en route to China could stop for refit and supply, so becoming independent of the Dutch-held ports which alone offered hospitality between the Coromandel Coast and Canton. At the same time it was hoped that the new settlement would grow into a great commercial centre, and provide, both from its own resources and by drawing to it much of the native trade of the Archipelago, a plentiful supply of the spices which the grip of the Dutch Company had hitherto denied at firsthand to the English.

In the event, however, most of these expectations were disappointed. As a naval base Penang was not much used after 1805. The division of the Eastern Fleet into two Commands undertaken in 1805 largely for political reasons, had made more pressing the provision of a harbour for the Eastern Command, deprived now of the use of Bombay. It was not long however before the Admiralty returned to the original system of unified command. This

and the fact that there were no strong hostile forces in Eastern waters after 1805 probably had much to do with the fact that the Admiralty did not press the development of a naval establishment at the Island.

The idea of constructing large docks met with many early practical difficulties, and no progress in this direction had been made when in 1807 the Admiralty announced its decision not to go on with the idea of building its ships at the Island, and transferred the naval establishment there to Trincomalee. A frigate was in fact built at Penang, being launched in 1809 but due either to its high cost or to the pressure of the East Indian shipbuilding interest at home the Company decided not to go on with this venture, and the remaining materials were sold to a private builder. From then on maritime construction and allied industries remained at a standstill, despite the fact that the merchants of the Island periodically suggested the building of docks at their own cost, no doubt to spur on the Company, but failed to implement the idea when the Company gave it its blessing.

The cultivation of crops for export on the Island shows a similar history of failure and frustration. The first pepper, nutmeg and clove plants secured from the Moluccas in 1796 failed. Subsequent attempts at raising pepper and other spices, and coffee, were showing excellent prospects of success when the Company's goods were shut out of their European markets by the Continental system. Large stocks piled up in the Company's warehouses in London, and the market price dropped so far that the Penang products were not wanted, and the industries languished. The growth of cotton was encouraged periodically from London when war with the United States cut off the American supplies, but the crop was never sufficiently developed to compete in the open market when the coming of peace made its encouragement no longer a likely speculation and American cotton was once more available.

The most healthy branch of Penang's activities in 1815 was its trade, mainly with countries in its immediate vicinity, the states of the Malay Peninsula and Northern Sumatra, Burma and Siam. The Island's main source of wealth was its entrepot trade. It imported textiles, iron and steel, and other European manufactured goods from England, and cotton and silk piece goods and opium from India, for transference to the hands of local merchants who distributed them in small lots throughout Malaya and the Archipelago. It imported from these areas pepper, tin, spices, woods, edible birds nests, and other Eastern produce. Those local imports bought up by the Company were shipped to Europe, those by private merchants mainly to China and India, although an increasing amount of private goods found their way to Europe after the loss of the Company's Indian monopoly in 1813.

Trade with the Eastward was handicapped by Penang's position in the North of the Straits of Malacca, which made it necessary for the native prows to run the gauntlet of the pirates who swarmed in the Straits, and of the Dutch cruisers from Malacca, which endeavoured to force all passing native trade into that port unless in possession of a licence from the Dutch authorities. Nevertheless Dutch monopolies, especially the tin monopoly treaties with the native states, and the low prices they forced on the Banka and Selangor tin producers, led to a good deal of smuggling. By 1790, indeed, the Dutch at Malacca considered the English Company their masters in the tin trade of the Straits, but were prevented by the authorities at Batavia from raising their prices or lowering their port dues.¹

After the capture of Malacca in 1795, and the removal of the Dutch obstacle to native commerce from the East, trade increased fairly rapidly, but after 1810 it remained stationary. The capture of Java, far from giving Penang a golden opportunity to capture the commerce of the whole Archipelago whilst the Dutch Company was not functioning, had the opposite effect. This was no paradox but followed simply from the fact that the replacement in Java of a government insisting on the fulfilment of monopoly contracts for the delivery of goods under duress at low prices, and levying high port dues, by one more liberal in its attitude, naturally had the effect of drawing trade to Java. It removed the incentive for smuggling and for making a long dangerous passage to an island on the Western fringe of the Archipelago, and restored Java to its full place as the natural commercial centre of the Eastern Islands. The nature of this process can be seen fairly clearly in the annual value of dutiable tin exported from Penang. From 1806 to 1811 tin exports averaged Spanish \$334,080. From 1811 to 1816 the average value fell to Spanish \$315,782. For the year 1816-1817, however, when the Dutch were again in control in Java, exports of tin rose again to \$336,356.² Since conditions in the Peninsula were fairly stable during these years it is fair to assume that the output of the Perak and Selangor mines remained constant, and that the variation is accounted for by changing amounts of tin, coming annually from Banka.

The same fluctuations can be seen in the figures for the total imports and exports of the Island for this period. From a total of £1,106,924 in 1811 imports and exports dropped to their lowest

(1) J. E. Hullu, *De Engelschen op Poeloe Pinang en der Tinaandel der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie in 1788.*

Bijdragen Taal—Land—en Volkenkunde van N.I. deel 77, 605-14.

(2) J. Anderson, *Observations on the Restoration of Banca & Malacca to the Dutch, as affecting the Tin Trade and General Commerce of Penang.* Prince of Wales Island, 1824. p. 5.

point of £759,643 in 1814, recovered slightly in 1815, and rose again to £1,046,609 in 1816.³

The tin trade seems to have made up about 20% of the total trade of Penang at the time of the return of Java to the Dutch. From 1810-11 total exports were valued at £590,521, whilst exports of tin were only one sixth of this. In 1814, however when total exports were down to £414,959 tin exports totalled about £87,000 or more than one fifth. In 1816-17 total exports averaged £525,000 and tin exports £100,400, less than one fifth.

Unfortunately all the available statistics for this period of Penang's history must be treated with great caution. The figures given by Anderson for tin are probably fairly trustworthy, being based on the tin which actually paid export duties. In the case of Braddell's statistics for total exports, however, it is not known whence he obtained his figures for goods which did not pay duties, and thus did not pass through the customs house for enumeration, and their reliability must be suspect in consequence. Again, whilst it must have been relatively easy to evade customs with small consignments of piece goods, the smuggling of tin was more difficult, so that less probably passed unlisted. It may reasonably be assumed however, both from these estimates and from the importance which they themselves assigned to it, that the trade in tin played a significant part in the prosperity of the Penang merchants.⁴

In 1817-18 the tin trade of Penang received a sudden and severe setback. The value of tin exports which had reached a peak of \$336,356 in 1816-17 dropped to \$241,845. This rapid decrease Anderson explains as being due to the greater efficiency of the Dutch naval patrols compared to those at the end of the 18th Century, and to the fact that the native traders, especially those from Banka, discovered the control of trade in Java under the new government to be less rigorous and fairer than Daendel's system had been, and overcame their reluctance to take their goods to Batavia. Certainly there was a very large naval and military force at the disposal of the Dutch at this time. Another factor may have been the fact that Banka was handed back to the Dutch in 1817 in full sovereignty, whereas their relations with this Island had previously been only on a monopoly treaty basis with the Sultan of Palembang, the native suzerain. If the trade had begun

(3) T. Braddell, *Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca*, Penang 1861. Appendix Table No. 8.

(4) For the purpose of comparison with Braddell's figures those given by Anderson for tin have been converted from Spanish Dollars to Sterling using the rates current in 1815 and 1816, Spanish \$1 bringing 5.55 and 5.95 shillings when converted via Rupees, as accounts from Penang were. At the same time bills in Spanish Dollars from the Canton Supercargoes were negotiated by the Company in London at 5/3d. and 5/4d. per Dollar. (Letters to Penang from London, CI, 1-8).

to fall off in 1817, however, it fared much worse in 1818, when the settlement of Malacca was returned to the Dutch. The value of the tin exported from Penang in the year ending June 1818 fell to \$221,458.

Whatever may have been its cause this recession in the tin trade was the occasion of great uneasiness among the merchants and officials of Penang. It was regarded as a foretaste of what would occur if the new energy which seemed to characterise the restored Dutch government in the East should show itself in an attempt to capture the trade of the Malay Peninsula through the restored settlement of Malacca. In April 1817 a petition from the merchants of Penang, asking that the decision to return Malacca to the Dutch be reconsidered, and that a boundary be defined between the Dutch and English spheres of interest in the East, had been presented to their Governor, referred to the Court of Directors in London, and eventually to the President of the Board of Control, George Canning. There of course it had met with no encouragement. One of the main objects of British policy after the defeat of Napoleon was to support the Kingdom of the United Netherlands. It was in the view of British policy, destined to bar the way to any future French threat to the North, and to play this role in European politics it must be strong. It was on this principle that the Treaty of London of 1814, which specified the return to the Dutch of their former Eastern possessions, was based. The conclusions of the Congress of Vienna, and British policy in Europe, could not be changed in favour of the commercial interests of Penang, and no more was heard of the merchants' petition.

On 8th June 1818 a second petition was received by the Governor from the mercantile community of Penang. It was prompted, as was that of 1817, by fear of the consequences of the Dutch return to Malacca.⁵ The tin trade of the Island, from its peak in 1816, had fallen in the last quarter of 1817 and showed no signs of recovery. It continued to decline in 1818, and was further dislocated when the state of Kedah, at the instigation of Siam, attacked Perak, the main tin producing area of the Peninsula.

Much of the trade from the Eastward was, if only temporarily, lost, an eventuality which had been foreseen by Governor Petrie and the Penang Council in 1814.⁶ In this state of affairs Colonel John Bannerman, the new Governor who had just been despatched from a seat on the Court of Directors in London, and the officials of Penang were concerned, as Light had been, mainly to ensure that the trade of the Peninsula did not follow that of the Islands into Dutch hands. His ideas coincided with those of the Penang mer-

(5) Anderson, *op. cit.* pp. 10-11.

(6) Governor to Governor-General, Bengal, Sept. 1814. D5, 4-11.

chants, who asked that commercial treaties be concluded with the native states with which they carried on commerce in order to secure their position in these states and to forestall the Dutch in any attempt they might make to revive their monopoly treaties with Selangor and Johore and to extend these old treaties to the states to the Northwards.

Instead of referring this petition to England, where it was likely, in view of the Government's Dutch policy, to suffer the same fate as that of 1817, Bannerman decided to take action on his own responsibility. He therefore appointed W.S. Cracroft, the Malay Translator to the Government, as Commissioner to negotiate commercial treaties with Perak and Selangor. At the same time Cracroft was to mediate in the war between Kedah and Perak and by persuading the Rajah of Perak⁷ to acquiesce in the Siamese demand for the Golden Flowers (Bunga Mas) or formal tribute in acknowledgement of suzerainty, to halt the conflict which had brought the Perak tin trade virtually to a standstill. Bannerman excused this independent action to the Supreme Government in India by explaining that

"the early resumption of Malacca by the Dutch... appeared in the judgement of the Governor in Council to call on him for the immediate adoption of measures, whose objects might be frustrated by the smallest delay, but which, bearing virtually a political tendency he would under any other circumstances have previously submitted for the consideration of the Governor-General"⁸

Cracroft's messages from the Island of Pangkor, off the Coast of Perak, producing no effect on either of the combatants, he went up the Perak River unbidden, and after arranging an armistice with the surly Raja Muda of Perak, and sending word of it to the Laksamana of Kedah, he began three weeks of inconclusive negotiations with the court of Perak at Pasir Garam. Whilst the eventual result of these negotiations was the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Perak, the business of arbitration proceeded slowly in the face of deliberate evasion by the Raja and his ministers. There seems to have been no intention of coming to a compromise with the Siamese and giving way on the question of the Bunga Mas. The time gained in negotiations was mainly used to draw out the armistice and prepare for a renewal of the war. Cracroft, after waiting a fortnight at Perak for the court to come to a decision, moved on to Selangore, which he reached on 15th August, taking with him a copy of the Perak Treaty as a model.

(7) Since the Rulers of the Malay States are in most cases styled "Raja" or "Rajah" in the Ms records of the East India Company at Penang, on which this paper is mainly based, I have referred to them throughout under that nomenclature.

(8) Governor to Governor-General, Bengal, 26 June 1818, D6, 104.

This Treaty, dated 30th July 1818,⁹ stipulated most favoured nation status for each party in the territory of the other, and by it Perak engaged not to renew obsolete and "interrupted" treaties with other nations which would tend to keep out British trade, nor grant monopolies to these other nations.

At Selangor, where in contrast to the proceedings at Perak, he was received with eagerness and his business transacted with despatch, Cracroft concluded an identical treaty to that made with Perak, dated 22nd August. The letter from the Raja of Selangor to the Governor of Penang reporting these proceedings, shorn of compliments, is short and to the point.

"The safe arrival of my friend's letter, by Mr. Cracroft has afforded me much joy and satisfaction. I have consulted with my friend's Agent and have received the treaty proposed by him with willingness and pleasure."¹⁰

This is in marked contrast to the longwinded evasion coming from Perak on the subject, which evoked some blunt comment from the ruler of Kedah.

"Mr. Cracroft acquainted me that he had had interviews with the Rajah of Perak, the result of which was a mere acknowledgement on the part of that Prince of a willingness to follow the advice given him but without any real intention of doing so. It appears therefore that the Rajah of Perak and his ministers do not pay that deference to the kind advice given which they ought to do. But I hope to be able now to compel them to come to terms, and I have given the necessary orders for that purpose. Being now much in want of gunpowder I request my friend will be so kind as to allow me to purchase 30 or 40 barrels."¹¹

At the same time as the commercial treaties made with Perak and Selangor another treaty, virtually identical with them, was obtained by Maj. Farquhar, Resident of Malacca, from Raja Muda Jaffir, the Underking of Rhio, acting for Sultan Abdul Rahman Shah, styled King of Johore, Pahang and dependencies.¹²

All three treaties were designed primarily in the hope of retaining the trade of these states despite the Dutch return to Malacca, and to prevent the renewal of the old Dutch treaties. Nor were they instigated by Bannerman with solely Malayan trade in mind. He was at the same time acutely aware of the threat that a Dutch revival in the Straits might be to the British China trade. The treaties did however raise problems for the future.

"The Commercial Alliance lately formed with several of the neighbouring Malay Chiefs would under ordinary circumstances secure the commercial

(9) From Raja of Selangor to Penang, 22nd August 1818, *Fi*, 69-76.
Maxwell & Gibson, *Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States*, 20-21.

(10) Selangor to Penang, 22nd August 1818, *Fi*, 68.

(11) Kedah to Penang, 31st August 1818, *Fi*, 80.

(12) Maxwell & Gibson, *Treaties and Engagements*, 115-116.

interests of this Port, but if the Dutch determine to adopt against the States of these Princes measures of force and violence.....it will be a question of great importance and delicacy, how far this Government will be justified in interfering should its protection be solicited by the Chiefs.....13

Apart from his success in the matter of the treaties Cracroft brought back with him from Perak and Selangor much interesting commercial information. Most of it seems to have been concerned with the readiness of various individuals in these two states, and in Kedah, to supply quantities of tin for export. This despite the fact that the tin trade in these countries had been brought practically to a standstill by the inability of private traders to cope with the difficult conditions then prevailing in the Peninsula owing to the Kedah-Perak war and the growth of piracy in the Straits of Malacca.¹⁴

At the same time Bannerman himself had not been idle, but had started a correspondence with the headmen of the Kroh tin mines, under the jurisdiction of Patani, to explore the prospects for trade with that area. The results were promising, as for instance the letter which the Governor received from the Penghulu of Kroh in August.

"The letter from the Hon. the Governor.....mentions the desire to establish permanent friendship with me, at which I am extremely happy, because in my opinion there is no country save Pulo Pinang in the present times where the poor man can live contented and in safety. Under this impression I make known to the Governor that here at my place of Residence 200 bahar of Tin can be annually procured. This should it be agreeable to the Governor to send some confidential person to me with a letter from him on the subject can be sent annually to him at Pulo Pinang....."15

Bannerman was faced with a situation in which the tin trade of Penang, was waning. There were quantities of tin available in the states of the Peninsula, but the political disturbances there had brought the trade to a standstill. He conceived the idea therefore that only a little government influence was needed to re-establish a trade now halted because private traders were deterred by the unsettled state of the neighbouring countries. The Company had had an offer of a monopoly of tin and rattans from Perak as far back as August 1816. Hoping no doubt to gain British support against pressure from Kedah and the Siamese the Raja had also offered the cession of the Island of Pangkor and the Dindings for a factory in return for the nominal payment of \$2,000 per. annum. The Raja of Selangor had shown a decidedly anti-Dutch attitude during Cracroft's visit in 1818, and was certainly ready to enter into a

(13) Governor to Governor-Gen., Bengal, 19th Sept, 1818, D6, 123-132.

(14) Anderson, op. cit. 21-22.

(15) Penghulu of Kroh to Penang, 1st August 1818, F1, 81-82. The 'bahar' ('bhar')—a measure differing slightly from state to state but roughly equivalent to 3 piculs or 400 lbs.

contract for tin with the English Company. Meanwhile, whilst Cracroft had been in Selangor, had come an offer from Kroh of 200 bhar of tin yearly.

Therefore Bannerman determined to go into the tin business on the Company's account.¹⁶ On 11th September 1818 he appointed a committee composed of the Malay Translator to the Government (Cracroft), the Superintendent of the Penang Police, and John Anderson, the official already earmarked to perform the duties of the Company's Agent for the tin trade in the Malay States. Their terms of reference were to consider the best way in which the decision to embark on a government trade in tin could be implemented.

The Committee reported on the 15th September. It was generally optimistic regarding the prospects of securing a supply of tin from Selangor, Kroh and Perak. In Selangor, whose tin export had, they said, formed part of Penang's trade for a considerable time, they urged that immediate steps be taken, to offset the fact that this state lay nearest to the Dutch in Malacca. They estimated that a supply of 100 bhar, being two thirds of the total production of the state, could be obtained annually if an Agent was sent at once to negotiate a contract. The price, they thought, would be about \$45 per bhar.

From Kroh too, they thought, a good supply could be procured. The small quantity hitherto obtained they ascribed to the small number of workmen employed in the mines there, but thought that a demand for the product would stimulate production if the difficulties of transport to Penang could be overcome. The ore had to be carried six miles from the mines to the headwaters of the Muda River on elephants, and thence shipped down the River through Kedah to Kuala Muda on the Straits of Malacca. Another problem to be faced here was the fact that the Raja of Kedah had granted a farm of the customs at Kuala Muda to two Straits Chinese, residents of Penang. The price of the tin, all these difficulties being surmounted, would be "reasonable".

In Perak, the report of the Committee went on, whence in former years the export of tin had exceeded 2,000 bhar yearly the political confusion resulting from the Kedah war had produced a stagnation of trade. Cracroft however thought that this state of affairs should have passed, and a stable government be in control of the situation by the time the Agent sent to Selangor had finished his negotiations there. The Agent could then go on to Perak, where he should be able to enter into a contract for 2,000 bhar,

(16) Anderson, op. cit. 24-30.

Penang to Court of Directors, 1st July 1819. B5, 137.

at the cheap rate of \$30 per bhar, which he assured the Committee had been the reigning price during his late visit to that country.

Taking into account the current price of tin in Penang the Company should realise a considerable profit from these supplies of ore. The contracts with Selangor, Kroh, and Perak should thus yield annually upwards of 3000 bhar, dependent on the extent to which the production of ore in the Kroh mines reacted to the stimulus of this demand. The average import of tin into Penang from all sources for the last four years had been between 8,000 and 9,000 piculs (2,700 to 3,000 bhar) so the Company and the trade of Penang should benefit considerably from the transaction¹⁷.

In conclusion the Committee recommended that a native Agent should be appointed to reside in each of the states, under the protection of the Raja, in charge of a small factory to collect the tin as it came from the mines, and that the ore should be conveyed to Penang periodically in a small vessel, a Chinese junk probably being the most suitable. Upon the factories thus established they hoped that

"the English colours might be displayed. This if effected will be a great advantage with reference to the endeavours which might be made by other European nations to supplant our influence."

What they were actually recommending was the establishment in these states of a monopoly, such as the old Dutch monopoly in tin, in fact if not in name. The presence of these factories would serve to ensure the fulfilment of the contracts and to keep out the Dutch.

The report of this Committee confirmed Bannerman in his decision to enter the tin trade, and he proceeded to take action along the lines recommended. On 19th September 1818 Anderson was appointed "Agent for Tin" and ordered to set out for Selangor, his first objective, at once. There he was to secure a contract for as much tin as possible and to select a trusty native Agent

(17) It is difficult to understand how the Committee can have accepted these estimates so uncritically. Anderson, who was a member of the Committee, gives elsewhere the value of the tin exported from Penang in these years (See above, p. 5). It ranged from about \$330,000 to \$250,000 p. a. A negligible quantity of tin was produced in the Island itself, so that these must have represented the value of imports upon re-export. Yet 3,000 bhar p.a. gives values of between \$80 and \$110 per bhar, which is absurdly high. Anderson thought himself lucky in 1819 to sell tin at \$54 per bhar. Either tin imports have been underestimated by the Committee, and the resulting discrepancy not noticed, or Anderson has published as export figures for tin what are in fact those of imports and exports combined.

to remain and supervise the filling of the contract. He was subsequently to perform the same task at Perak and at Patani (Kroh).¹⁸ It was also agreed that as remuneration for his services Anderson was to receive, over and above his normal income as Subtreasurer and Assistant Warehousekeeper to the Penang Government, a third of the net profits of the venture up to a maximum of \$5,000.

Instead of going to Selangor, Anderson appears to have gone first to Perak, making a contract with "the authorities" there for the small amount of 100 bhar, and advancing cash for the purpose. Who these authorities were does not seem clear. There is a letter extant from the Raja of Perak dated 8th November 1818, in reply to a communication from Anderson. The Raja states his desire to engage in this trade with Penang, but regrets his inability to do so since his country is under the control of the Kedah forces. At the time an earlier letter from the Raja of Kedah to the Governor of Penang similarly bemoans his inability to supply tin to the Company from Perak.

"And with regard to the tin in Perak which the Governor wishes to purchase I shall be extremely happy to cause it to be sold to him; but at present can no way say anything for certain on this head on account of the war with Perak not being finished."¹⁹

It seems probable that there was not one contract for 100 bhars but several small contracts with those individuals who happened to have small holdings of tin and wished in the troubled state of the country to realise cash on these for immediate use. The passage in Anderson's subsequent report which states that there was no one chief in Perak who could make engagements for the supply of fixed quantities of tin, but that the tin was in fact brought in small quantities for sale may have been based only on his experience of this state of things. The exports of Perak, as of most of the Malay States, seem to have been normally part of the Raja's commercial monopoly.²⁰

Having secured this small contract in Perak Anderson went on to Selangor, where a contract was made with the Raja for the supply of 500 bhars annually at \$43 per bhar. The Agent paid cash for 100 bhars of this at the time, and then returned to Perak, where he clinched the arrangements previously made and received part of the 100 bhars agreed upon. He seems not have gone on to Patani and the Kroh tin mines, although he certainly sent

(18) Letters & Orders in Council, Penang, 19th September 1818; H2, 51.

(19) Raja of Kedah to Penang, 12th October 1818, Fr, 113-124.

Raja of Perak to Penang, 8th November, Fr, 139-40.

(20) Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 33.

letters there, but thought it more important to bring to the notice of the Penang government at once several suggestions for the future conduct of the trade based on his experiences of the preceeding three months in Perak and Selangor.

Anderson's report was considered at meetings of the Penang Council on 17th December and the 25th January.²¹ Its main recommendation was that the idea of appointing native Agents to reside in each of the states with which the tin trade was carried on should be dropped. Instead the Company should obtain possession of Pangkor Island, off the Dindings, which should serve as a collecting centre for the tin of the Peninsula. This proposal implied an extension of the Company's territory, an innovation which would involve Bannerman at once with the Supreme Government of India, the Court of Directors in London, the Dutch authorities in Malacca, and the native rulers from whom a valid deed of cession would have to be sought, as well as their nominal suzerain, Siam. Despite this Bannerman took up the proposal with enthusiasm, notwithstanding the fact that his attempts to forward the other branch of the Malayan tin trade, that with the Kroh mines, had already brought him face to face with a series of exasperating difficulties and embroiled him with the government of Kedah.

The letter from the Penghulu of Kroh of 1st August 1818²² had offered a contract of 200 bhars of tin annually, and Bannerman, backed up by the optimistic recommendations of his committee had tried to get this branch of the new venture moving at the same time as Anderson commenced his operations in Perak and Selangor. He offered the Kroh tin chiefs \$40 per bhar for their tin, half of it to be paid in cash and half in any merchandize they might require at the Penang market price. They accepted his price, and for the rest of the year and the first half of 1819 a correspondence ensued which seemed to bear out the assertion of the Penang Committee that only a little stimulus was needed to produce a considerable expansion of production from these mines. On the 28th September the Penghulu wrote

"If you will assist us with advances there are other and larger mines which can be worked, the names of which are Kalian Lutan and Kalian Betong, but then there will be a proportionate increase in duties which we pay to the Raja."²³

and again on the 1st December

(21) Penang Consultations, 17th December 1818 (A14, 34-8) and 25th January 1819 (A14, 84-92).

(22) See above, p. 12.

(23) Penghulu of Kroh to Penang, 28th Sept. 1818, Fr, 108-113.

"If your Honor will agree to my Raja's wishes he will furnish (the tin) from Kalian Mas and Soonghy Tumengong which is included in the former, and the tin of Kalian Kroh, Intam and Ampat Ayer and Kalian Betong. If your Honour will send advances of cash I will open all these mines."²⁴

These expectations of a large and growing tin supply which was to make Penang "the Great Tin Mart of the East" (according to Bannerman), were however marred by complicating factors. When Anderson's report came to hand in December not one bhar of the 60 bhars reported by the Kroh chiefs as being ready for delivery in September had reached Penang.

There was first the problem of placating the miners' local suzerain, the Raja of Patani, who found in the taxes levied on the mines a major part of his revenue, and demanded to share in their increased prosperity. His taxes he levied in the form of tin. The amount due to him from the mines was computed at the low price of \$24 per bhar. He then forced the miners to dispose of this tin for him at the Penang market price, which was considerably higher. It was much higher than the \$40 per bhar offered by Bannerman and accepted by the Kroh chiefs, being at times as much as \$54. When more mines were opened up in response to the demand from Penang the Raja's taxes would also rise. A portion of the money advanced by Bannerman for the opening up of these mines would therefore be used for adding to the Raja's revenue.

The Kroh chiefs, "Datu Mekong Betong and Inche Awang Mahomad who govern the district of Kroh", therefore offered the Governor the following alternatives. Either he should accept the amount of tin specified by the Raja as a part of their deliveries to the Company, paying the higher price for this amount, or he should allow them to deduct that amount of tin from the deliveries due to the Company, and retain it so as to dispose of it themselves. This pill Bannerman swallowed, agreeing to pay the higher Penang market price for the amount of tin at present levied as taxes, although saying nothing about the position which would arise when additional mines were opened up. He asked that one of the Kroh chiefs should make the journey to Penang "that I may show him civility and make a firm and lasting agreement between us, and also consult about the expense of working more mines, with reference to which let my friends settle what would be the actual sum required." At the same time he consigned to the Kroh chiefs by his agent, one Jurakan Soleyman, cash and goods to the value of \$2400, including a chest of opium, various piece goods, 2 muskets and a horse. It was the despatch of this money and goods to pay for the 60 bhars of tin which the Kroh miners had in readiness for him, which involved Bannerman in his second and more serious difficulty.

(24) Same to same, 1st December 1818, Fr, 140.

There was a continuous water route from Kuala Muda by way of the Muda River and the Ketil River and its headwaters to within about six miles of Kroh. The modern motor road from Sungei Patani to Kroh roughly follows this. But Bannerman's consignment of money and goods got no further than Kuala Muda. There it was stopped by the agents of the tax farmer who controlled all goods going up and down the river, as the representative of the Raja of Kedah. The agent in charge of the consignment could produce no evidence that the necessary dues had been paid to the holders of the Farm, two Chinese merchants, residents of Penang. It was therefore declared confiscated, removed from the Company's boats and stored on shore, in despite of the not very effective presence of a guard of Company's Sepoys.

These proceedings moved Bannerman to write two very indignant letters, one, on the 21st October to the Raja of Kedah, and one to the unfortunate Chinese, Che Seong and Che Toah on the 31st.

To the Chinese Farmers he was brief. "The Government will hold you personally responsible for the safety of Opium, Money and Goods forcibly detained by your Agent of Kuala Muda. In the meantime a reference has been made to H.H. the Rajah of Kedah, to which answer may be daily expected."²⁵

The letter to the Raja of Kedah, however, was considerably²⁶ longer, and inaugurated a lengthy and acrimonious correspondence. In the first place Bannerman was at pains to show that there had been no intention on the part of the Company to avoid payment of the duties. He had endeavoured to ascertain from the Farmers the amount due and make payment before the goods were despatched from Penang. The Farmers however, (or one of them) had been absent in Kedah at the time, so that since the Company's business

(25) Letters & Orders in Council; to Che Seong & Che Toah, 31st Oct, 1818 H2, 85.

(26) Penang to Kedah, 21st October 1818, G1, 45-54.

"The British Government cannot wish to injure this Chinaman, and is therefore ready to pay him any consistent duty at Qualla Muida, but they cannot allow their own subjects to possess or exercise a right so prejudicial to their own interests and so inconsistent with that reciprocity which ought always to govern the relations of amity subsisting between the two states as the power of imposing arbitrary duties at Qualla Mooda and of excluding by this means trade and intercourse between the India Company and Patani, and other friendly states in the interior. My second object therefore is to request my friend will fix the rate of duties to be levied in his territories at Qualla Mooda in conformity with justice, reason and the custom of nations; and if he has been led to transfer to the Chinaman the right before mentioned. I request my friend will make some amicable arrangement by persuading the Chinaman to compromise so extraordinary and inconsistent a power for some pecuniary consideration in which this government will be most ready to afford any reasonable assistance."

was pressing the Governor had ordered his boats to sail, believing that

"the high character of the British Government would assure him and all his people that there was no intention to evade the payment of his duties at Qualla Mooda, which would be certain to be discharged the moment their amount was represented, and therefore that none of them would dare to molest the boats when they saw a party of the Company's Sepoys in charge of the property they contained."

He therefore asked for immediate redress from the Chinese Farmers at the hands of the Raja of Kedah.

Secondly he went on to discuss the matter of the farm at Kuala Muda generally. He had heard, he said, from Che Toak, that he imposed a duty on all goods travelling up and down the Muda River. The duty of 20% charged Bannerman denounced as excessive, but expressed the hope that the Raja had only in fact farmed the retail of goods destined for Kedah, not authority to levy duty on goods passing through the state to and from the interior. It would, he said, not be consistent with the good relations then existing between Kedah and Penang for the former to shut out Penang from her trade with the interior tariffs.

There is some reason suspect that the Penang Government was not so much the innocent injured party which this letter represents. They had been aware of the obstacle which the tax farm at Kuala Muda placed in the way of a successful tin trade with the Kroh mines for some time. The Committee appointed by Bannerman in September to explore the prospects of the tin trade had pointed out the existence of the Farm, the fact that it had still four years to run, and that some arrangement would have to be come to with Kedah by treaty to get over this, and ensure the free navigation of the river. "If this cannot be effected", the report of the Committee went on, "we are informed by Mr. Caunter that there is a junction between the Pry and Muda Rivers by which the tin may be conveyed hither."²⁷

It is possible that at that time the Prai estuary, to the South of Kuala Muda and opposite Penang, may have been linked to the Muda by way of the Korok River, which reaches almost to the Muda at Pantai Perai. It was at 'Pantei Pry', "a point higher up the river" that Bannerman offered to take delivery of the Kroh tin if Kuala Muda proved unsatisfactory; from this point it could pass easily on to the headwaters of the Prai, down to Kuala Prai and so to Penang.²⁸

(27) Anderson, op. cit. pp. 24-30.

(28) Governor to Penghulu of Kroh, 15th September 1818, Gr, 37-39.

Even today the portage at Pantai Perai to the Korok does not appear on the map as more than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.

It is certain that when on 22nd September 1818, at the same time as Anderson was setting out on his tin purchasing mission, Cracroft and Caunter were appointed as Commissioners to proceed to Kedah, one of the objects of their mission was to consolidate the alternative trade route down the Prai River. The Raja of Kedah himself summarised the business upon which Cracroft and Caunter addressed him as follows:

"1st: A portion of territory is requested from the North side of Qualla Meerbow to the South of Qualla Mooda, extending 60 orlongs inland the same as the territory formerly ceded. To make a settlement and factories therein for mercantile purposes.

2nd: Two portions of land of 20 square orlongs each are requested on the banks of the Pry River in the interior to make factories.

3rd: To Governor requests permission for prows bearing the Company's pass to trade up and down the Qualla Mooda and Pry on account of the Company."

The extension of the Company's land on the mainland Northward from the Muda to the Merbok River would give them control of both banks of the Muda and of both banks of the Merbok up to Sungei Patani. The exact location of the two portions of land asked for to make factories on the Prai is not known. Their purpose was obviously to make certain the grip of the Company on the alternative river route from the interior down to Kuala Prai. These concessions would place in the hands of the Penang Government the control of all the rivers from the interior whose mouths lay opposite Penang. The Farm at Kuala Muda would be extinguished. In this connection the request for land for factories on the Prai was probably intended as an alternative measure, should the attempt to gain control of the Muda fail. If they obtained control of the Muda the Company would have no use for the Prai route, except insofar as they might wish to deny all the East-West trade routes to others.

The Raja of Kedah returned an evasive answer to these requests, alleging the absence of his chief ministers in Perak as the reason why no decisive answer could be returned at that time. The quarrel over the seizure of the Company's goods at Kuala Muda breaking out at the same time, Cracroft and Caunter returned to Penang with this part of their assignment unaccomplished.

It is against this background of Bannerman's definite foreknowledge of the Farm at Kuala Muda and what it entailed for the tin traffic, and his attempts to circumvent or gain control of the obstacle, that the correspondence between him and Kedah on the subject of the Farm must be viewed. It is perhaps too much to say that Bannerman sent off the boats to Kuala Muda with the duties unpaid meaning that they should be detained by the Farmers'

(29) Kedah to Penang, 12th October, 1818, Fr, 113-124.

agents there. But when they had been so detained he certainly made the most of the opportunity so presented to try and frighten the Raja into revoking the grant of the Farm.³⁰

By empowering a subject of the Government of Penang to hold up the trade of that Government, he said, the Raja was embroiling Penang and Kedah in a serious quarrel. The written commission given by the Raja to the Farmers only granted them the retail of goods consumed in Kedah. It did not mention a right to exclusive control of the Muda River or to prevent the transit of goods through the territories of Kedah. The duties charged by the Farmers amounted in fact to a total prohibition of trade, being ruinously high. They levied \$15 per bhar on tin, which on the \$40 per bhar which the Company was paying for their tin from Kroh came to over 37%. For one country to deny to another at peace with it access to the trade of a third was, said the Governor, a breach of the Law of Nations and must lead to a rupture between the two.

"I am very anxious to be on terms of friendship with the Rajah of Kedah and to give him no uneasiness or trouble, but I must tell my friend that if he cannot comply with my request it will be my imperative duty to refer the whole subject to the Governor-General of Bengal, which reference can only be avoided by prompt acquiescence to the suggestions I shall now offer."

These 'suggestions' were that the Raja should at once send an agent of his own to Kuala Muda who should release the confiscated goods and pass them to their destination, accepting from the Company the existing "normal" duties on behalf of the Raja. The Farmers Bannerman refused to deal with. Their agent at Kuala Muda must be instantly dismissed for his insolent conduct. These were to be preliminary measures to the general readjustment of the export duties, and "such as the honour and dignity of the Company's Government cannot dispense with."

Unfortunately for Bannerman and the Penang tin trade the Raja of Kedah, much as he wished to remain on good terms with the British authorities, feared the displeasure of the Siamese even more. The East India Company had not up to that time been noted for their energetic interference in the politics of the Malay States. The Company might threaten or cajole but it did not act except when the safety of Penang itself was threatened. The Siamese on the other hand had since 1816 been exerting continuous pressure on Kedah and the northern states, and the Company, who owed their possession of Penang and Province Wellesley to the hope on the part of Kedah that they would act as a counterweight to Siam, had been singularly unwilling to play this role. The cession of Province Wellesley had been made despite the displeasure of the

(30) For Bannerman's letters to Kedah on this subject see Penang Letters to Native Rulers, Gt. 45-54, 54-65. For the Raja's letters in reply Penang Letters from Native Rulers, Ft. 128-153.

Siamese, and the Raja of Kedah feared that any fresh concessions to the Company would bring more concrete evidence of Siamese anger on his head. Already he had been forced to attack Perak at the bidding of his northern overlords, and to contribute to their expedition against Burma. He was being pressed to stop the delivery of rice to Penang, without which the Island could not feed itself, and to send subsidies in the form of tin and money northwards.

He remained therefore unmoved by the threats and blandishments of Penang. He could not, he said, terminate the Farm without breaking his word to the Farmers. He agreed that a general duty of 20% on all goods which the Farmers were levying was excessive, but pointed out that the duty of \$15 on tin was not new but that sanctioned by custom. Any revision of the duties must be a question between the Governor of Penang and the Farmers; he could not interfere with them once he had granted them the Farm. All he could do was to give a vague promise that these considerations would not bind him when the term of the Farm had expired in four years time. Meanwhile he would write to the Farmers asking them not to levy duties higher than those which conformed to established usage, and not to conduct their business so as to involve him in quarrels with the Government of Penang. He directed them to restore the Company's goods and cash which they held, and to receive from Penang the duties on them, "reckoning them according to former custom." At the same time he asked the Government of Penang for a loan of \$30,000 to help him out of his difficulties with Siam.

From this position he would not stir, despite the nonpayment of the pension due to him from Penang. There is some indication of a desire to renew negotiations on the subject under Bannerman's successor, Governor Phillips, after the pension had been paid, but it was then too late.³¹ The Siamese invasions of 1821 swept the Raja from his throne and left the Company to deal with a more truculent neighbour.

Although the goods which had been the occasion of this unsatisfactory correspondence were eventually returned by the Chinese Farmers with "a suitably submissive apology" there is some evidence that even this satisfaction was not obtained without further pressure. There are two Orders in Council in the Penang records for 1819 which direct the return to Che Toah and Che Seong of a Land Grant belonging to them and held under mortgage to the Government. It is not unlikely that this Land Grant was seized

(31) Raja of Kedah to Penang, 20th July 1819, F2, 152-5.

Same to same. 27th October 1819, F3, 19-22.

by Bannerman in 1818 as security against the return of the Company's goods.³²

When therefore the Governor and Council of Penang met to consider Anderson's report in December and January they had a mixed background of promised success and threatened failure between them. That part of the Company's tin trade concerned with the North of the Peninsula, which had been inaugurated by Bannerman in his correspondence with Kroh had been brought to a standstill, rather had never started to move. It had failed to surmount difficulties which were in the last analysis political. The quarrel over the Kuala Muda Tax farmer had involved Bannerman in a deadlock with Kedah which could only be broken by the exertion of political pressure. The correspondence with the Kroh chiefs went on, but the Farmers continued to obstruct traffic at Kuala Muda. A quantity of tin was collected at Kroh, but the first shipment of 60 bhars was stopped by the Farmer, so that shipment of the rest had to be halted. It was therefore only possible to hope that future events might bring about a change in the attitude of Kedah, or place in the hands of the Penang Government the means of bringing about such a change. In the meantime the Kroh miners were encouraged to go on collecting tin and offered an advance of cash to make this possible.³³

With respect to Anderson's work in Selangor and Perak, however, the future was more hopeful. Considerable contracts had already been placed in these states and partially filled. It was expected that the political disturbances in Perak would in the near future be resolved, and that the quantity of tin available there would be greatly increased. The main feature of Anderson's report was his recommendation that the Company take steps to occupy the Island of Pangkor, on which they should set up a small factory which would serve as a collecting centre for all the tin from the Malay States. Incidentally he pointed out that an English settlement there would probably destroy the scourge of piracy in the waters around Penang.³⁴

The original suggestion of the Committee on the tin trade had been that contracts be entered into with the Native Rulers, and that small establishments under native agents be maintained at the capital of each state to collect the tin and ensure fulfilment of the contracts. This system, said Anderson, would involve many disadvantages, especially in Perak. There was no one chief who could contract for the whole of the state's tin supplies (the Raja being at that time powerless owing to the Kedah war), so that many small contracts would have to be made with individual miners

(32) Letters & Orders in Council, H2, 241 & 258.

(33) Penang to the Penghulu of Kroh, 26th December 1818, G1, 72-5.

(34) Anderson, op. cit. pp. 33-37.

or merchants. They usually required cash in advance to finance their activities, and since they were absent for some time in the interior collecting the tin, could easily abscond with the cash. The Company's prices were liable to be lower than those offered by some other traders who had not large overhead charges to meet, so that there would be a constant temptation for the miners to evade their contracts.

Occupation of Pangkor would provide a collecting centre whither the native traders could bring their tin, strategically situated near the mouth of the Perak River, and between the Trong River to the North and the Burnam to the South, all main water routes from the interior. The price offered could be higher, since the Company would not have to sustain the cost of native agents and of smaller establishments in each state, and there would be no troublesome contract system to maintain. There were also tin mines on Pangkor itself, and in the Dindings, and "a large quantity is said to be procurable if there were sufficient workmen and capital to work the mines." On the Dindings River the son of the Raja of Selangor had lately formed a settlement to milk the Dindings' tin miners as they brought their tin downriver.

He thought that the occupation of this Island was essential in any case to forestall any Dutch move. If the Dutch held Pangkor they could cut off any trade coming out of the Perak River. Their settlement would be a great encouragement to smuggling, and it would be impossible to hold any native trader to a contract against his will. A Dutch Pangkor, in fact, would play the role the 18th Century Penang had done towards the Dutch tin trade centred on Malacca. The remains of a Dutch fort on Pangkor was sufficient evidence that the Dutch had had pretensions in this part of the Peninsula.³⁵ [The Perak chiefs feared that they would attempt to return after their re-occupation of Malacca, and encouraged Anderson in the idea that a British occupation "would be an advisable measure, and concurred with me that the tin trade could not possibly be of advantage in that quarter at least to the Hon. Company, without such an establishment."

Having met with an irritating check to his activities in Kroh, Bannerman, followed by his Council, greeted this chance of making some definite headway in the trade with the Southern states with enthusiasm. The Governor commented optimistically that whilst Anderson may have met with some difficulties in Perak the scheme

(35) The first Dutch fort on Pangkor (a wooden structure) dated from 1670. The garrison was overrun and massacred in 1690 and was not replaced, but a stone pillar erected and renovated periodically to mark Dutch sovereignty. The fort was ordered to be rebuilt in 1745, but at the end 1748 the garrison was removed to a factory up the Perak River "because of the insalubrious climate of Pulo Dinding." cf. Winstedt, *History of Perak*.

as a whole seemed to hold out promise of great success. He had in mind already the prospect of Penang as the great tin mart of the East, attracting to its warehouses the tin of the Malay Peninsula and of Junk Ceylon in large enough quantities to attract the ships passing through to China, where a ready market awaited it. He wished at once to place troops on Pangkor to guard against a Dutch move in that direction whilst enquiries were made to define the legality of Dutch and Malay claims to the area.³⁶ The Penang Council, however, had a little time for second thoughts before the subject was again considered, and in their minutes tabled on the 25th January 1819 Councillors Phillips and Erskine sounded a note of caution.³⁷

Phillips, after noting that the Dutch claims rested on their previous nominal control of Perak, and that the claims of Selangor and Kedah were based, the first on the right of ancient conquest and the latter on the fact of their conquest of Perak, went on to say that the Malay Rulers would probably be ready to transfer their claims to the Company in return for a consideration, but that he expected the Dutch to prove more difficult. He therefore thought that no move ought to be made until the authorities in India had been consulted and their backing was assured. Otherwise withdrawal might be necessary in face of Dutch opposition, causing much loss of face and prejudicing the relations of the Company in Penang with the Malay States.

Erskine was of similar conviction. He suggested that a ship be sent to lay off the Island, providing temporary accommodation for the Agent for Tin, the Colonial Engineer, and such other officials as might be thought necessary. An accurate survey of the place and an assessment of its potentialities might then be made without assuming any commitments or rousing any active opposition. He stressed the importance of following up this opening, and of sparing no pains in forwarding the efforts of Anderson and the whole tin prospect as of primary importance for the future of Penang.

In fact a letter had already been sent to the Governor-General in Bengal on the 22nd January, asking for his approval of the annexation of the Island.³⁸ It briefly reviewed the motives which had prompted the appointment of an Agent for Tin, and stressed the importance of fore-stalling the Dutch in any attempt they might make to regain possession of Pangkor. They had already made one such attempt early in January, and if they were in the future successful in this policy Pangkor would at once block all the trade of Penang with the Malay States. The fact that the possession

(36) Penang Consultations, 17th December 1818, A14, 34-8.

(37) Penang Consultations, 25 January 1819, A14, 84-92.

(38) Penang to Governor-General, Fort William, 22nd January 1819, D6, 160-1.

of the Island would materially decrease the amount of piracy in those seas was stressed as a material factor. The amount of Bengal Treasury funds expended in keeping anti-pirate vessels in Penang waters must have made this a very important argument in favour of the acceptance of the scheme in Bengal.

The copies of correspondence of a Dutch mission at Pangkor with the Perak chiefs to which Bannerman refers do not seem to have survived in the records. There is however no reason to doubt the truth of the reference. Both Anderson and Low refer to it, and there is a well documented reference to a later Dutch Mission to Selangor in April and May 1819, led by the same envoy and having the same general objects, the resurrection of the obsolete treaties which gave the Dutch Company monopoly rights in the Malayan tin trade.³⁹

Bannerman concluded by urging on the authorities in India despatch in their decision. "The great importance of holding possession of this commanding spot, would have induced this Government to occupy it at once, but the positive instructions recently received from the Supreme Government, to avoid the possibility of a collision with the Dutch authorities, has urged the propriety of making a pause, and of referring the matter for the consideration of the Supreme Government." His impatience to have his hands freed to counter any Dutch move in the Peninsula was to be justified in the near future. In the meantime he settled down to wait for the reply of the Supreme Government, and Anderson resumed his activities collecting tin in Perak and Selangor.

During March there was a sporadic correspondence with Selangor.⁴⁰ The Raja intimated to Bannerman that 100 bhar of tin was awaiting collection, that he contemplated going on pilgrimage to Mecca and would like to wait in Penang until an Arab vessel should be available to take him thence, and that a supply of muskets and cannon was wanted in Selangor. Bannerman acknowledged the readiness of the tin and said he would send for it, regretted that no cannon were available but that some muskets would be sent, and offered to arrange for the Raja's journey to Penang. Then came a letter dated 1st May 1819⁴¹ containing the welcome news that 200 bhars of tin were now ready, and the not so welcome information that a Dutch mission from Malacca had found its way to the Court of Selangor. A copy of a letter from Timmerman Thyssen, the Dutch Governor of Malacca, dated 28th March was enclosed. Thyssen offered to assist the Raja as

(39) See below, p. 34-37.

(40) Rajah of Selangor to Penang, 7th March 1819, F1, 169-172.
Penang to Selangor, 2nd April 1819, G1, 77-79.

(41) Raja of Selangor to Penang, 1st May 1818, F2, 130-135.

much as was possible to promote the prosperity of his country, and expressed himself much pleased on hearing that the ruler of Selangor intended to help Perak expel the Siamese (an intention which Raja Ibrahim indignantly repudiated). More specifically he directed the Raja's attention to the old Dutch treaty of 1786, which he wished renewed and extended.

Commissioner Stekker, the Fiscal of Malacca and leader of the Dutch mission, being apparently met with procrastination and fair words whilst news from Penang which could be used as a counterweight to the Dutch was anxiously awaited, Governor Thyssen sent a second letter more pointed in its terms than the first. It was impossible, he said, to set aside a treaty solemnly sworn to, as that with the Dutch had been is 1786. In Johor, Lingga, Pahang and Rhio the people had immediately seen when the Dutch returned that they had been wrong to come to an understanding with the English. "There "the Sultan possessed his country in the same way as my friend does his of Salangore, viz., that he would not do anything whatsoever without the consent of the King of Holland."⁴² Therefore he wished that the Raja and chiefs should accept a new treaty on the lines of that of 1786.

The Treaty referred to is that executed between Raja Ibrahim and Commissioner Couperous on 29th July 1786.⁴³ By it the Raja acknowledged the sovereignty of the Dutch East India Company, from whom he held Selangor as a fief. In the commercial sphere the Raja undertook that all Dutch ships should have free access to the ports and rivers of his state, but that the ships of other European nations and Chinese junks should be excluded. All vessels from Selangor must call in at Malacca and take a pass before proceeding down the Straits; they should be admitted to all Dutch harbours, but must pay the normal duties for non-Dutch vessels there. The Raja bound himself and his successors to deliver all the tin produced in Selangor to the Dutch in Malacca at the rate of \$36-38 per bhar, depending on the quality of the tin, or at \$34-36 per bhar if collected by Dutch vessels.

The enforcement of these terms could not but be distasteful to the ruler of Selangor, if only for the monetary loss he must suffer under the tin monopoly clause of the treaty. The price stipulated was far below what he could get from Penang, or from any private trader. Moreover Selangor had been free from European interference for nearly thirty years, and had managed to remain in the Siamese sphere of influence. Raja Ibrahim therefore sent a desperate letter to Bannerman at Penang, complaining that

(42) Selangor to Penang, 15th May 1819, F2, 124-129.

(43) Contracten Malacca, bundel Buitenland No. 35C, 91-115, in the Landsarchief, Batavia. I have to thank the Landsarchivaris, Prof. Dr. W. Ph. Coolhaas, who has been kind enough to supply me with a copy.

his Treaty with the English Company, which he had shown to the Dutch Mission, as he had been told by his English friends to do, had not acted as the all powerful charm which he had been led to believe it was. The Dutch had brushed it aside and refused to recognise the validity of any engagement save the Dutch Treaty of 1786. He was, he said, "like one divided between iron on the right hand and iron on the left hand—cut in two."⁴⁴ He asked that the Penang Government should make their position clear. Either they must release him from his obligation towards the Company, so that he could comply with the Dutch demand with a clear conscience, or they must get him out of his trouble by sending an Agent of their own to settle the matter with the Dutch for him.

This news did not come as a great surprise to Bannerman. The Dutch, he told the Penang Council on 27th May,⁴⁵ as he had always predicted, and spurred on by the British occupation of Singapore in February, had attacked the independence of Selangor and Perak from Malacca. At the same time he was prevented from taking any effective action in Selangor by the attitude of the Supreme Government and the authorities in England. In the matter of the proposed occupation of Pangkor a reply from the Supreme Government defining their policy was still awaited. Nevertheless he thought that the seriousness of the Dutch move as it affected Penang justified him in preventing the Raja of Selangor from becoming the tool of Dutch policy. If they succeeded in Selangor, Perak would be the next object of their attentions, and then probably Kedah. The large Dutch-controlled area around Penang which would result would cripple its trade and political relations with the Malay States.

It was therefore resolved that Cracroft, who had negotiated the Commercial Treaty of 1818, should be sent as Agent to Selangor. The formal object of his mission would be to collect the tin, amounting now to 250 bhars, which was awaiting shipment to Penang.⁴⁶ Whilst there however he should impress upon the Raja the formal nature of his engagements with the English Company, and taking care not to come into open collision with the Dutch endeavour to secure continuance of those engagements, pointing out to the Raja the financial advantages of standing by his contract. Should the Raja still wish to go on pilgrimage to Mecca Cracroft was to bring him back to Penang. At the same time he must "establish in the mind of the Rajah" and of his chief ministers that the temporary administration left functioning in his absence would not be competent to alter existing engagements and treaties, thus preventing any formal action on the part of Malacca. This

(44) Raja of Selangor to Penang, 15th May 1819, F2 124-127.

(45) Penang Consultations, 27th May 1818, A14, 188-193.

(46) For Cracroft's instructions, Penang Letters & Orders in Council, H2, 306-309.

again must be done without collision with the Dutch. Offering the Raja a passage was merely a means for him to evade discussion with the Dutch, and avoid them forcing him into any further commitments. Cracroft was to stress the fact that it implied no admission on the part of the Company of any obligation to support his government in Selangor against any third party, but was "merely a token of personal friendship". Bannerman wished, whilst avoiding any action which could be represented either by the authorities in India and England, or by the Dutch, as positive opposition to the Dutch authorities, to remove any chance of the Dutch mission being able to achieve any concrete diplomatic success.

Before Cracroft left on his errand permission was received from the Bengal authorities to proceed with the projected occupation of Pangkor. Cracroft was therefore furnished with additional instructions⁴⁷ ordering him, in addition to the other objects of his mission, to ask the Raja of Selangor for the cession of the island, after he had ascertained that he was in fact in possession of complete sovereignty there and that there was no likelihood of his grant being disputed by the Dutch or any other power. He was to observe that whilst possession of all the smaller islands surrounding Pangkor was also requested the Company had no intention of occupying them, but merely wished to secure the exclusion of the Dutch. It was impressed upon the envoy that in accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government and the policy of the Court of Directors, all conflict with the Dutch on the subject was to be avoided. If he found when he arrived at Selangor that a regular treaty had in fact been obtained by the Dutch he was to avoid all negotiations on the subject.

On arrival at Selangor Cracroft found that the Dutch had been more successful there than had been hoped. Raja Ibrahim, after making a vain attempt to enlist Bannerman's support against them, had found that the Company were not prepared for an open collision. He had therefore been left with no choice but to sign a revival of the treaty of 1786.⁴⁸ Cracroft seems to have concluded that it would be better not to broach the subject of Pangkor, a decision in which he was supported by the authorities at Penang, and the sole result of his mission as far as the tin trade was concerned was that he brought back with him to Penang 310 bhars of tin in early July.⁴⁹

Bannerman had applied first to Selangor in the matter of Pangkor partly because the Cracroft mission was about to leave

(47) Penang Letters & Orders in Council, 4th June 1819, H3.

(48) This treaty was not however, subsequently ratified at Batavia, and Selangor became again independent (Letter dated 23rd December 1819 from Governor Thyssen to Raja of Selangor, A18, 340)
Mills, *British Malaya* 1824-67, P. 77.

(49) Penang, Letters to London, 6th Jan. 1820, B5, 178.

for that place, and partly because the son of the Raja was in de facto possession of the Island. Shortly afterwards however, he despatched letters to the Raja of Kedah and the de facto rulers of Perak asking for their views on the matter. The Raja of Kedah confirmed the fact that he claimed Pangkor by virtue of his conquest of and suzerainty over Perak, but was not willing to cede the Island to the Company because of his fear of Siam.

"I feel a difficulty how to act, because I attacked the Perak country at the desire of the King of Siam, and the Boonga Mas which was commanded has been sent from the former to the latter state; for this reason, were I ever so much disposed this way, I should hesitate, as I am apprehensive of giving offence to the King of Siam, for I recollect he formerly acquainted me in regard to his late Majesty of Kedah's grant to the Company of Pry and along the North side of (50) . . . and the Southern bank of the Qualla Mooda, which extends 600 Orlongs by the sea side, that he was by no means pleased, as the Quedah country is tributary to Siam."⁵¹

Because of the usefulness of the East India Company as a counterweight to possible Dutch influence, however, he left a loophole open for discussion by suggesting the despatch of an emissary to Kedah to discuss the matter more fully.

The Perak chiefs, who were neither in possession of the Island nor free agents, being under the control of Kedah, indicated that they were perfectly willing to part with what they did not possess, provided the Company made a substantial money payment. Failing this, although they could not prevent the Company taking the Island by force they would not make formal cession.⁵²

The Company's attempts to trade in tin and to make of Penang a great tin market was thus by August 1819 in this position. The Northern branch of the tin trade, that from the Kroh mines, promised well, but delivery of the tin was held up by the matter of the Chinese tax Farmer at Kuala Muda, and the unwillingness of the Raja of Kedah to come to any compromise on the matter. From Perak and Selangor a certain amount of tin (650 bhars in all) had been collected in fulfillment of the contracts made by Anderson, but the political condition of these states made it unlikely that larger quantities would be immediately available, and Bannerman's attempt to obtain the cession of Pangkor, which would provide a convenient collecting centre, and make intervention in these states unnecessary, had not met with success. Moreover, the foundation of Singapore in February had introduced a new factor into Bannerman's calculations.

A discussion of Bannerman's opposition to the foundation of Singapore lies outside the scope of this monograph, based as it was

(50) Illegible in Ms. Probably "Qualla Kreen".

(51) Raja of Kedah to Penang, 20th July 1819, F2, 155-159.

(52) Raja Muda & Bindahara of Perak to Penang, 22nd August 1819, F3, 2-4.

on his view of the true role of Penang in the Eastern trade of the East India Company, on his personal enmity for Raffles, and more on his interpretation and support of the policy of his superiors in London towards the Dutch in the East. The Commercial Treaties of 1818 had been negotiated, and the tin trade undertaken by the Company in order to prevent the return of the Dutch to Malacca bringing with it a resumption of their monopoly in the Peninsula and cutting off totally Penang's trade with the Eastward. With the foundation of Singapore, however the Dutch at Malacca were themselves outflanked. Anderson, writing in 1824, had grasped at once the role which Singapore was to play in the commerce of the Straits and the Peninsula.

"The establishment of Singapore has necessarily drawn away much of the more Eastern trade, which formerly centred on Pinang and Java; but this is not an evil we have any reason to complain of. . . . the British trade has been somewhat increased on the aggregate, and so long as this desirable object can be secured it matters not whether the Emporium is situated a few degrees farther North or South. Had Malacca never been given up and timely arrangements been made to prevent the Dutch forming any establishment to the Southward of that place, in these Straits, it is not an unreasonable inference that the same extension of trade, under the same management, would have been the result; for a few leagues would have made no difference whatever to the Eastern traders. . . . We have now a chain of settlements along the Eastern side of the Straits and have the Key in our hands. . . ."53

The survival of the settlement of Singapore seemed, however, by no means probable in 1819, especially to Bannerman. To him Raffles' venture seemed only to have accomplished what he feared; it had, he said, provoked the Dutch to renew their unwelcome activities in the Peninsula, and he saw the Dutch attempt to reassert their control over Selangor as the direct outcome of the British landing on Singapore. To him, without foreknowledge of the success of the settlement at Singapore, or of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, it seemed only the more necessary to take what steps he could to salvage as much of the trade of the Peninsula as was possible from the Dutch and the Siamese without provoking an open rupture with either of these powers. He had the support of the majority of the Penang Council in this view.⁵⁴

On the 8th August 1819, however, Bannerman died.

The problems which awaited solution before the tin trade of Penang, as envisaged by its Governor, could proceed, were in the last resort brought about by the activities of the Dutch and of the Siamese. Because of the policy of the British Government and the Court of Directors these problems had to be solved without

(53) Anderson, *On the Restoration of Banca and Malacca to the Dutch, as affecting the Tin Trade and General Commerce of Penang*. 1824. Introduction.

(54) Penang Consultations, 27th May 1819, A14, 188-193.
Penang to the Court of Directors, 1st July 1820, B5, 159-165.

risking the active hostility of these powers. At the same time their solutions, and the capture of the tin trade of the Malay States, by diplomacy, would involve both Siam and the Dutch giving up their own ambitions in the Peninsula. This they were hardly likely to do without some substantial compensation elsewhere, and this compensation it was outside Bannerman's power to provide.

This difficult and delicate task Bannerman as the originator and leading spirit of the tin scheme might have tackled. His colleagues on the Penang Council, the most senior of whom, Phillips, now became Governor, decided however that enough had been done to justify the original purpose of Government participation in the trade. They therefore resigned the existing difficulties to the consideration of the Supreme Government in Bengal and the Court of Directors in London. Anderson was directed to wind up his accounts as Agent for Tin and to dispose of the tin already collected by public auction. The matter of the Dutch in Selangor was referred to the Supreme Government and to London, and it was suggested that the problem of the Siamese in the Peninsula and the obstacles their actions presented to British commerce might be settled by the dispatch of a mission from the Governor-General to the Court of Siam.

The Penang Council did not give up completely, however, the idea of drawing a large part of the Eastern tin trade to Penang. In addition to the pious hope that the initiative of private merchants might now overcome the obstacles to trade which had halted it in 1818, and follow up the work which the Company had begun, they drew the attention of the authorities in London and India to the importance of the possession of Junk Ceylon, off the West coast of the Kra Isthmus, in this connection.

".....while the Governor in Council ventures most respectfully to recommend the subject to the attention of the Supreme Government at this time, he does so from the conviction that the period is most favourable for us obtaining the purposes in contemplation, either by means of a mission to Siam, or by negotiation with the existing authority on the Island itself."⁵⁵

It had often been urged that the Company should endeavour to secure this island for its valuable tin deposits and it had been recommended during the period before the acquisition of Penang as a rival site for the Company's naval base on the Eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. There was no immediate response to this suggestion in 1819, but the matter did in fact form one of the items on the agenda of Crawford when he was dispatched on a mission to Siam in 1821. In asking for Junk Ceylon, however, as in the case of his other objects, the furtherance of the Company's trade with Siam by the negotiation of a Tariff Agreement, and

(55) Penang to Governor-General, 5th November 1819, D6, 252.

the pleading of the case of the Raja of Kedah, whose country had just been overrun by the Siamese, he met with complete lack of success.

Since it was decided to wind up the Government's part in the tin trade all the tin collected by Anderson was smelted and put up for auction in small lots during August. There were however no buyers at remunerative prices, and it was disposed of in two lots to the Captains of two of the Company's ships, the General Harris and the Warren Hastings, at an overall price of \$18 per picul, the buyers paying export duties and shipping charges. Half of the purchase price was received in cash on the spot, the balance being forwarded by the Select Committee of Supercargoes when the tin was disposed of at Canton in December. Since it had been purchased by the Company at an average price of \$43 per bhar this selling price of \$18 per picul (\$54 per bhar) produced a handsome profit. After disposal by Anderson of various stores held by him as Agent for Tin, and the payment of all expenses, it yielded a clear gain of \$5396.41, of which Anderson, in accordance with his original arrangement with Bannerman in 1818, took one third. In addition to this the revenue of Penang benefitted from export duties to the extent of \$800.⁵⁶

This balance sheet does not however include the expenses of the least successful and probably most costly part of the tin venture, that concerned with the Kroh mines.

This result was generally taken by the East India Company's officials in Penang to indicate that with a little perseverance the tin trade could prove highly remunerative both to the private merchants to whom it was now left, and to the revenue of the Government. They thought in fact that profits could be even higher, since in the beginning of any new venture experience has to be paid for by high expenses. Moreover the Company had undertaken the trade in the first place because they considered that the cost of reopening a trade stagnating because of political uncertainty was beyond the means and prestige of private enterprise. The winding up of Anderson's venture then by no means represented a loss of faith in the future of Penang as the centre of this trade, nor lack of confidence that the obstructions put in the way of the trade by the Dutch in the South and the Siamese in the North would eventually be removed by direct action on the part of the British Government and the Company in Holland and Siam.

Clubley, an experienced member of the Penang Council, summarised this point of view when he wrote in a Minute on the conclusion of the tin trade by the Company.

(56) Orders and Letter in Council, September & October 1818, H3, 152-4, 170-2
Penang to London, 6th January 1820, B5, 249-51.

"The experience we have acquired with respect to that trade, added to the trouble and the risk attending the prosecution of it, point out to us, I think, that enough had been done already for the beneficial purposes which were contemplated by our late respected Governor, when he proposed the arrangement in the first instance. I therefore decidedly think that we should stop now and that the trade in tin should be hereafter left to the industry of the merchants of the place who are the most concerned in the successful prosecution of it. I quite agree with the Hon. the President in the justice of his ideas, that we shall best encourage the trade in tin by endeavouring as much as lies in our power to remove the barriers which at present either the selfish or timid policy of the neighbouring Malay governments have opposed to the free transit of that article. The opening of a free communication with Qualla Mooda will be highly desirable in this view on the one side, and on the other the possession of Pangkor. would facilitate the trade with Perak, and render it liable to the least possible obstruction. I am aware however of the justice and propriety of the Hon. the President's objections against our occupation of Pangkor at the present, in view to avoid any cause for jealousy either from the Dutch government or that of Siam, under present circumstances. It does not appear to me however that any objections do arise from any other quarter to prevent this desirable measure being obtained, and when the discussions which have already been referred to Europe shall be adjusted, I certainly hope to see that Island an integral part of this Government."

Governor Bannerman's participation on behalf of the East India Company in the tin trade of the Malayan Peninsula was a positive attempt to guard Penang's trade from two threats; firstly that the Dutch, restored to Malacca, would attempt again to monopolise the trade of the Malay States; secondly that the wars between the Malay Rulers, pushed on by Siamese pressure, would produce a state of unsettlement and lawlessness, a complete breakdown of authority with the traders of Penang could not cope, and which would ruin the states as markets.

He attempted in other ways to achieve the same objects. By the Commercial Treaties of 1818 he sought to guarantee freedom of trade, and to guard against a renewal of the Dutch monopoly treaties. At the same time he endeavoured through Cracroft to mediate in the war between Kedah and Perak, and recommended to the Supreme Government that negotiations be set on foot with the Court of Siam with a view to bettering conditions under which commerce with Siam and the Northern States of the Peninsula was carried on.⁵⁷ The Company's intervention in the tin trade was a 'positive' attempt to secure these ends in that, rather than wait and see whether the Commercial Treaties of 1818 would in fact maintain freedom of trade as against the Dutch, rather than wait for affairs in Perak to settle down, Bannerman intended, by pushing on the trade in conditions with which only the resources and authority of the Company could cope, to act as caretaker of the trade until private merchants could again risk their capital with reasonable security. He meant, by securing as much of the tin output of Perak and Selangor as was possible, on terms equally

(57) Governor to Bengal, 26th June 1818, D6, 104.

beneficial to the producers as to the Company to reduce the chances of the Dutch of overcoming the paper safeguard of the Treaties.

From this view of the Government's trade in tin Bannerman advanced rapidly to a wider and more ambitious scheme. By December 1818, when he had already the problem of the Kuala Muda tax-farmer to plague him, he could yet recommend vigorously Anderson's suggestion that Pangkor should be acquired to act as a tin collecting centre. He was prepared to go even further. "Perak", he said, forms a part only, and but a small part, of the proposed scheme, which comprehends the whole of the Malay Peninsula and neighbouring Isles, and looks to securing the extensive produce of Junk Ceylon.

"I need not therefore acquaint my colleagues that my sentiments on the plan proposed for rendering this Settlement a great Mart for Tin remains unaltered and in full force. To accomplish this important object, which may indeed be ultimately the means of inducing the H. C. China direct ships to touch at this Port, I am well aware there are many difficulties yet to be surmounted, I shall have no objection to grapple with these, and if the Board (the Penang Council) still concurs with me on the public utility of the measure, I shall use every exertion to prosecute the same with increased vigour and efficiency."⁵⁸

Pangkor in the South and Junk Ceylon in the North were to be two depots feeding the entire Malayan and much of the Siamese tin production into the warehouses of Penang, where it would attract all the ships which had previously bye-passed the Island on their way to China, and much of the shipping of other nations. With this in mind Bannerman began to consider the advantage of a general lowering of the duties levied at Penang on foreign ships.⁵⁹

Implementation of this scheme would involve a clash with Siamese interests at Junk Ceylon and in the Peninsula, with Dutch interest in Selangor, Perak and Pangkor, and with the Court of Directors, who were averse to fresh acquisitions of territory and to interference in the affairs of the Malay States. It is not therefore surprising that Bannerman's successor was glad to represent the aim of the Government's tin trade as confined to the original idea of a "caretaker", and to declare that task no longer necessary. He relinquished to the Supreme Government the problem of the obstructions to trade arising from Dutch and Siamese policy. The settlement of Singapore, if maintained, would prevent a Dutch monopoly system being set up from Malacca. To go further with the tin scheme would only further enrage the Dutch, already stirred up by the foundation of Singapore, and begin an exchange with the Siamese which would quickly take him beyond his depth and lead him into disfavour with the Supreme Government.

(58) Minute by Bannerman in Penang Consultations, 17th December 1818, A14, 34-38.

(59) Minute recorded 16th July 1819, A14, 283-329.

The fate of the Penang tin scheme was in the event dependent on political decisions taken in Europe, and its failure is a commentary on the peculiar relations of Eastern Commerce and European politics. It needed the character of Raffles, willing to commit himself and the Company in the face of British policy towards the Dutch, to make decisions in London wait upon events in the East.

Munshi 'Abdullah's Account of the Malacca Fort

by A. H. HILL, M.A., B.SC.

(Received, May 1949).

Munshi Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir is the only writer who has left an eye-witness account of the appearance of the Malacca Fort at the time of its destruction in 1807 by Major William Farquhar the Resident. Chapter IV of his autobiography "Hikayat Abdullah", written between 1843 and 1846, gives a description of the Fort which is all the more remarkable for the accuracy of its detail when it is remembered that he was casting his mind back over a period of more than thirty years to his boyhood days. Abdullah was eleven years old when the demolitions, which took several months to complete, were started. A period of a hundred and twenty five years separates the events he describes from the days of Governor Bort; a period over which the records are silent apart from a few scattered and unenlightening references in the early Straits Settlements Records covering the last decade. It is therefore interesting to compare Abdullah's account with Bort's Report, written in 1678 as handing-over notes to his successor at a time when the Fort had been brought up to its maximum defensive strength by the Dutch. Thereafter the policy of trade monopoly backed by the military might of Holland effectively kept all other nations at bay until quite suddenly, at the end of eighteenth century, the Dutch East India Company went bankrupt and revolutionary France appeared on the scene with dreams of an overseas empire. In 1795, a year or so before Abdullah was born, the Malacca garrison capitulated to a small British naval force with scarcely a shot fired in defence of the port.

It is surprising what little use historians have made of Abdullah's description. The late Father Cardon was interested more particularly in the Portuguese period, and it is to be hoped that the Malacca Historical Society will carry on his important researches and enlarge their scope. In the meantime, having had occasion recently to examine Abdullah's text with some care, I give below a translation of a short extract together with some notes on the work of other authorities, in the belief that it throws some light on the plan and structure of the Malacca Fort. I am indebted to the Surveyor General, Federation of Malaya, for valuable help and advice on the map reproduced here, which is based on one published by the Surveys Department in 1929.

Abdullah's Description.

In my walks up and down the Fort I had noticed its features. There were big blocks of granite, dark brown in colour, some six

feet and others about three feet long. The stonework was smooth and flat as if it had been planed. I have heard that the stones were fashioned by Chinese masons from Batu Pahat under the orders of the Portuguese and for that reason the place is called Batu Pahat to this day.

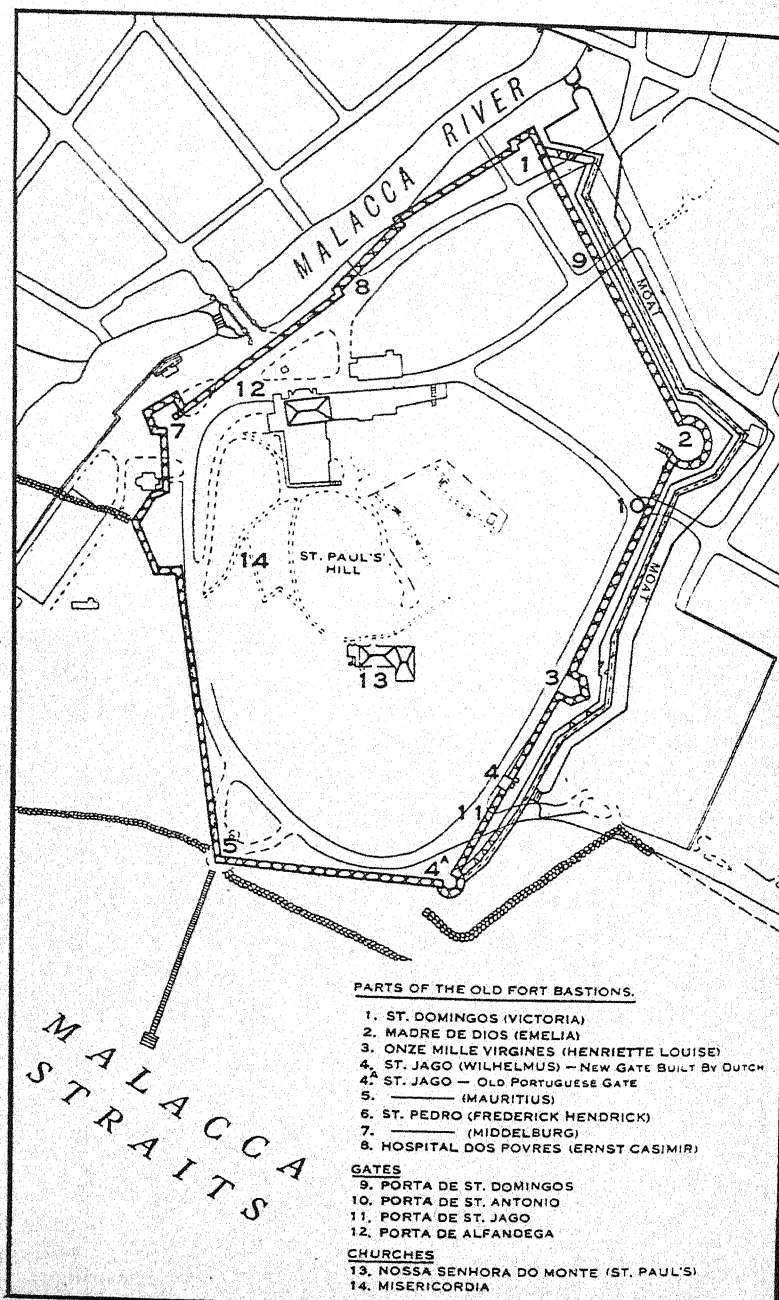
The bulwarks of the Fort sloped slightly inwards, with an ornamental stone projection running round the four sides ¹ *. There were eight bastions varying in width from sixty to eighty feet, which served as emplacements for artillery. The walls all round were about fifteen feet thick. Below each bastion there were underground living quarters with wells and stables for horses. There was a pathway running round inside the walls, by which people could move from bastion to bastion at which there were exit doors ². The height to the top of the Fort was about sixty feet, and it was rumoured that the foundations were the same in depth. At the time when they were preparing to destroy it I noticed that they had dug down some forty-five feet without reaching the foundations.

There were four gates, one a big one connected by a large bridge and having in it a small door through which men went out after 8 o'clock at night. Some twenty or thirty yards to the right there was another gate for taking goods in and out of the Fort, and all the horse-carts used to leave from there. These two gates were guarded by Sepoy sentries. There was a small gate on the Bukit China side and on the Bandar Hilir side another large gate looking like the one I have already described ³.

There were three bridges; one large one on the townside, a small one leading to Bukit China and a third to Bandar Hilir. They were draw-bridges and they used to be raised at night time and during periods of riots and hostilities. Large vessels wishing to enter or leave the Malacca river used to pay a toll.

Round the Fort they built a breastwork twelve feet thick and round the foot of the stockade they placed projecting stakes with sharp iron points. Skirting it there was a moat about thirty feet wide and as deep. The water entered by a sluice near the bridge on the Bukit China side and ran out into the sea near the bridge on the Bandar Hilir side. The banks of the moat were planted with angsema trees and in the water were found crocodiles, perch, grey mullet and lobsters ⁴. At intervals of twelve feet all round the fort they placed guns and sentry boxes known as "monkey-houses" for the Sepoys. After six o'clock in the evening they would allow no one inside the Fort, and one could only walk round the outside. At eight o'clock they fired a gun and the draw-bridges

* See Notes on pages 88-99.



Ground plan of the Old Fort at Malacca, showing the positions of the bastions and gates. The Portuguese names for the bastions are given first in the key, and the Dutch ones after them, in brackets.

were raised. Then anyone walking about without a torch was arrested, and anyone not answering a challenge was fired on from the Fort above. Round the Fort there was a carriage-way some sixty feet wide leading to the river's edge, and fronting the river they had constructed an artificial embankment and planted it with angseña ⁵ trees at intervals of forty feet extending back to the small bridge.

Inside the Fort there was a rise of moderate elevation, on the summit of which was the Dutch church. Originally it had been the Portuguese Church and had been converted by the Dutch for their own use: below the church was a Dutch cemetery. ⁶ The original Fort was the work of the Portuguese as I discovered from a picture of its builders on the front of the main gate. I noticed that the people in the picture had Portuguese features. The picture was a bas-relief in plaster, standing about as high as a child. It may be seen to this day on the Bandar Hilir gate, the one on the town-side having been destroyed by Mr Farquhar ⁷. The Church was called San Paulo in Portuguese. By the side of the Church there is a garden belonging to the East India Company. The plants in it were a very fine sight; fruit-trees, and flowers and all kinds of vegetables. In the garden there was a deep well, so deep that one could not see the water in it, and if one threw a stone down there was a few seconds pause before one heard the echo. Another well, equally deep, lay outside the garden. At the foot of the hill was the residence of the Governor, a building of elaborate design. From it a tunnel into the hill led to a door giving direct access to the river.

At the back of the Company's garden stood a grave of Raja Haji, a powerful Malay Raja of Buginese descent who had married Ratu Mas. He it was who attacked Malacca during the time of the Dutch occupation slightly over sixty years ago. He almost captured Malacca, having occupied the surrounding suburbs and villages; only the centre of Malacca itself remained unsubdued. In this warfare all races, Malays, Indians, Chinese, and Eurasians took to arms under their captains and leaders to help the Dutch. After many years fighting Raja Haji was killed by a shot at Tanjong Palas. The Dutch took his body and buried it at the back of the garden; it is said, in a pig-sty. Twenty or thirty years later the children of Raja Haji came from Lingga and Rhio to Malacca asking permission of the English Resident to transfer the grave to Rhio. This permission was given and the grave was moved. The story of Raja Haji's fighting is a very long one and this brief account must suffice, for I cannot allow myself such a digression ⁸.

On one side of the hill was a prison which the people called "Miskurdi", or in the Portuguese language "Misericordia", mean-

ing a place of penitence⁹. It was also called "Terongko", or a place of chains, and inside it there was a special chamber called "Terongko Gelap" (The Dark Dungeon) where men who had committed grave offences were put, and where no daylight could penetrate. Adjoining it was a room where they kept instruments for killing and torturing men. It was called the "Teratu". Here men used to be placed on a raised slab and their limbs struck with hard blows until they were broken, after which the men would be taken away and hanged at Pulau Java¹⁰. There were branding instruments; a piece of iron rather larger in size than a silver dollar was heated red-hot and applied to a man's back between the shoulder-blades. A thick yellow smoke permeated the air with a smell of burning flesh, after which the man would be chained to the wall. There was also a place where men were strangled; and another where they kept a barrel into which nails had been driven so that their points projected inwards. Those who had committed unnatural offences were rolled about inside it until their bodies were torn to shreds. I myself have never seen such tortures being inflicted having heard of them only from old men; but the instruments were certainly there and the barrel, which I saw, was studded with nails. All these instruments were used by the Dutch to punish and chasten the people. They were all burned and thrown away into the sea, and the Dark Dungeon itself was destroyed, on the orders of Lord Minto when he came to Malacca for the war in Batavia.

Notes

1. The Fort and the buildings within its walls were put up by the Portuguese after their occupation of Malacca in July 1511, as part of Alphonso d'Albuquerque's plan to have a chain of fortresses between Goa, the headquarters of the Portuguese conquerors in India, and their possessions in the East where their ships could revictual. The original fortress was completed in January 1512, the Portuguese constructing it with the impressed labour of the "hamba raja", erstwhile slaves and attendants at the Court of Sultan Mahmud Shah the last Sultan of Malacca, who had fled to Pahang. This stronghold was a castle and a four-walled keep facing the sea and commanding the entrance to the Malacca River on the south bank on which it stood near the shore. It was the residence of successive Portuguese governors for nearly a hundred and thirty years.

During this period the fortifications were enlarged and the surrounding walls extended to enclose St. Paul's Hill. Tradition supports Abdullah's story of the Chinese masons from Batu Pahat ('Chiselled Stone'). The map made in 1613 by Godinho de Eredia, the Portuguese explorer and geographer, shows the plan of the walls as an irregular pentagon with its apex towards the sea, and this is seen also in a map dated 1656 found by Leupe in the archives

of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia (1936, 176). The distance round the perimeter was estimated in 1605 by de Eredia at about 1,100 yards, and in 1678, after the Dutch had strengthened the defences, by Governor Bort at about 1,400 yards. J. T. Thomson hazards the suggestion that the Fort was built to the same plan as that at Galle. De Eredia gives a full account of the town and Fort in his "Declaracam de Malacca", of which the following is an extract. "The fortress was in shape a quadrilateral; there was a well in the middle so that in times of disturbance or war the people with their supplies could take refuge inside the circular of the protecting walls. The castle or tower was as high as the hill. It was not built on the top of the hill because it was preferable to place it at the foot, right on the sea, when it could easily be reinforced in times of war. This tower constituted a starting-point for the subsequent construction of the earth walls around the habitations of the Malays about the hill. The system began at the point where the land juts into the sea on the west of the hill (St. Paul's Hill). Here two ramparts of stone and mortar ran off at right angles; each skirting the shore. Both ran in straight lines, the one northwards for a distance of 130 fathoms to cover by the river mouth and the bastion of S. Pedro in front of the fortress; the other eastwards for a distance of 75 fathoms to the inward curve of the shore and the gate and bastion of St. Jago. Both these ramparts were constructed of stone and mortar; so too was another one which started from the bastion of San Pedro and the corner by the river mouth and extended for a distance of 150 fathoms. . . . so far as the acute angle constituted by the bastion of S. Domingos." (tr. Mills, 1930, 17-18). The remaining two sides were earth ramparts and de Eredia mentions that though plans for completing the stonework were drawn up to a later date by Battista, the Architect-General, the work was never carried out. As Cardon says "the consequence of this neglect was the loss to the Portuguese of one of their most important strategic points in the East, and the capture of Malacca tolled the knell of the Lusitanian ascendancy in this part of the world."

The continual flow of alluvium down the Malacca River has led to a marked lengthening of its course and some changes in its direction, the position of the old estuary being now some distance inland. Reclamation work by the Portuguese and the Dutch too may have helped to change the configuration of the coastline, which from de Eredia's description was clearly not the same as it had been a hundred years before. The big vessels described by commentators even up to the time of Abdullah as having entered the port cannot now get close inshore, and the silting up of the river mouth was one reason for the port's decline in commercial value.

2. Writing about 1638, three years before the Portuguese lost Malacca to the Dutch, Barretto de Resende describes Malacca as

"a city containing a fortress and surrounded by a stone and mortar wall twenty feet high, twelve palm thick at the foot and seven at the top. It contains six bastions, including the breastwork, each one called by the name written on it. All the walls have parapets and each bastion occupies a space of twenty paces and the one named Madre de Deos double that space.

From the bastion of the Ospital (Hospital Real) to that of S. Domingos there is a counterscarp, as also from that of S. Jago to Madre de Deos, with a ditch in the centre, the whole being fourteen palms wide. The bastions contain forty-one pieces of artillery of twelve to forty-four iron shots. All are of bronze with the exception of nine iron pieces. Twelve of the big pieces lie unmounted on the plain, destined for the Fort in process of building on the Ilha das Naos...." (Maxwell, 1911, 4).

The work of destruction carried out by Farquhar in 1807 was so thorough that only one part of the walls still stands intact, the so-called Santiago Gate, on the south-east side. In spite of the researches of Cardon and the Malacca Historical Society the exact location of the bastions and the walls is still partly a matter of conjecture. A reconstruction is attempted in the map on page 86, in which I have shown the bastions and strong points as 1—8, giving their Portuguese names followed by the Dutch names in brackets.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the exclusive policy pursued by the Dutch trade monopolists secured an ever greater control of the area, reducing rival powers to impotence. Although the Dutch strengthened and added to the defences of the Fort they never had occasion to use them, as the Portuguese had, as first line fortifications against a strong sea power. The Dutch used Malacca as a trade mart and depot with a sting in its tail, and it is by their original Portuguese names, not the new names introduced by the Dutch, that history has preserved the identity of the various defence works.

A brief summary of what is known about the bastions may be of interest.

1. S. Domingos (Victoria). A large round bastion, but tactically a weak point in the Portuguese defences because it could not be supported from adjacent strong-points. It was this point which the Dutch forces, their ranks much depleted by disease after five months of ineffective siege, stormed and first occupied in 1641. Much damaged by gunfire it was enlarged and strengthened with artillery in Governor Bort's time. In the wall near it was a small *fausse-porte* leading to the moat which encircled the walls. (see Bremner, 1927, 16).

2. Madre de Deos (Emelia). Governor Bort mentions that it had a spacious vaulted cellar for gunpowder and was provided with casemates. A 3-feet wide passage-way ran between it and S. Domingos, but like the latter it was tactically weak because of its exposed position. It faced south-east towards Bukit China on which the Portuguese in 1581 built the Church and Convent of Madre de Deos (Our Lady Mother of God). (Bremner, *ibid*).

3. Once Mille Virgines (Henriette Louise). The bastion of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, after the legend of St. Ursula. It was a large round bulwark, also provided with casemates, built in 1634 by Antonio Pinto da Fonseca.

4. S. Jago (Wilhelmus), [= Santiago (St. James)]. Governor Bort describes it as a small round bastion with a powder-cellar underneath. It was on the sea-shore, facing south-west (Bremner, *ibid*).

5. (Mauritius). The Portuguese had built a strong point on a spur of land which jutted out to sea at a sharp angle containing the apex of the projecting wells. It was near the Hospital dos Pobres (Pauper Hospital) until this was moved to a point near the north wall on the river side of the Fort after 1613. Cardon seems to be wrong in placing the Hospital Real (Royal or soldiers' hospital) near this point. Schouten says, and Leupe's map confirms, that it was near the north wall. (Leupe, 1936, 94).

6. S. Pedro (Frederick Hendrick), also called 'A Couraca', the cuirass or breast-plate of the old fortress which it supported on the seaward side. Governor Bort describes it as spacious, excellent bastion with a vaulted cellar for gunpowder. He built a guardhouse on it and it was used for storing cannon.

7. (Middelburgh). Governor Bort mentions that in 1660 a new strong point, a half-bastion was built near the bank at the mouth of the Malacca River.

8. Hospital dos Pobres (Ernestus Casimir). This was also a half-bastion, with vaulted cellar for gunpowder, facing the river east of the fortress 'A Famosa' and near the new site of the Pauper Hospital.

Governor Bort also mentions a ninth strong point, a breast-work built in an angle of the wall near the S. Domingos bastion, called Amsterdam. It is worth noting that Leupe in his reconstructed map gives "Amsterdam formerly Hospital del Rey" and also "Ernst Casimir formerly Mora" for 8. above, both approximately in the positions expected. (Bremner, *ibid*).

One of the first acts of the Dutch on gaining Malacca was to destroy the old fortress 'A Famosa' which had been hit in the tower and damaged during the siege.

The Commissary Justus Schouten, sent from Batavia to report on Malacca immediately after its capture by the Dutch, writes of the fortification "...after the siege by Admiral Cornelis (Matelief in 1605) stone walls with plaster were erected after the European style. There are three gates, two bastions (S. Jago and Madre de Deos), an angular structure and two flights of steps (S. Domingos and Hospital Real), the walls of which can withstand bombardment from either side. They are 32 feet high... The citadel was fortified with 70 very heavy and 40/50 smaller metal guns."

3. Abdullah's four gates can be identified with fair certainty. de Eredia's map of 1613 shows four gateways and in his report he mentions them as at or near the bastions of S. Domingos, S. Antonio and S. Jago, and at the Customs House (Alfandega). (Mills, 1930, 17-8). But these are not the four gates seen and described by Abdullah. Schouten says: "of the battered bulwarks and walls of the city only the gate of S. Domingos has been repaired. The walls between the gates of S. Domingos and S. Pedro are seriously damaged... The gate of S. Domingos, S. Pedro and Mauritius are open from inside," and he recommends that "the gates or bulwarks should be closed and the the two city gates provided with the necessary corps de garde." (Leupe, 1936, 129).

In his report thirty-seven years later Governor Bort writes "Some new works were also made (in my time), e.g. two strong stone gates, one between the bastions Middelburgh and the Ernestus (Hospital dos Povres) on the river side, and the other between the bastions Wilhelmus (S. Jago) and Henriette Louise (Once Mille Virgines) on the land side, both having their due curvature, width and length and each great double doors with a wicket. They were made in 1669, because the gates in existence here when I came were old, bad and inadequate for this fine strong fort. The gate on the land side close to the bastion S. Jago I found blocked and the other on the river side, which consisted merely of a single door, had been much reduced in size and is now opened only in the morning to put out the refuse tubs and when ships have to be unloaded and loaded. At the new gates there are stone stairs by which to mount to and come down from the upper wall and they have on both sides convenient stone guardhouses and cookhouses." (Bremner, *ibid*, 17).

If Abdullah's description is right then the two large gates built in 1669 by the Dutch must have been (a) the one that remains today, erroneously called "Santiago", situated some distance east of the gate in the south wall shown in de Eredia's map and leading out towards Bandar Hilir, and (b) the one on the river side near

the Hospital dos Povres and west of the S. Domingos bastion; not, as Cardon suggests, the Alfandega gate which was the one that according to Governor Bort "is opened to put out the refuse tubs", and according to Abdullah was used "for taking goods in and out of the Fort". In siting them advantage was probably taken of small openings or breaches in the wall.

Abdullah's four gates, in the order in which he takes them, are thus:—

(1) Near the Hospital dos Povres, between S. Domingos and Middelburgh bastions; a large double-doored gate with wicket, surmounted by a stone breastwork and emplacements for artillery.

(2) The Alfandega gate, a smaller one at the Customs House nearer the mouth of the river; used for supplying provisions by cart or boat to the garrison on the Fort.

(3) A small gate built in the time of the Portuguese, and facing Bukit China; probably the old Porta de S. Domingos. Surprisingly it does not seem to have been mentioned by Schouten or Bort. It was presumably damaged in the 1640-41 fighting, when the attack moved along the weak earthwork from the S. Domingo to the Madre de Deos bastions.

(4) The Santiago (S. Jago) gateway, a large double-doored gate with wicket and battlements put up in 1669, like (1.) according to Abdullah. Situated between the bastions of S. Jago and Onze Mille Virgines, probably nearer to the latter than the old Porta de S. Jago (St. James Gate) which in Bort's time was damaged and unusable, it is the one remaining vestige of the Fort, having survived Farquhar's destruction in 1807. For evidence of the Dutch workmanship, see Note 8 below.

4. Schouten says that in the time of the Portuguese the fort was strengthened with palisades made of coconut palms and planks, but there is no mention of a moat and drawbridges until the time of Governor Bort. In his report Bort says "A moat has also been dug here from the river to the sea-shore and a ravelin placed on the outer side of the bastion S. Domingos for the greater protection of the same and also to give command thence towards Madre de Deos. The aforesaid moat is $183\frac{1}{2}$ rods long, 2-4 rods wide and 12 feet deep (Rhenish measure) including the square in front of the face of S. Domingos. This moat was begun in 1673 and completed in 1674, that is, when the French in India with a fleet and in conjunction with the English were making a fierce war on our State.....

These works were approved and ordered by their Honours in Batavia before being undertaken, so that they must be maintained.

The moat has two stone sluices with small gates, the one on the river, the other on the seaside, by means of which the water can be let in and out. Fresh and salt water fish come into and are preserved in it, yielding already some profit, although not much, from the annual farming, but it is evident that in time the profit will increase with the multiplication of the fish. By reason of this moat the Fort lies, as it were on an island. Over it there are two drawbridges, one on the river side, the other on the seaside opposite the stone gate between S. Jago and Onze Mille Virgines. By this latter drawbridge the southern suburb (Bandar Hilir), and by the one over the river close to its entrance near the other gate the northern suburb (Kampong China), are joined to the Fort and have access to each other. These bridges which were also made during my governorship, must be continually kept up, to the end that they do not fall into ruin and perish." (Bremner, *ibid*, 1818).

Bort's account is slightly confusing, but he speaks of three bridges:—

(1) over the river, between the gate near Middelburgh and the Customs House,

(2) over the moat, on the East side by the Porta de S. Domingos,

(3) over the moat, on the south side by the "Santiago" gate; and these tally with Abdullah's account which adds that the drawbridge over the river was used to collect tolls from vessels moving in and out of the Malacca River. It may be conjectured that an inlet or arm of the river flanked the S. Domingos bastion to the east and that an upper sluice-gate was here. The moat skirted the eastern and southern walls running out into the sea beyond the S. Jago bastion. In his *Voyages and Travels to the East Indies* John Nieuhoff gives an account of Malacca in 1660 and mentions that across the river there was a strong bridge built of stones with several arches, evidently further up the river (Sheehan, 1934, 72).

5. "pokok sena", *Pterocarpus indicus* Willd: a non-indigenous tree which became popular in Malaya because of its easy propagation from cuttings and quick growth, its fine shade and its beautiful wood which was (and still is) used by Malays for making dagger sheaths and other ornamental work. Koenig who visited Malacca in 1778 comments on the shady avenue of angsema trees there (1893, 101).

6. The first building on the hill was put up after 1521, according to late Father Cardon who devoted a working lifetime to the study of Portuguese Malacca and its churches, and of whose final word on the subject (1947, 188-217) a summary must be

given. Cardon says that the church whose ruins lie on the top of Malacca Hill was built by the Jesuits from 1566 to 1590. It replaced a little ermida which Duarte Coelho had erected and which had become delapidated and too small, but it was famous as the place where St. Francis Xavier used to preach and where he was buried. Work on the Nossa Senhora do Monte (Our Lady of the Hill), as the Jesuit Church was called, was frequently interrupted by sieges and armed conflict between the Portuguese and the garrison and unfriendly rulers of neighbouring States, Johore and Aceh, which necessitated continual repairs. Overlooking the surrounding country the Hill played a tactical part in the defence of Malacca and the half-built church was many times damaged from bombardment. With the decline in power of these petty sultanates a new and worse danger arose, the rival colonial powers England and Holland. The Jesuits were threatened in 1629, after Matelief de Jonge's siege of 1606, in which Malacca had suffered severely, with the loss of their hill. The Church was ordered to be pulled down to make way for a fort to strengthen the defences. The College of Jesuits were to be given another piece of land. But the order was never carried out.

The Church was severely though not irreparably damaged during the five months siege before the Dutch captured the Fort in 1641. Schouted recommended that its towers should be made into a dominating stronghold to serve as a safe retreat in time of need and to guard the roads and fields. The rather inaccessible Church might be used to hold services only on Feast days.

Governor Bort records that in 1678 St. Paul's Church, as it was renamed by the Dutch, had two services every Sunday. Cardon says, "It is probable that Nossa Senhora do Monte was used by the Colonists as a place of worship until 1753 when the Dutch abandoned it to wind and rain. Little by little the roof fell in and the jungle made haste to cover the Dutch tombstones which had almost ousted those of the Portuguese."

At the foot of the Hill in the Portuguese period was the parish church of Nossa Senhora da Anunciada (Our Lady of the Annunciation) and within the walls were also the Church of S. Domingos and the Convent of Dominican fathers founded in 1556, the Church of St. Anthony and the Convent of St. Augustine founded in 1590, and the Church of the Confraternity of Mercy, or Misericordia.

A number of other details about the structure and surrounding of the Fort are given by Barretto de Resende and throw some light on Abdullah's description written a hundred and eighty years later. Resende says (Maxwell, 1911, 3-4): "With regard to the small space within the walls it is almost entirely covered by three con-

vents, that of St. Paul, St. Dominic and St. Augustine.... There are in this place a number of fruit gardens and orchards of varied fruits. The Fort within this town where the Captain resides is five storeys high; the Captain lives on the second storey, which is square like the tower, each wall being twenty paces wide,.... The river of this city is of fresh water and is a stone's throw in width. At low tide the bar has a palm and a half of water, and in conjunction with the fresh water there is four fingers of water only, which barely covers the mud which forms the bottom. At high water there is one fathom four palms of fresh water and five or six palms of salt. At a little distance from its mouth the river becomes narrower and is three or four fathoms deep. There are many carnivorous alligators for which reason, and because of the mud, it cannot be forded. Along the river and inland there are many orchards belonging both to the married Portuguese (Nasrani?) and the natives...who cultivate the land to great profit."

7. J. T. Thomson, surveyor to the Singapore government, visited Malacca in 1848, took a drawing of the picture over the gate and says (1874, 25) that at that time the figures alleged by Abdullah to prove the construction of the gate by the Portuguese were well preserved. The date over the gateway is 1670, during Bort's governorship (1666-78). The design is rudely done in plaster and the letters may stand for Dutch East India Company (V.O.C., Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie). "In the centre, surrounded by an astragal, is a galliott of medieval design on the left side of which stands a burgher or soldier with a shield on the left arm and a sword in the right hand, holding a crown on the point of it. On the right side there stands what appears to be an angel with a flaming sword, and surrounding all are decorations of warlike weapons. The architecture of the gate is debased Ionic, column on column and the workmanship is coarse" (1874, 24-5). But the late Fr. Cardon has explained the origin of these figures (1940, 136): "...at the time of the Portuguese domination each gate of the fortress had, carved on the top of its arch, the name by which it was called. The gate in question bore therefore engraved on its top the name of Santiago (St. James). Only after the fall of the town to the Dutch, was this gate repaired and decorated with the Dutch East India Co.'s coat-of-arms and its two allegorical figures as supporters." In fact, as we have seen, (Note 4) from Governor Bort's report the gate was not the old Portuguese one repaired by the Dutch after the 1614 siege but one newly built by the Dutch in 1669 to replace it.

8. Raja Haji was a Buginese warrior who intrigued for political power with the Riau-Johore Sultanate and fought the Dutch towards the end of the eighteenth century. He was the last and most famous of a band of seafaring conquerors and pirates who meddled in the affairs of the Malay Peninsula. His name, like that

of the Laksamana Hang Tuah three centuries before, has passed into Malay legend which represents him as "holding a badek (dagger with ornamental handle) in one hand and a Muslim tract in the other, his followers about his knees," when he attacked Malacca.

By c.1723 the Buginese had driven Raja Kechil, a Menangkabau pretender to the Johore throne, out of his stronghold at Riau and a certain Daeng Merewah had become the first Yamtuan Muda of Riau. There were considerable forces of Buginese along the Selangor coast and attacks were made in Perak and Kedah. Daeng Merewah's brother, Daeng Chelak in 1723 succeeded him as second Yamtuan Muda and died in 1745 leaving two sons, Raja Lumu and Raja Haji.

In about 1756 Raja Lumu became first Bugis ruler of Selangor under the title of Sultan Salehuddin Shah, and from him the present royal line of Selangor is descended.

A fearless fighter Raja Haji secured fame and high honour by his use of diplomatic pressure backed by a show of armed force. The Sultan of Jambi gave him his daughter Ratu Mas and a title, and he also married the daughter of the Sultan of Indragiri whom he had assisted against a Menangkabau invader. Hearing of the death of his cousin the third Yamtuan of Riau he went to Pahang and secured the Bendahara's recognition of his succession to the Riau-Johore Sultanate, the rightful claimant yielding to such a formidable rival. With his brother the Sultan of Selangor he arranged an attack on Kedah and took a flotilla of boats up the Perak river, to the intense discomfiture of the Sultan of Perak who preserved friendly relations by giving his daughter in marriage to the Sultan of Selangor; and to the annoyance of the Dutch with an eye on the Perak tin trade and their factory at Pangkor. With the Dutch Raja Haji remained on friendly terms until an incident occurred in 1782 in which an English merchantmen was seized by a French captain and the Dutch secured a share of the profits on the opium loot which Raja Haji felt should be his. When the Dutch rejected his claim he started raiding the Straits of Malacca and the position became so serious that the Dutch sent a punitive force from Batavia to Riau. But after some months of siege the Dutch commander's ship blew up and the expedition at once returned to Batavia. In 1784 Raja Haji sailed to attack Malacca and landed at Telok Ketapang (or Tanjong Palas) five miles south of Malacca. He occupied Bandar Hilir and Bukit China and his forces were assaulting the Fort when he was killed by a stray shot. "A wounded Bugis prisoner told the Dutch that he had seen the corpse of Raja Haji being carried away in a mat slung from a pole by the Penghulu of Padang and a slave; it had been followed by some women and laid in a small thicket. The body having been identified from its shaven head, short teeth and other marks was buried

the next morning at the foot of St. Paul's Hill." (Winstedt, *History of Johore*, JMBRAS Vol. 10, Pt. 3, p. 64).

Accounts of the Riau-Johore Sultanate and the Buginese invaders are found in two Malay works (1) *Hikayat Negeri Johore* of unknown authorship and (2) *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift) written at Riau in 1865 by Raja Ali Haji, a grandson of Raja Haji.

9. The authorities already quoted give between them a fair picture of the history of the Igreja da Misericordia, Church of the Confraternity of Mercy, or Nossa Senhora da Visitacao (Our Lady of the Visitation). Godinho de Eredia mentions "the Church of Mercy or Our Lady of the Visitation" and Cardon says "Wherever the Portuguese erected a fortress they established at the same time a "Misericordia", that is a Confraternity to take absolute control over all works of mercy. It was the ambitions of every good citizen to be admitted into this Confraternity The members were bound to visit the prison, to bury the dead, to accompany to the gallows those under sentence of death and to have masses said for the repose of their souls." It must have been one of the first building put up by the Portuguese in the Fort.

A sketch-map of the Fort dated 1604 "Fabrica da Cidade de Malacca" (Folio 46 V. reproduced by J. V. Mills, 1930, 221) by de Eredia, as well as his 1613 map to which reference has been made, show the Misericordia near the apex at the south-west corner. It was the duty of the Confraternity to minister to the sick in the two adjacent hospitals. Schouten says that in the 1641 fighting the Misericordia was "somewhat damaged" and recommends that the Church be used "for our retarded Christian religion" and that its garden be made into recreational grounds for the Governor and his officers. Governor Bort's comments on Dutch treatment of the Portuguese clergy are illuminating. "No other religious service than of our reformed Church may be celebrated publicly with concourse and assembling together of the people within the jurisdiction of Malacca. The Romish community was formerly allowed this liberty by connivance, but in 1645 and 1646, when news reached this place of the treachery committed by them in Brazil, this privilege was wholly taken from them by order of their Honours, the High Government of India in Batavia given in two of their letters." Part of one of these letters, quoted by Bort, reads "Moreover the mass priests, monks and clerks or all others of whatever order they may be, who are now living here, are hereby expressly charged to depart from the territory of Malacca Further, the better to prevent the future public celebrations by those of the Romish religion we charge those who possess buildings where hitherto said religious practises have been celebrated, forthwith to pull them down or to alter them and make make up into dwelling houses."

The screw was put on harder and harder and Roman Catholics engaged in active welfare work would have been especially suspect. Members of the Confraternity must have received short shrift. The Dutch practised their reformed religion with less missionary zeal than their predecessors, and several churches were closed down. Dr. John Careri, a Doctor of Civil Law of Naples who visited Malacca in 1695, says "Within the same Fort was the Church of Misericordia, but that having been battered by the cannon serves now for a Magazine", (Sheehan, 1934, 101).

First hint of the Misericordia being used for penal purposes is in Governor Bort's report. "All the slaves of the Honourable Company and the convicts are lodged within the Fort in the strong old high store castle It is situated opposite the bastion S. Pedro. In the open space between them is the place of execution where all death sentences are carried out. The castle is now usually called Slavenburgh, and also De Misericordia"; if indeed this is a reference for there is some topographical confusion. But it seems certain that by Abdullah's time the word "Miskurdi" was equivalent to prison, punishment and torture.

10. "Javanese Island", formerly called Pulau Melaka and Ilha dos Naos (de Eredia), a small island lying a short distance from the shore. Matelief de Jonge bombarded Malacca from a battery on the island during the 1606 siege, and thereafter the Portuguese planned a fort on it for additional protection of the port. But only the foundations were laid by 1641.

References.

Malacca Fort and Churches.

- Thomson, 1874. Hikayat Abdulla, pp. 24-5.
 Koenig, 1894. Account of Malacca, JSBRAS Vol. 26, pp. 101, 103-4.
 Swettenham, F. 1907. British Malaya, pp. 22-3.
 Maxwell, W. G. 1911. Barretto de Resende's Account of Malacca, JSBRAS Vol. 60, pp. 3-6.
 Bremner, M. J. 1927. Governor Bort's Report on Malacca, JMBRAS Vol. 5, Pt 1, pp. 16-26, 69-72.
 Mills, J. V. 1930. Eredia's Description of Malacca, JMBRAS Vol. 8, Pt 1, pp. 17-8.
 Cardon, R. E. 1934. Portuguese Malacca, JMBRAS Vol. 12, 1934, Pt 1, pp. 1-33.
 Sheehan, J. J. 1934. Careri's Voyages, &c., JMBRAS Vol. 12, Pt 2, pp. 101-2.
 Sheehan, J. J. 1934. Nieuhoff's Voyages, &c., *ibid* p. 72.
 Leupe, P. A. 1936. Schouten's Report on Malacca, JMBRAS Vol. 14, Pt 1, pp. 86-94, 120-3, 129-32.
 Yeh Hua Fen, 1938. Historical Guide to Malacca, *passim*.
 Cardon, R. E. 1940. A Malay Tradition, JMBRAS Vol. 18, Pt 2, p. 136.
 Cardon, R. E. 1947. Old Church on Malacca Hill, JMBRAS Vol. 20, Pt 1, pp. 188-217.

A Note on Early Legislation in Penang

by TAN SOO CHYE.

(Received, August 1949).

When Penang was formally occupied on August 11, 1786, it was virtually a desert island inhabited by a few Malay families who eked out an existence by fishing and extracting of wood oil and damar. Immediately after the occupation, its settlement commenced and the enterprise was so successful that three years later Captain Light wrote that there was a population of 10,000 persons, and that this number was being continually increased. In 1795 the island's polyglot population rose to over 20,000 comprising peoples of many lands—British, Portuguese, Dutch, Armenians, Siamese, Parsees, Arabs, Malays, Chinese, Chulias, Bengalees, Javanese, Bugis and Achinese.

In the face of this increasing multitude the task of the Superintendent in maintaining order was one of considerable difficulty, there being at the time no recognised body of laws. As many systems of law were in force as there were nationalities on the island, and all those laws were probably tempered or modified by the law of nature, which appears to have been the chief guide of the European Magistrate, who constituted the Court of Appeal. This state of legal chaos continued until the promulgation of the Charter of 1807.

It was quite natural for the native inhabitants to desire that they should be tried and governed under their own laws. Captain Light saw no objection and in 1792 instituted the system whereby the partial administration of justice among the native inhabitants was delegated to the various headmen under the appellation of Captain of the Chinese, Captain of the Malays, and Captain of the Chulias. These Captains who were nominated by the Superintendent adjudicated in petty civil cases among people of their own tribes, subject to an appeal to a European Magistrate, who himself tried the more important civil cases. All matters concerning their religious ceremonies, domestic disputes and recovery of debts among each other to a certain amount, were left to the headmen. Their jurisdiction in civil cases extended to ten dollars, and though they were permitted to hear causes of debt exceeding ten dollars, they were only to do so in the capacity of arbitrators, since they lacked the power to enforce their decrees. They were required to keep registers of marriages, births and deaths, to ascertain the arrivals and departures of members of their tribe, to regulate assessments, and to regulate the police of their districts. For the latter duty the Captains of the Chulias and Chinese had each five peons

to go their rounds. Their Courts were held on Mondays and Thursdays.

The system was closely analogous to that obtaining in the Netherlands East Indies where the Government had at its disposal certain advisers among the Chinese and Arab population. These advisers also acted as intermediaries in affairs affecting their own people and were known as Chinese Mayors, Captains and Lieutenants, and Arab Captains and Lieutenants. All appointments and promotions were made by the Governor-General. In Penang the institution appears to have been adopted for the reasons given in a despatch dated January 25, 1794 from Captain Light to Sir John Shore, Governor-General of India. In the despatch Light observes: "Very few people residing here excepting the Chulias, were ever acquainted with European Governments. Brought up under feudal laws and customs they cannot at once change opinions that they have imbibed from their infancy. To endeavour to subject these people to our strict military law and discipline would soon depopulate the island of all the most wealthy and useful inhabitants. A mild and at the same time an active Government is necessary. The inhabitants must at all times have recourse to the Chief, and as they are composed of many different nations they are jealous of each other, and will not submit their cause to the decision of one whom they think is a partial administrator".

Similar reasons were given by Sir George Leith, Bart., Lieutenant Governor (1800-1803) in support of the same system. Colonel Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) who was in Penang in 1797 in his *Memorandum on Pulo Pinang* also spoke approvingly. To implement the system, Sir George Leith issued on May 1, 1800 a set of *Instructions* to the Native Captains laying down their powers and duties. Previous to Leith's administration the general principle of these *Instructions* had been submitted to, and approved by, the Supreme Government in 1797. Notwithstanding the fact that the actual *Instructions* had not been sanctioned by the Governor General in Council, they were carried into effect by the gentleman who officiated as Magistrate at the time they were issued until he delivered over charge of that office to Mr. Dickens, the Judge and Magistrate, who arrived on August 7, 1801. The validity of these *Instructions* Mr. Dickens refused to recognise and this was one of the causes leading to the well-known Leith-Dickens conflict. The Lieutenant Governor complained to Bengal that it was evident to him that the Judge and Magistrate "wishes to possess powers and control, particularly over the Native Captains and the Police". He considered it essential that both the Native Captains and the Police should be under his own immediate authority as "if delegated to the Judge and Magistrate, it would tend essentially to lessen the dignity and authority of the Lieutenant Governor without con-

tributing in the smallest degree to the preservation of good order in this settlement".

On March 15, 1800 instructions were issued by the Government of Bengal to Sir George Leith, directing him to frame regulations for the administration of civil and criminal justice. In drawing up the regulations for the administration of justice to native inhabitants the Lieutenant Governor was to be guided by the following principles:

The laws of the different peoples and tribes of which the inhabitants consist, tempered by such parts of the British law, as are of universal application, being founded on the principles of natural justice, shall constitute the rules of decision in the Courts.

In *The Law of the Straits Settlements* Braddell says that Leith does not seem to have framed any regulations under these instructions—a statement which an examination of the Straits Settlements Records in the Archives at Raffles Museum has shown to be incorrect. The relevant records reveal that in conformity with his instructions Leith transmitted to the Supreme Government on November 15, 1800 a draft of the Regulations for the better Administration of Justice at Prince of Wales Island, framed with every possible care and attention and with the assistance of a gentleman¹ then at Penang eminent for his professional knowledge and abilities.

The Regulations were comprised under the eight following heads:—

Regulation 1st	Appointment of Judge and Magistrate and of Court of Judge and Magistrate at Prince of Wales Island.
" 2nd	Establishment of Court of Session.
" 3rd	Establishment of Court of Appeal.
" 4th	High Court of Wards.
" 5th	Chinese, Chuliah and Malay Commissioners and Assessors for trying petty causes not exceeding in value Spanish Dollars Twenty Five, the decision to be final.
" 6th	For proceedings towards Administration of Criminal Justice, and appointing certain persons holding official situations, to act as Justices of the Peace at Prince of Wales Island.
" 7th	For prohibiting British Subjects (King's & Company's Officers and Servants excepted) and other Europeans and Americans from residing at Prince of Wales Island, or suing in any of the Courts there, unless they enter such Bonds as mentioned in this Regulation, and certain Rules respecting British Subjects

¹ Probably either George Caunter, the Magistrate, or Philip Manington, the Second Assistant, who also acted as Magistrate.

who refuse obedience to any of the Courts, Magistrates or Regulations.

- " 8th For Guidance and General Observation of the Courts, Judge and Magistrate, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners for deciding causes at Prince of Wales Island, and for the further administration of justice there.

On June 20, 1802 Sir George Leith forwarded to the Governor General in Council a copy of a letter he had received from Mr. Dickens, the Judge and Magistrate, together with the latter's draft of two Regulations, one for the Criminal Code, the other for an efficient Police, and his own observations thereon. At the same time Leith mentioned that he had not received any answer respecting those Regulations he transmitted in October (? November), 1800. He deemed it better, therefore, to defer proposing any new ones, as he was at a loss to know whether or not the former ones were approved. They certainly were not. In 1803 it was recorded that those draft Regulations were under the consideration of the Governor General in Council, and that until they should have received the sanction of the Governor General in Council, or until some other Code of Laws should have been established for the Administration of Justice at Prince of Wales Island, the conduct of the Lieutenant Governor and of the Judge and Magistrate must be governed by the Rules prescribed by the Governor General in Council on the 1st August, 1794.

No definite action was taken with regard to this code of ten Regulations until late in the year 1804, when Lord Wellesley, then Governor General, delivered the code to R. T. Farquhar, Lieutenant Governor, who was in Calcutta on leave of absence, his Lordship being of opinion that they were ill arranged and too verbose, and desiring that they might be revised and condensed and again submitted for the ultimate determination of the Governor General in Council. On March 8, 1805 Farquhar returned to Penang and soon after gave Mr. Dickens this code to revise and condense. With obvious alacrity Dickens set about the task and on April 4 returned the code together with four Regulations marked respectively Regulations 1, 2, 3 and 4.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| First Regulation | For creating and establishing in Prince of Wales Island a Court of Judicature by the name of "The Court of the Judge and Magistrate, of Prince of Wales Island" and for granting to the said Court of Judge, and Magistrate certain powers necessary for the due administration of justice. |
| Second Regulation | For erecting and establishing a Court of Appeal at Prince of Wales Island. |
| Third Regulation | For erecting and establishing a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and enacting laws for the due punishment of crimes and misdemeanours. |

Fourth Regulation For the security of titles to purchasers and mortgages or houses and lands within Prince of Wales Island and to prevent fraud and imposition in the sale and mortgage of the same.

The revised Regulations were pigeon-holed. In 1805 Penang was raised to the status of a Presidency and the Governor with his Council arrived on the island on September 19 of that year. On the previous day Farquhar had returned Dickens the four Regulations with a note saying that a variety of pressing business had prevented him from taking them into consideration, preparatory to their being sent to the Governor General in Council. However, all was not labour lost. In October, 1805 Dickens submitted to the new Government the four Regulations and a Memoir tracing the early legal history of the settlement "as a proof that for five years and upwards his endeavours have been constantly exerted to fulfil the duties of his station as Judge and Magistrate of Prince of Wales Island".

On November 22, 1805 an Advertisement was issued, notifying that after the 30th day of November, 1805 the Court and jurisdiction of the Native Elders, and the Establishment belonging thereto, was to cease and to be abolished, and the duties heretofore performed by the said Court were to be transferred to the Police Magistrate under the orders of the Honourable the Governor and Council. At the same time the two following Proclamations were made:

Proclamation

Whereas the Hon'ble the Governor and Council have deemed it expedient, that from, and after, the 1st day of December next, all actions of debt, or for damages where the cause of action does not exceed the sum of (50) Fifty Spanish Dollars shall be heard, and summarily determined in the first instance, by a Commissioner for that purpose nominated and appointed.

The Hon'ble the Governor and Council have been pleased to pass certain Regulations, and due obedience thereto, as Law, from all descriptions of Persons, Inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies, is required, and demanded by the said Hon'ble the Governor and Council.

The Regulations for the conduct of the Commissioner are to be seen at the Offices of Secretary, and Judge and Magistrate.

The Hon'ble the Governor and Council have published the above Regulations subject to revision and amendment, as cases shall arise, and they rely on the assistance and co-operation of all well disposed Persons in this Community, towards carrying them into effect for the general good, and to assure all such, that the vigilance of Government will be ever awake to observe any infringement thereof, and until the arrival of the Charter of Justice from His Majesty, they are determined that their utmost authority shall be exerted to enforce general obedience thereto, by every description of Persons resident on this Island.

By Order of the Hon'ble the Governor and Council

Fort Cornwallis

(Signed) H. S. PEARSON,

The 22nd November, 1805.

Secretary to Government.

Proclamation

Whereas the existing Police from various causes has been found inadequate for the prevention of crimes, for detecting, and apprehending offenders, and providing for the Peace, Safety, Health, and Plentiful Supply of Provisions for the use of the Community:—the Hon'ble the Governor and Council have been pleased to pass certain Regulations, which are to be in force as Law for all the Inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies, from the 1st day of December next, and obedience thereto, is required from all manner of Persons resident on Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies. The Regulations may be seen at the Offices of Secretary and Judge and Magistrate.

The Hon'ble the Governor and Council have published the above general Regulations, subject to revision and amendment, as cases shall arise, and they rely on the assistance and co-operation of all well disposed Persons in this Community, towards carrying them into effect for the general good, and to assure all such, that the vigilance of Government will be ever awake to observe any infringement thereof, and until the arrival of the Charter of Justice from His Majesty, they are determined, that their utmost authority shall be exerted to enforce general obedience thereto, by every description of Persons resident on this Island.

By Order of the Hon'ble the Governor and Council

Fort Cornwallis

(Signed) H. S. PEARSON,

The 22nd November 1805.

Secretary to Government.

It is of interest to note that under the first Proclamation one Paul Kellner, a native of Germany, was appointed Police Magistrate and Commissioner of the Court of Requests with a salary of \$300 a month. A year later he was dismissed after having been found guilty of various acts of corruption and otherwise grossly improper conduct in the execution of his duties, and Mr. Thomas McQuoid, a European settler, was appointed in his place.

The long-awaited Charter of Justice expected before the close of 1805 did not arrive. As late as January, 1807 the Governor and Council was again representing to the Court of Directors in London "the dangerous evils arising out of the want of regularly established law authority on the Island with jurisdiction over Europeans and Natives" and drawing the attention of the Honourable Court to the fact that there were not less than twenty convicted felons and murderers under close confinement, on whom sentence of death had been passed, one since the year 1797, but for whose execution, no order had ever been given. The Governor and Council goes on to observe: "We need not point out to you the wretched state of these unfortunate prisoners, and the evil consequences arising to society from the want of summary punishment, but most earnestly entreat your positive orders may be given respecting them as early as possible".

Appendix

The Lieutenant Governor's *Instructions* to the Captain Malay dated 1st May, 1800.

- 1st You are hereby appointed Captain of all People under the denomination of in Pulo Penang.
- 2nd You are to keep order among your People, to see that they behave quietly and peaceably in their habitations, as you will be answerable for the same, and you will be protected and supported by Government in the duty of your office.
- 3rd You are to hold a Court at your own house twice a week on the days preceding the Cutcherry days.
- 4th You are to try all petty causes between People of Your Tribe, such as People quarrelling, fighting, or abusing each other, and all Religious and Family disputes you are to determine according to the Laws of your own Religion.
- 5th In all cases of Debt under Ten Dollars your decision shall be final.
- 6th In all cases of Debt, if the demand is for more than 10 Dollars, and either of the Parties not satisfied with your decision they may appeal to the Magistrate, after acquainting you with their intention so to do, and you are to inform the Magistrate thereof who will give them a hearing the second Court day following.
- 7th In all cases of Appeal, the complainant is to deposit in the Magistrate's Court (or give security) one Court day previous to that on which the cause is to be tried 5 per cent. on the demand if under 500 Dollars, if above 500 Dollars as far as one thousand dollars 4 per cent., and all above 1,000 Dollars 3 per cent.
- 8th The money so collected to be kept in the Magistrate's Office towards defraying the expense of paying the Officers belonging to the same.
- 9th On the cause being decided the person who is cast is to pay the amount of the deposit.
- 10th You are to have two men to sit with you in your Court, and all disputes are to be decided by the majority of voices.
- 11th In order to prevent all causes of jealousy or discontent among your People the men for this office are to be chosen as directed in the following Article.
- 12th On the first day of every month you are to give in the names of twelve creditable Housekeepers, to the Magistrate and they are to be summoned, their names written on 12 pieces of paper, and put into a box, and the names of the first Eight that are drawn out these men are to sit with you in your Court one month, 2 of them sitting every week and in case anyone is sick and cannot attend, one of the four, whose names were not drawn, is to attend in his place.
- 13th The names of the Eight Men so chosen are to be published by beat of Gong, and none of them to be exchanged, but by the consent of the Magistrate who in case of emergency will appoint one of the four whose names were not drawn to act.
- 14th In the case of any person appointed as above directed refusing to attend without shewing sufficient reason, he will be fined 5 Dollars, the second time 10 Dollars and forfeit the protection of the Court for six months, the third time he will be confined in the Common Jail for one month.

- 15th If the parties in dispute are of two different tribes, you are to appoint two men of each tribe in dispute, and they may choose another person for an Umpire, a majority of these Five to determine in all disputes under 10 Dollars, if above 10 Dollars and the parties are not satisfied with the decision, they may appeal to the Magistrate as directed in the Seventh Article.
- 16th In case one of the parties complains to his Captain that he thinks himself injured by the decision of the Five People as above directed, the Captains of the two parties are to make the same known to the Magistrate who will order two men out of the Eight of each cast that are in dispute to sit with the Captain of the third cast and the decision of the majority of these Five to be final.
- 17th You are to keep Registers of all Marriages, Births and Deaths among the People of your Tribes for which purpose you are allowed a Writer and you are to bring such Registers and show them to the Lieutenant Governor every three months on the first day of the month.
- 18th Upon the arrival of any People of your Tribe on the Island, you are to make the necessary enquiries about them, and inform the Lieutenant Governor thereof, and if any stranger comes to lodge in any man's house if it be only for a night, the Landlord is to give to his Captain (or those acting under him) in writing the name and occupation of such person as he the Landlord must be made answerable for the behaviour of such person.
- 19th You are to attend the Magistrate's Court on Court days and to bring with you a Leebby who is qualified to administer oaths to such people as may have occasion to swear in Court, and in case of any disturbance, discontents or combinations among your People, you are to make the same known to the Lieutenant Governor, and you are to see the prices of rice, paddy etc. settled and examine the weights and measures among the People of your Tribe.

Written by Order of the Lieutenant Governor

(Signed) Geo. Leith

Lt. Governor.

Fort Cornwallis,
Thursday, 1st May 1800.

(Signed) W. E. Phillips

Secy. to the Lt. Governor.

References

- "Bookworm". 1924-26 Penang in the Past.
- Braddell, Roland. 1931 The Law of the Straits Settlements.
- Cullin, E. G. &
Zehnder, W. F. 1905 The Early History of Penang.
- Leith, Sir George. 1805 A Short Account of the Settlement, Produce and Commerce of Prince of Wales Island.
- Napier, W. J. 1898 An Introduction to the study of the Law of the Straits Settlements.
- Purcell, V. W. W. S. 1928 Early Penang.
- Straits Settlements Records; Letters to India (Bengal) 1800-1802.
- ibid.* 1803
- ibid.* Letters to London 1805-1806.
- ibid.* 1807-1810.
- ibid.* Penang: General Orders and Notices 1805-1808.

The Indonesian Trading Boats reaching Singapore

by C. A. GIBSON-HILL, M.A.

(Received, October 1949)¹

See Photographs on Plates 1-4, between pages 110 & 111.

The trading boats reaching and operating in Malayan waters can be divided fairly satisfactorily into three groups. The largest, and the most difficult to split up further, is that of the "junks". These are Chinese built and Chinese manned. With one exception they step two or three masts each setting a batten lug-sail. The fore mast is always markedly raked forward and much shorter than the main mast; the mizzen, when present, is still smaller and is carried on the stern galley. These boats are invariably steered with a rudder. Usually it is pierced with diamond-shaped holes; these make it easier to swing the helm and are thought to have no serious effect on its working efficiency. The one exception to part of this general statement is the Singapore Timber Boat. This has the same hull and rudder as the Singapore-built trader, but it is ketch-rigged, with standing gaffs, the mainsail unsupported by a boom and a long, heavy bowsprit from which are set three jibsails. Considered collectively the boats in this group carry nearly all the cargo lifted by local sailing boats in the Malacca Strait, and the greater part of that going down through the Rhio-Lingga Archipelagos to Bangka, Billiton and western Java. They also carry such of the Hongkong, China and Saigon trade as does not go in motor vessels. Finally a few boats pass from Singapore to Bangkok and western Borneo, and occasionally they reach some of the larger estuaries on the east coast of Malaya.

The second section, which is the smallest, comprises the Pinas-Bedar group of boats. These have already been described in an earlier paper in this Journal (1949: 108-117, plates 9-11). Their home is on the east coast of the Malay States, with their manufacture confined almost entirely to Trengganu. They are Malay built and Malay manned. They have two masts, with the fore mast only slightly shorter than the main mast, and a long, slender bowsprit. They normally set a single jib and two large batten lug-sails of Chinese design. The hull is double-ended or finished with a clipper stern, and shows marked European influence. These boats are invariably steered with a rudder which is not pierced. They are mostly confined to the east coast of Malaya, though some of the

(1) This paper was originally written in January-February 1948, on information collected during the last six months of 1947. The amount of material on hand made immediate publication in this Journal impossible. Subsequently the paper has been partly rewritten in order to incorporate data obtained from an examination of boats in North Borneo in July-August 1949.

larger examples occasionally come down to Singapore, and a few of them run regularly up to Bangkok, trading principally in salt. In August 1949 there were four of these boats, three Bedar Luang Katar and a Pinas Dogar, in Singapore roads, but usually several weeks pass without there being one there.

The third section forms the basis of this paper. The boats to be discussed here are diverse in lines and rig, but the great majority of them are built and manned by Indonesians from Madura, Celebes or the coasts and islands of the Flores Sea. These latter boats (Nos 1-4 below) are stoutly constructed, with hull lengths of 30-55 feet. The only place that they normally reach in our area is Singapore, which is their most westerly port of call. Eastwards they trade along the south and east coasts of Borneo, the north coast of eastern Java, Celebes and among the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas and the islands of the Flores Sea. During the period of the south-west monsoon some go as far as the north-west corner of New Guinea, and I have talked with a crew who said that they had come here by stages from the Aru Islands, 2,200 miles away. If there is any romance left in Singapore it is in these boats—malodorous, with creaking timbers and a rich permanent fauna of rats and cockroaches—which pitch and roll their way over all the inner seas of the East Indies. Unfortunately they are not a permanent or assured feature of the Singapore scene. Their passage here depends on freight charges and political considerations. Immediately before the war it was not profitable for them to come further west than Surabaya and Semarang, where in most cases their cargoes were transferred to motor-driven boats. In 1947, on the other hand, they reached Singapore in considerable numbers, and a wide range of designs, from early August to the end of the year. In 1948 there were relatively few in the roads, and none of the Madura-styled boats were among them. In 1949 there was an almost constant succession of Lambok, with seldom less than half a dozen present at a time, and from August onwards a few Celebes Palari. So far as I know only one Madura boat came in, a Leteh-Leteh, which stayed for about two days. It is probable that trading difficulties are the problem rather than a shortage of freights, and the numbers may possibly increase again.

The traders, other than "junks", occurring here can be keyed as follows,

1. Bowsprit very long	2	
Bowsprit very short or absent	4	
2. Bowsprit a single spar; boat two-masted, setting two Chinese lug-sails and one European headsail		Pinas-Bedar group. (see Gibson-Hill, 1949).
Bowsprit tri-partite		

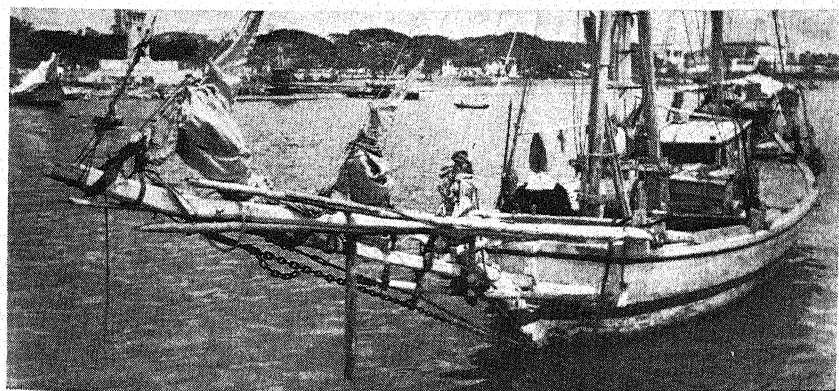
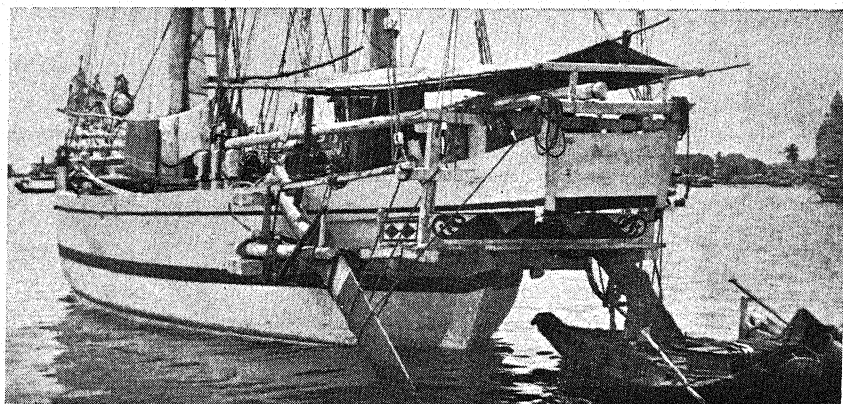
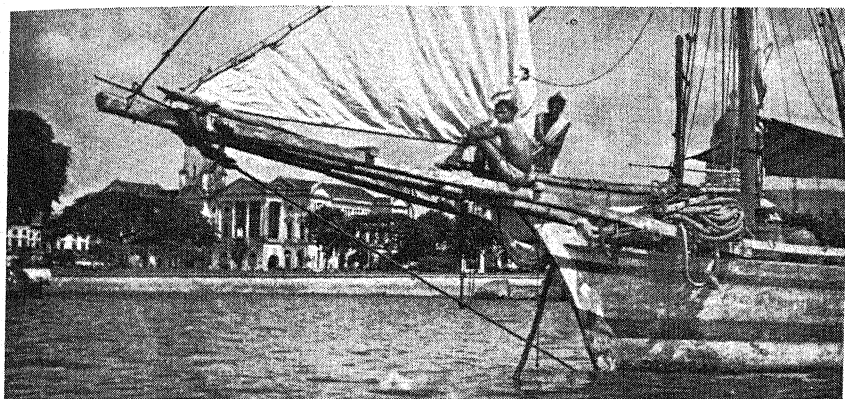
- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. Stern built up; boat steered with two paddles .. | Palari (see No. 1 below). |
| Clipper or transom stern; boat steered with a rudder | Lambok (see No. 4 below). |
| 4. Two short masts, each setting a triangular sail | Golekkan (see No. 2 below). |
| One tall mast | 5 |
| 5. Setting one large triangular sail | LeteL-LeteL (see No. 3a below). |
| Fore & aft rig (sloop or cutter) | Sekochi (see No. 3b below). |

In addition (in section 5 below) a short account is given here of two Sumatran Coasters which occasionally come into our area or Malacca waters. Both are lightly built, undecked boats, one setting a single long rectangular sail and the other a jib and high-peaked lug-sail. They are included in this paper as the only non-Chinese carrying boats reaching Malayan waters which are not covered by my previous paper and sections 1-4 of this one. No account is given here of the trading "schooners" built on the Sarawak River and used in coastal commerce in that region. As far as I can tell these boats are very similar to the two-masted Lambok from Bonerate, except that they normally carry two or three headsails, and the larger boats step three masts. Unfortunately they seldom if ever come over to Singapore, and I have not yet had an opportunity of examining any examples in detail. The Lambok itself is treated sketchily here as the main purpose of this paper is to discuss the Palari, Golekkan and Leteh-LeteL. Should it be possible to obtain further information about the Sarawak "schooners" it might be profitable to review this class of boats again at a later date.

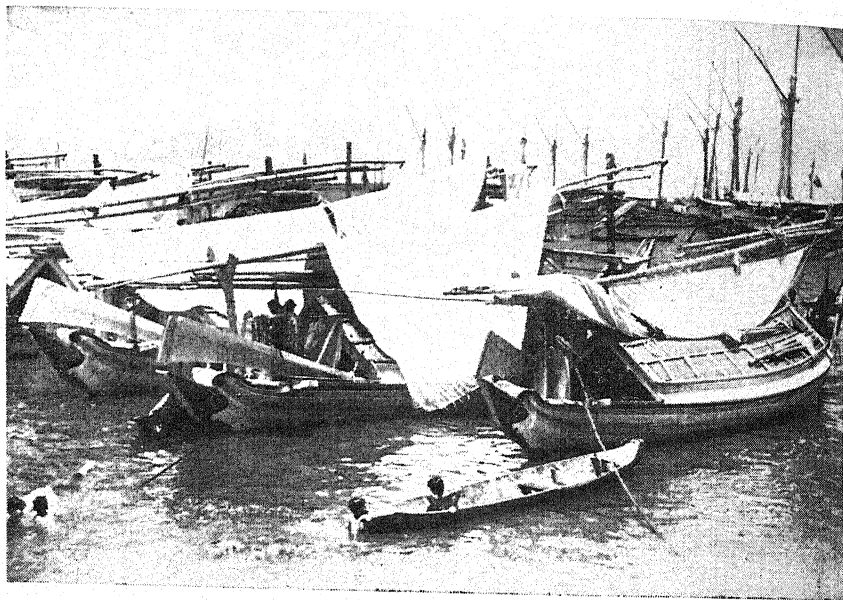
1. The Palari or Makassar Trader

This is the best known of the visiting traders, and in several respects the most interesting. It was formerly a very popular boat, and there must still be several thousand examples in use. Its home is round the south end of the western portion of Celebes, and nearly all the building is done on the little peninsula of Bira which lies north of Pulau Salayar, and at the west side of the Gulf of Boni. Even in this limited area details of finish and the quality of the workmanship vary from village to village. According to Collins (1936: 144) the men of Lemo Lemo, on the Flores Sea coast, were formerly the best builders, but in the time of which he was writing better work was being done at Ara, on the east side of the peninsula. A number of the boats in Singapore in 1947 had been built at Lemo Lemo, and a few at Tanah Biru, six miles further up the coast.

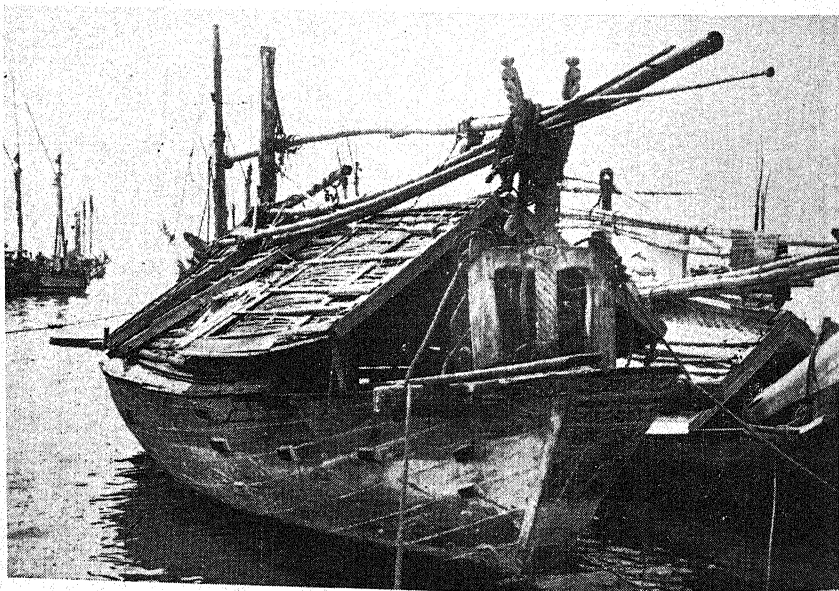
A Palari is normally afloat for about nine months of the year. Theoretically the life of a boat may be as long as fifty years, but



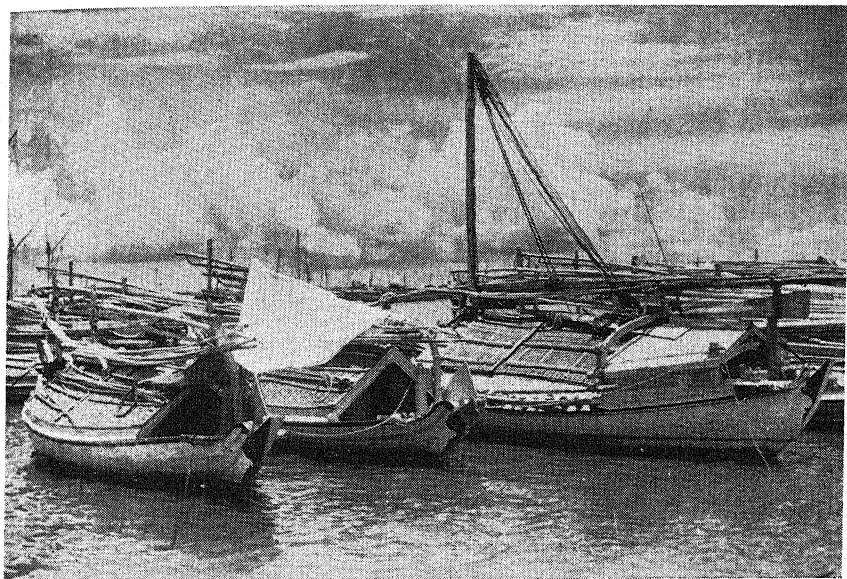
The Palari or Makassar Trader.



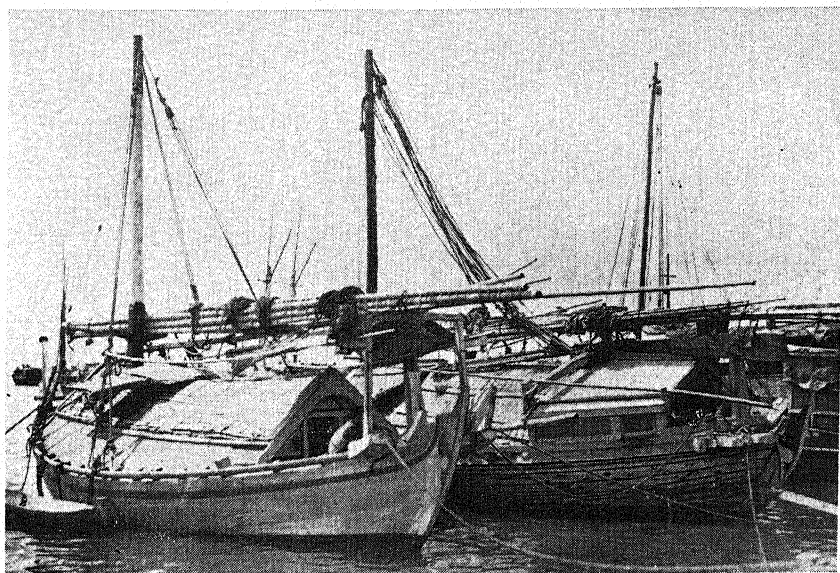
The Golekkan or Madura Trader,
contemporary pattern.



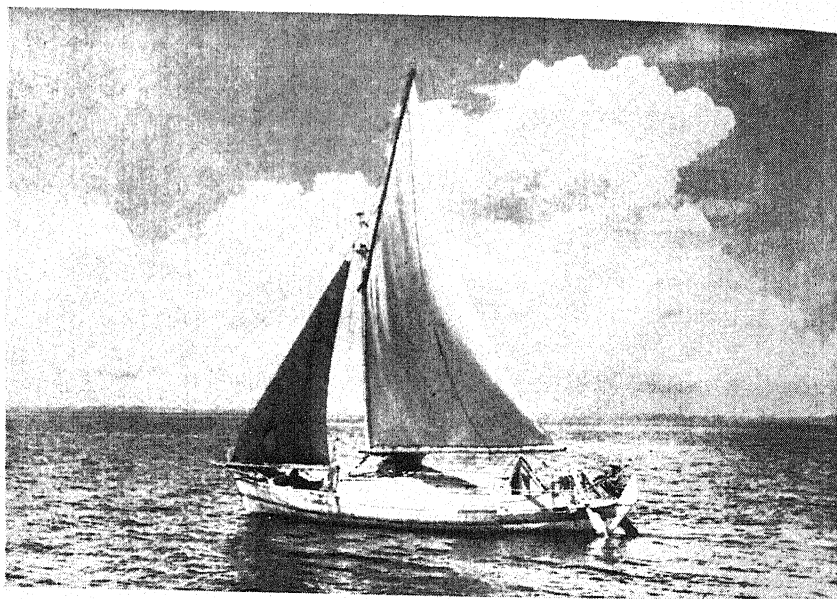
The Golekkan or Madura Trader, old style hull.



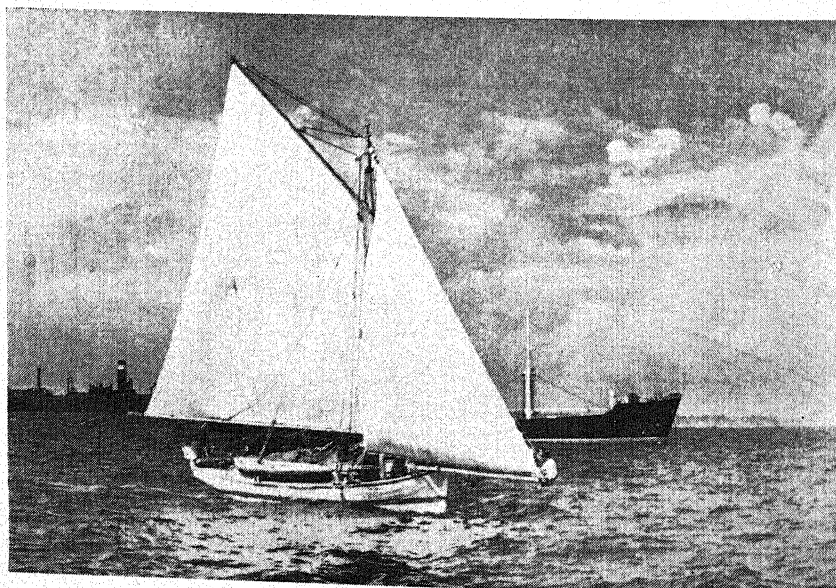
Two Golekkan and a Madura Leteh-Leteh.



The two Madura-built patterns of the Leteh-Leteh.

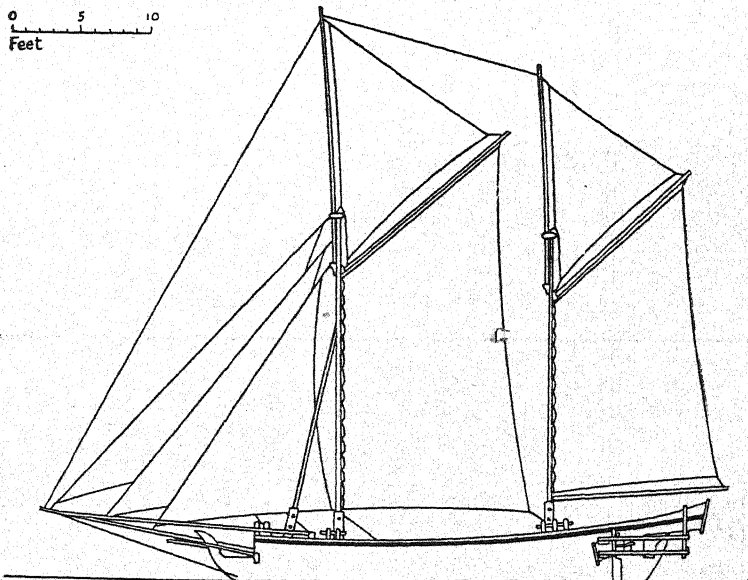


A "Sēkochi" under way.



A Lambok sloop from Bonerate.

by then there will almost certainly be little of the original timbering left in her. Major replacements are begun when the hull is about twenty years old, but minor repairs may be undertaken after its first season at sea. Planks are cut out and new ones put in their place as they are found to be faulty or to have parted from their neighbours leaving holes too large to be caulked easily. The boats are usually turned for home towards the end of the year, at the beginning of the south-west monsoon. On their arrival the stripped hulls are hauled up on the beaches, where they are cleaned and scraped. Any rotten woodwork which is detected is replaced at this time. They are kept ashore until the end of March, when they are launched again and refitted. Early the following month, at the end of the south-west monsoon, the men sail east with it as far as they intend to go that season, reaching the southern Moluccas, north-western New Guinea or the eastern Lesser Sunda Islands. There they remain, taking on cargo, water and firewood until the north-east monsoon has established itself. Then, usually



Profile of a ketch-rigged Palari, from southern Celebes. The drawing shows a boat with the older pattern bows and a tripod foremast.

about June, they sail west, making for Makassar or one of the Javanese ports. After that they may make one or two shorter voyages, running up the east side of Borneo, on to Singapore, or beating east part of the way along the Lesser Sunda Islands. Then, generally some time in November, they turn back for southern

Celebes, trying to make for home with the beginning of the south-west monsoon.

All the Palari reaching Singapore appear to be roughly similar to each other, but actually there are a number of minor differences exhibited among them, dependant partly on age and partly on the district in which they were built. Four different rigs may also be met with on a Palari hull, but nearly all the boats seen here now are ketch-rigged with standing gaffs and three jibsails. Allowing for all these variations it can be said that the Palari is now characterised by the possession of a double-ended hull with a heavy, tripartite bowsprit and a high, overhanging stern. It is steered by two large paddles, one on each quarter. The blades can be lifted well clear of the water, and they are normally secured in this position when the Palari is in port. At sea the men generally use only the paddle on the lee quarter in calm weather, but both are brought into action if the wind is at all strong.

The Palari is actually a small boat, but the lavish sail plan, long bowsprit and overhanging stern exaggerate its size considerably. A boat with an over-all length of about 55 feet usually measures 32-33 feet along the waterline, with a maximum beam of about 11 feet. The men themselves measure the length of the hull internally, taking the distance from the aft surface of the head of the stern post to the forward surface of the head of the stern post. This figure is about 6-8% more than the external waterline measurement. The boats reaching Singapore are mostly between 50 and 70 feet over-all, with a waterline length lightly laden of 30-43 feet. The following table gives the approximate measurements of six boats examined in the roads.²

Origin	length overall	length water-line	max. beam	bowsprit	main-mast from deck	mizzen-mast from deck	free-board amid ships	draught amid ships
Lemo Lemo	40	26	8	10	25	—	3	3.5
Ara	47	29	9.5	14	51	47	3	3.75
Lemo Lemo	53	31	10.5	16	52	48	3.5	4
Lemo Lemo	68	36	12	26	63	60	4.5	5.5
Tanah Biru	73	44	13	23	62	52	5	6
Lemo Lemo	85	50	14.5	28	65	62	5	7

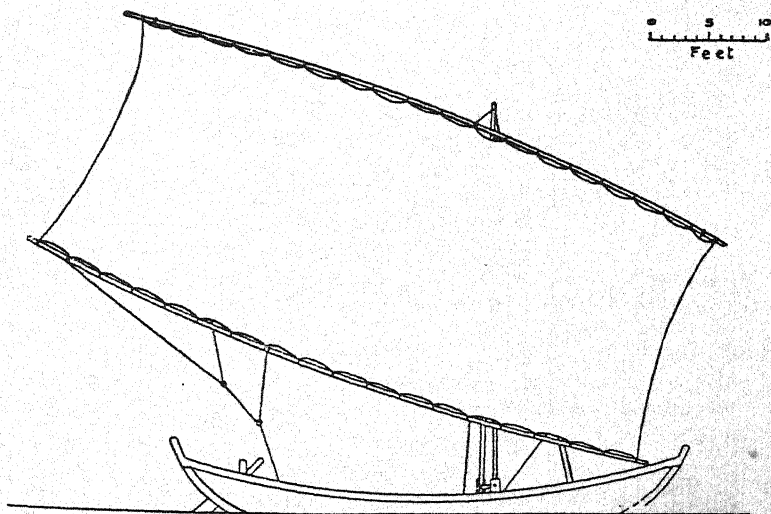
The third boat (31 ft waterline, 53 ft over-all) could set about 1,000 square feet of canvas; headsails 250 square feet, mainsail 350 square feet, main topsail 85 square feet, mizzen 250 square feet and mizzen topsail 65 square feet. The sails are usually of light

(2) Measurements taken when lightly laden, or adjusted accordingly. Bowsprit measured from tip to the plane of the bowlimit of the water-line.

canvas, with the topsails of linen cloth. A Palari of this size has a complement of 7-8 men, including the master. Sometimes the crew has a share in the profits of the voyage; usually they receive their food and \$10-20 a month while she is carrying cargo, and food only when she is in ballast.

The Palari is not very handy in rough weather, nor with its shallow keel can it sail at all close to the wind. As far as possible the men try to work to windward fairly close to the coast line, so that they can anchor to avoid loosing ground if it reaches a velocity much above about 12 knots. On the other hand these boats run well, and under favourable conditions, with a good breeze on the quarter, they can reach speeds of 9-10 knots. With the north-east monsoon behind them the masters reckon to run from Makassar to Singapore, a distance of about 1,200 miles, in 8 or 9 days. The boats also have a fairly good cargo carrying capacity, a hull with a waterline length of 30 feet lifting nearly 400 piculs. In spite of this their popularity is apparently waning, partly no doubt because of their unwieldiness and the difficulty of making a passage to windward. They are being replaced by the Lambok, which can be managed with a smaller crew and can make a better course. A number of the masters reaching Singapore say that they would not get rid of their Palaris, but that if they did have to have a new boat they would buy a Bonerate Lambok.

The hull of the Palari is extremely interesting. It is built up from that of another Celebes boat, the Pajala. The Pajala is a



Profile of a large Pajala from southern Celebes, showing the tripod mast and the single broad rectangular sail. Frequently the aft portion of the deck is covered with an atap or atap and bamboo housing, which may be semi-permanent.

beamy, undecked coasting boat which is normally fitted with a tripod mast setting a single, large rectangular sail. The hull is double-ended and carvel planked, with a shallow keel. The sides are built up before the ribs are added, as in nearly all the Indonesian boats. The planks are made of a local Celebes wood, but if possible Sappang, *Caesalpinia sappan* Linn., a hard red wood obtained from Sumbawa, is used for the pegs holding each plank to the one below it. Even in the smaller examples a line of planking normally consists of three pieces, short lengths at the stem and stern with a long section between them. As Collins (1936: 150) points out all the short sections are often made about the same length, and as a result the joints at both ends of the boat are in a diagonal line, one almost above the other, like a flight of steps; and in nearly all the old Palaris the planking rots and gives way at these "steps". Without doubt they constitute the weakest part of the hull.

Unfortunately this system of building is widespread and deeply rooted in Indonesian practice. Just the same points arise in the construction of some of the North Borneo boats. As we have said, it is a fundamental element of local procedure that the sides of the boat should be built up before the ribs are put in, nor is it usual for the ribs to be anticipated by the use of frames or dummy boards. It is, therefore, essential that the planks should have the shape that their position will require before they are added to the growing hull. In general one finds that two different methods are used to achieve this end. Either, as in Malaya or in the Lipa-Lipas built by the Suluks of North Borneo, the planks are twisted by clamps and smouldering fires to the desired shape, or, as in some of the west Borneo boats and among the Madura and Celebes peoples, they are cut initially to the correct shape in all planes. When the latter course is being followed it is clearly much easier to make the side planks in three pieces, two short ones cut to the sharp curves at the bow and stern, and one long, almost straight one to cover the greater part of the side of the boat. Again it is easier to keep the end pieces about the same length. Collins, who was having a Palari built for him at Ara, on the southern tip of Celebes, suggested to his workmen that it would be better if they made these end sections alternately long and short, and thus broke step in the line of joints. The suggestion is an excellent one, but it entails rather more work, and it is very seldom that one finds anyone devising for himself a means of making his job more laborious.

The Pajala has a marked sheer fore and aft, with prominent stem and stern posts. The hull is beamy and full in the bilges, with little flare. The keel is rounded and short, so that the stem and stern joints are about a fifth of the way in from the ends of the boat. The majority of these features are present when this

hull is used as a basis for the construction of a Palari, except that it is then finished with rather less sheer at the bows, and the heads of the stem and stern posts are shorter. The Palari hull is made by building the sides almost straight upwards for a further two to three feet, with the addition of a high, overhanging stern galley and a deck. In the older boats, and apparently still in a great many of those being constructed in the districts most renowned for the quality of their workmanship, the raised side planking stops a short distance aft of the bows, and a square-cut transom is built across at this point. This feature is shown in the bottom photograph on plate 1. It will be seen that when it is present the stem head and bow of the boat are lower than the deck. On the other hand in many of the newer, and regrettably often the slightly clumsier, boats the stem is carried up above the level of the deck and the planking run on to it, giving a coarse schooner bow (as in the top picture in plate 1).

These differences in the form of the bow are not so clearly discernible in themselves as in the effect that they have on the structure of the bowsprit. In all these boats a stout spar, starting at about the level of the main mast, runs out from the gunwale on each side to join the bowsprit just short of its free end, in place of the bowsprit shrouds. Cross struts join the two spars at intervals, and thus provide a skeleton platform giving easy access to the lower ends of the fore stays, where the head sails are normally stowed. In the schooner-bow boats the two spars and the bowsprit begin at the same level and run out together on the same plane. In the older boats, on the other hand, the bowsprit starts at the stem head, where it is supported on two cross struts (see plate 1, bottom picture). From this point it slants upwards to join with the free ends of the spars. In practice this often gives them higher riding bowsprits, which would seem to be a definite advantage. It is, in fact, difficult to see how some of the schooner-bow models could run through really bad weather without losing the whole structure. Certainly one feels they would not live through the storms that occur in the open waters of the temperate and colder oceans.

As we have said, the Pajala has a single tripod mast. It is a light structure which can be dismantled easily. It is very similar to the mast of the Kimanis Bay fishing boats of North Borneo, which I hope to describe in a later paper for this Journal. The older two-masted Palari also has tripod lower masts, with single top masts from which the topsails are set. The elements of the lower mast are however much stouter and each is set semi-permanently in a tabernacle of European design. The base of the tripod is aft, and the two shafts here are joined by cross-strips, like the rungs of a ladder. These provide easy access to the head of the mast, and also serve to support a vertical bamboo sprit to which the luff of the sail is fastened. Actually the tripod mast

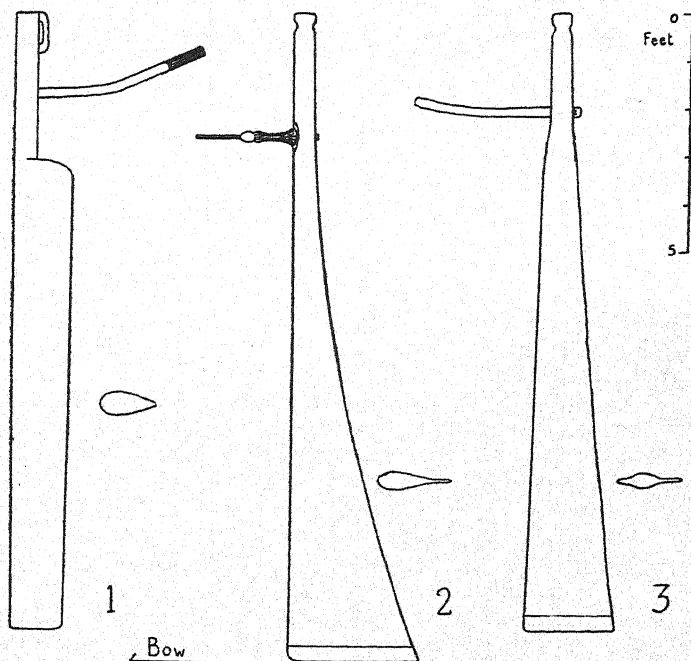
is dropping out of use in the Palari, and few boats now have both masts of this form. About half the examples reaching Singapore have a tripod foremast and a single timber mizzen mast, while nearly all the remainder have single timbers for both. The smaller, single-masted boats are seldom if ever made with a tripod mast at the present time.

All the two-masted Palari seen in Singapore roads at the present time are ketch-rigged, with standing gaffs and jib-headed topsails, but the height of the mizzen mast varies, and in some of the boats it is only a few feet shorter than the main mast. Both mainsail and mizzen are run out along ropes below their gaffs, and are furled on the masts. They cannot be reefed in the ordinary way, but the upper parts of the sails are fitted with brails by means of which they can be gathered close to the mast, either for furling or to reduce their area quickly in an emergency. The mizzen has a permanent boom. The mainsail is not fitted with a boom, but a boom, which is kept on the deck, is used to extend the sail when the boat is running free or dead before the wind. Both masts are fitted with cross-trees. With this rig a Palari usually sets three jibs. Some of the boats also have a mizzen staysail, but this is not common and is, I think, used largely as a bad weather sail.

One of the adverse features of these boats, with a full rig of seven sails, is the amount of cordage and rigging. For this reason, I am told, some of the Palaris in Celebes waters are now set with two Marconi sails in place of the gaff-headed sails and topsails. The ketch rig has itself been introduced only in the last forty or fifty years. Previously these boats set square-sails and jibs, and before the recent war at least there were still a few Palaris rigged in this way. The one-masted boats have a much simpler sail-plan. They are usually scoop-rigged, like the smaller Lambok, with a gaff-headed main-sail and permanent booms (on which they can be reefed) fitted to both sails. Occasionally they are cutter-rigged; in this case the headsails are loose-footed.

The hold usually runs the whole length of the boat, without transverse partitions or bulkheads. There are generally about four hatches, a small one forward of the main mast, a large one aft of it, and two small ones on either side, or fore and aft, of the mizzen mast. The large hatch may be built up a foot or so above the level of the deck, but one does not see the big permanent housings amidships that are found on the Leteh-Leteh and the Madura Trader. Light boards on which the crew sleep are usually fitted horizontally along the sides of the hold, about 3-4 feet below the level of the deck. At the aft end of the hull these extend all the way across the boat, thus forming a platform which is divided off from the remainder of the hold by a curtain and serves as a

cabin for the master. In some boats the level of the deck aft of the mizzen mast is raised about a foot. This increases the height of the "cabin", but in spite of its apparent advantages I have seen it in only 2 out of a total of over 60 boats. Awnings are often rigged above the deck (as in the middle photograph on plate 1) when the boat is in port, but these are not a permanent feature. The deck has to be kept as clear as possible when the Palari is under way, and this applies particularly to the poop. When the boat is going about it is usual for the crew to push the mizzen boom across in order to bring the sail into the wind and the boat's stern round.



Outline drawings of the steering paddles of (1) a Palari or Makassar Trader, (2) a Golekkan or Madura Trader, and (3) a Madura Letch-Letch. The ovoid shape to the right of each blade shows the approximate cross-section at the point nearest to it.

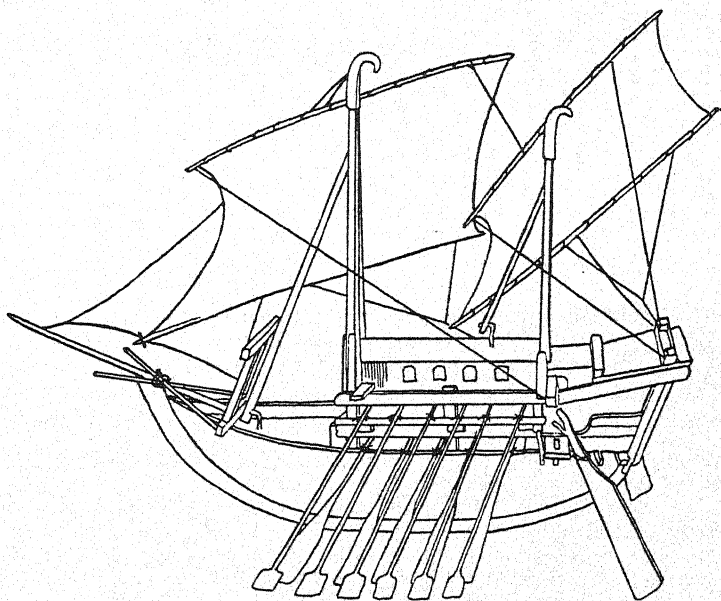
The blades of the steering paddles are about 15 inches wide and 10 feet long, with the hafts 5 inches in diameter and 3 feet long. Two stout beams, about 30 inches apart and one vertically above the other, run across the boat just aft of the mizzen mast, with their ends projecting about 2 feet beyond the sides. These are grooved on their aft surface to provide a bed in which the haft of the steering paddle is held, bound tightly in position with loops

of twisted rotan. The paddle is turned by means of a curved tiller, about 3 feet long and inserted half way down the haft. The exact point of attachment varies. Sometimes the tiller is inserted on the inner surface of the haft, sometimes on the outer; usually in the boats seen in Singapore it is on the aft surface, in line with the blade. It is generally agreed that the inner side is a bad position for the tiller. Under these circumstances the boat has to be steered from the cabin or the deck; the helmsman thus has ample opportunities for sleeping and no clear view in front of him. A backward pointing tiller represents a good compromise, as it can be operated from deck or from the light staging which surrounds the paddle. Some masters, however, maintain that this means that in practice the boat will always be steered from the cabin when at sea and that in the comfort and security thus offered the helmsman may easily fall asleep on a night run. They therefore favour an outward pointing tiller, which can only be operated by a man perched on the staging. In this position he has to remain awake in order to remain on the boat, and under those circumstances presumably keeps at least a little of his attention on her course. There is obviously something to be said for this argument, and it is no doubt cheaper for a Palari master to get a new helmsman than to buy a new boat.

The design of the Palari is said to have arisen from the attempts of the Celebes builders to copy the sixteenth century Portuguese ships which brought the first European intruders into this section of the East Indies. To some extent this is probably true. The Portuguese appear to have discovered Gowa, the south-western portion of Celebes, as early as 1512, and to have had some influence with the Sultans of Makassar, who were in control of this area, until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Only by such an association can one account for the high, overhanging stern of the Palari, a feature which is not found in any other boat in this region. At the same time it is doubtful if any of its other more distinctive characteristics can be attributed to this source. The sixteenth century European ocean-going vessels had, among other points, single-pole masts and a stiffly rising bowsprit with a rectangular sail set below it, a feature which survived in part until the late eighteenth century. The high kant of the bowsprit is in marked contrast to its setting in the Palari, where it is dangerously low. In addition, the European boats had transom sterns, and were steered with a rudder; the latter came into fairly general use in the early part of the fourteenth century, and is shown on the seal of Elbing, in Germany, as early as 1242 (Clowes, 1932: 48).

The majority of the features of the Palari as we know it are undoubtedly of local origin, or recently acquired. The tripartite bowsprit, which is now found on several boats in these waters, is

certainly modern and dates only from the introduction of the full fore and aft rig. The early Palari must have set only squaresails, probably one to each mast. It seems likely too that they carried larger crews and were helped in calm weather and when making way to windward by oars, set in two banks, one above the other. Jibs, or equivalent triangular sails set forward, were used on small craft in European waters from the early days of the sixteenth century (Clowes, 1932: 81), but they were not employed on larger ships until nearly two hundred years later. Anson's *Centurion* was probably the first vessel setting a triangular headsail to reach eastern waters. During the course



A model of a Bintak of about 1850-60, based on the illustration in Matthes's *Ethnographischer Atlas*, Pl. 17, Fig. 1. An object which seems to be an anchor lying on the fore deck in the original drawing has been omitted in preparing the copy. In interpreting a few points which are not clear in the reproduction of Matthes's drawing use has been made of the photograph of a model of about the same date in the Prinsenhof Museum, Delft (pub. in Nooteboom, 1949, Pl. 1), which would appear to represent a very similar boat.

of his circumnavigation of the globe (1740-44) Anson crossed the Pacific westward to Tinian, and then went on to Macau, where he refitted. In June 1743 he captured and sacked the annual Acapulco galleon off the Philippines. With about £500,000 worth of spoil he returned to Macau and thence sailed for home across the South China Sea and through the Sunda Strait, reaching Spithead in June 1744. There is nothing to show that sailors from southern

Celebes saw the *Centurion* herself, but by the end of the eighteenth century jibs were being set on all the European ships reaching the eastern seas.

The earliest notes on the boats of the southern Celebes date from about the middle of the nineteenth century. They refer actually to *Bintak*, or pirate vessels, but then at least there was not always a great distinction at sea between robbery and commerce; and it is unlikely that there was much difference in general lines between armed merchantmen and the slower raiders. Nooteboom (1949: pl. 1) reproduces two most interesting illustrations of *Bintak* which presumably date from about 1850. One is a drawing from Matthes's "*Ethnographischer Atlas*" (Pl. 17, Fig. 1)³, and the other a photograph of a model in the Prinsenhof Museum at Delft. Both these boats have typical Pajala bottoms, with built-up sides and a high poop converting them into Palari. Each sets a single large rectangular sail on the fore and mizzen masts, and has a fairly long, single pole bowsprit from which is set a large jib. The masts themselves are apparently stepped in the same manner as in the modern Pajala, and they could, therefore, presumably be shipped with little difficulty. Probably this was the normal practice when the boat was being rowed against a strong head wind.

Both these illustrations show solid, permanent cabins built on the deck from the foremast aft to about the level of the stern post. Presumably this feature disappeared with the introduction of the fore and aft rig which can only be worked satisfactorily with clear decks. Similarly both show a single pole bowsprit, without a bobstay. The latter was not, of course, employed on European vessels until the square headsails had been replaced by triangular ones, and on the Palari it probably came in later still, with the increase from one to two or three jibs. Finally there is the most interesting point that in both illustrations the built-up portion of the sides does not extend forward of the paired poles of the main mast. In what is now called the old-style Palari it extends to within a few feet of the head of the stem post. This gives these boats a bow very similar to that found on the majority of the European sea-going vessels during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would be natural to assume that it had been acquired at the same time as the built-up poop, or possibly from the Dutch who established a trading post at Makassar in 1607. On the other hand the heightened sides in the two illustrations seem to serve only to provide accommodation for the double set of rowers. We have, therefore, two possibilities. Either the built-up sides as we

(3) Matthes's *Ethnographischer Atlas*, containing the illustrations to his Makasarese and Buginese dictionaries, was published about 1860. Unfortunately the Raffles Museum Library contains several copies of his word-lists, but none of the volume of illustrations. I am indebted to Dr Nooteboom's paper for drawing my attention to Dr Matthes's plate of the southern Celebes *Bintak*.

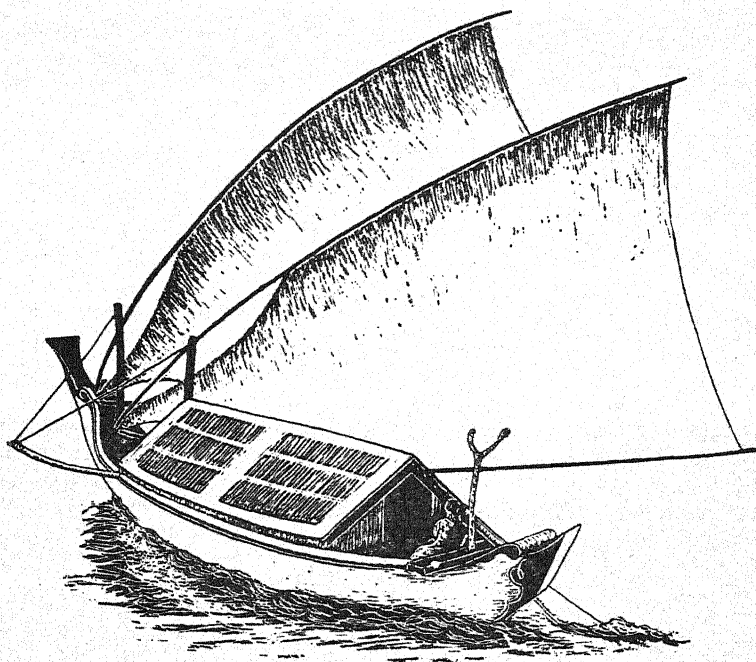
now know them were introduced into these boats to provide for double banks of oars, and later extended to increase the cargo carrying capacity of more peaceful vessels; or they are indeed of long standing in the Palari, but were not extended to the fore deck in the marauding versions to leave a well for the bow gunners. Evidence on this point would be of some interest, but it is not likely to be forthcoming.

"Palari" is the name used for these boats in their home territory in southern Celebes. Boats with the old squaresail rig are called "Palari Sompot", while the full name for the fore and aft rigged boats is "Palari Pinas". In Singapore the sailors themselves frequently refer to their boats as "Përahu Pinas", or merely "Pinas", but I think that this is done on the assumption that *Përahu* (a large or moderately large sailing boat) and *Pinas* (from the French *pinasse* or the English *pinnace*) may convey some meaning to the ignorant asker of many questions whereas *palari* would merely puzzle him. In English these boats are usually known as "Bugis Schooners" or "Makassar Schooners". The first has the virtue of being understood, and has almost reached the status of a minor error acceptable by prolonged usage. It is not strictly speaking correct. As we have seen, the Palari Pinas has a ketch rig, not a schooner rig, and it is not built and used by all Bugis peoples. Gowa, or failing that Makassar, are better epithets.

2. The Golekkan or Madura Trader.

This boat is less known and less numerous than the Palari Pinas, but in some respects it is more attractive. It has a more workmanlike appearance, and though its rig is more primitive it is most striking. Like the Palari it is the product of a small area, but its trading range also is fairly restricted. Seemingly it is built only on the island of Madura, off the north-east corner of Java. It is essentially the boat of the Java Sea, and may be met with in any of the larger ports or estuaries from Sumbawa west to the Palembang district of Sumatra and along the southern coasts of Borneo and Celebes. If times are good and freights profitable it may extend up the Makassar Strait or through the Rhio-Lingga Archipelago to Singapore, but the masters never go on into the Straits of Malacca and I have yet to talk to a crew that claimed to have been further east than western Flores and Buton. As far as possible voyages are made to fit in with the monsoons and to a large extent head winds are avoided, but the boats are not laid up quite as regularly as the Palaris are. Often the masters do not return to Madura until January or February, but they still move east again at the end of March. Several of the boats which lay in the Singapore roads during the latter part of 1947 had not been back to their bases for two years.

There are two different patterns of this boat, older and newer versions, but so far as I know the same name is used for both. According to the sailors one (plate 2 upper) is the boat as it is built now, and the other (plate 2 lower) the boat as it was built formerly. Together they can be distinguished at sea from all other local craft by the possession of a double-ended hull with consider-



A Golekkan or Madura Trader under full canvas. Note the outrigger boom taking the stays from the masts.

able sheer forward, two short masts each setting a single large triangular sail, and the presence of a single outrigger boom fitted to windward just forward of the main mast. In common with the next boat, the Leteh-Leteh, the Golekkan has a large, permanent deck house amidships, extending the full width of the hull, and it is steered by means of a long, single paddle held on the leeward quarter.

The Golekkans reaching Singapore are remarkably consistent in size. They have an over-all length of 50-55 feet, with a maximum beam of $12\frac{1}{2}$ -13 feet and a length along the waterline of 41-45 feet. When lightly laden they have a draught of about 5 feet and a freeboard of 2 feet. Such boats set about 850 square feet of canvas, 300 square feet in the foresail and 550 square feet in the

mainsail. They have a good cargo capacity, a hull with a water-line length of 52 feet taking 500-550 piculs, but they are slow. They sail well and easily with the wind on the quarter or abeam, but they seldom exceed 8-8½ knots. The men reckon on taking 5-6 days on the 535-mile run from Batavia to Singapore. In addition these boats cannot go about and they have to be taken round with the stern to the wind when changing from one tack to the other. Against these disadvantages may be set the fact that they can be worked with a complement of about 7 men, including the master, and that they are remarkably seaworthy, with a steadier motion than the Palari. The crew not infrequently receive a small proportion of the profits of the voyage, in addition to their wages which amount to about \$15 a month plus their food.

The hull of the Golekkan is carvel built. Whenever possible Javanese teak, *Tectona grandis* Linn., is used throughout, and the quality of the workmanship is extremely high. As a general rule these boats are more stoutly and competently built than the average Palari reaching Singapore. The hull is completely decked, and the greater part of the cargo stored in the space below it. Fore and aft the deck is 6-9 inches below the level of the gunnel, except in the bows where a small platform is built up to take the foremast and allow for the stowage of the anchors and mooring ropes. Amidships, in the portion covered by the permanent housing, which begins just aft of the main mast and terminates about 10 feet short of the stern, the decking is 5-6 inches lower. The housing is a strong, rigid structure with a planked roof which is further covered with a matting of split bamboo stems. It normally provides accommodation for the skipper and crew, but some of the cargo may also be stowed here.

The hull is put together in the usual Indonesian manner, by pegging the planks one above the other before the ribs are inserted. Wooden pegs are used between the planks, and generally iron nails for fastening them to the ribs. The shape of the hull is different in the older and newer boats, but they have one most interesting feature in common. In both versions of the Golekkan the burden boards and deck are supported on a series of stout cross beams whose ends pierce the side planks and project about an inch beyond them (see plate 2, lower picture). The projecting ends of the beams are usually split and wedges are driven into them so that the planks cannot ride outwards. This produces an extremely strong and rigid hull.

Nearly all the boats reaching Singapore are of the newer pattern. These have rather fine lines, with a straight keel and the fore-foot and heel well rounded. The stem and stern posts are angled, with their heads wedge-shaped. The gunwales end in a lovely, scroll-like curve, separately at the bow and conjointly at

the stern. There is a single, median spar-rest aft of the steering beam. It is Y-shaped and usually terminates in an attractively carved bird, facing to starboard, with the crutch for the spars formed by the hollow of its back, between the neck and the up-curved tail. In some cases the pillar of the rest is also carved, at least on the port side. Immediately in front of it is a stout, rectangular panel, usually fenestrated, against which the steersman rests his back when the boat is under way. The hull is generally painted white, with several bands of bright colours on and below the gunwales. The scroll-like curved ends are picked out in black, and the sides of the stem and stern-post are invariably decorated in the same manner. Sometimes in addition the wedge-shaped ends of the posts bear a carefully painted arabesque of flowers and leaves on a white ground.

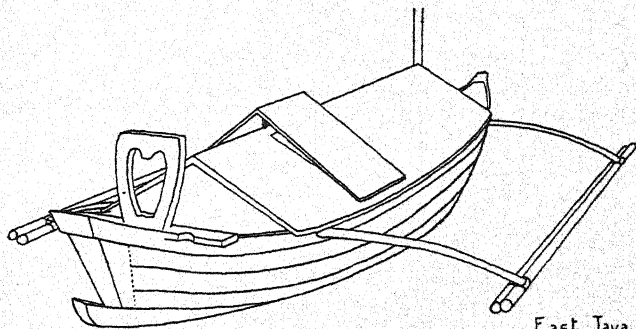
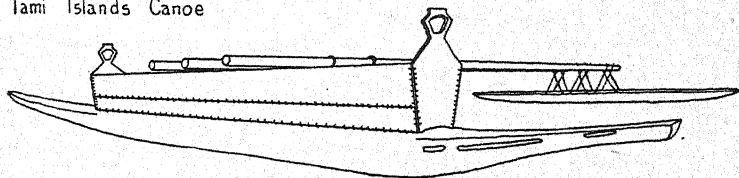
The older hulls are less lovely, but no less deserving of attention. They are coarser in their lines, and lack the scroll-like ends to the gunnels and the shaped stem and stern posts. The ends are in fact formed by narrow, wedge-shaped panels, of which the one at the stern normally finishes flush with the gunwales. Frequently, as in the lower picture on plate 2, it is ornamented with a formal pattern cut in low relief and then painted. The spar-rest is a symmetrically shaped Y, which is decorated more soberly than in the other pattern and is built into the structure against which the steersman braces himself. All these points are details of finish, but they are clearly discernible. The final distinction between the two hulls is a fundamental one, but it lies below the waterline. In the hull now under discussion the keel is a single long baulk of timber, 6-8 inches square, slightly upturned at the ends and longer than the portion of the hull immediately above it. It thus projects for a short distance fore and aft of the stem and stern posts, like a spur.

A bifid bow and/or stern is found in one form or another in several boats scattered over this region. Poujade (1946: 281-285) gives a total of four kinds, the Madura trader, the boats of Bawean (in the Java Sea, about 65 miles north of Madura) and the Talaur Islands (between Celebes and the Philippines) and the dragon boats of the Banda Islands (south of Serang). He then adds four up to make five, and (*tom. cit.*: 285) says,

“Si nous ajoutons que Pâris a dessiné autrefois dans les Célèbes à Ménado, une pirogue ayant un éperon allongé à l'avant, un autre très court à l'arrière, un bordage cousu et surélevé qui la fait se rapprocher dans sa forme de la pirogue du Sénégal et de la barque de Sennachérib, nous ne pouvons plus douter qu'il y a, dans cette région, l'extrême pointe d'une route maritime qui a conduit autrefois des peuples commerçants plus proches de nous vers ces îles lointaines”.

La barque de Sennachérib! Formidable. One shudders to think what conclusions may be drawn by the worthy authority when he notices the close resemblance between the stern and steering arrangements in the Palari and those shown in a drawing reconstructing the appearance of the Roman merchant ship of about 200 A.D. (depicted in Clowes 1932: pl. 5; and Abell 1948: 13). Actually the bifid bow occurs in several of the small Madura boats and, together with a bifid stern closely resembling the arrangement in the Madura trader, in the large double-outrigger coasting boat of East Java (Hornell, 1920: 99-100). Bifid ends are also found in some of the small canoes of Bali, in the Minahasa (north-east Celebes) fishing canoe, the Moro Vinta, and the Bajau Depang, both from the Sulu Archipelago. The interesting thing is that the majority of these boats are small and nearly all are fitted with double outriggers. Usually the canoes are dugouts, but I have seen Depang similar in general appearance with dugout hulls, with hulls with the long keel in one piece and the upper portion made up of two planks, and with a long timber keel and the upper portion constructed of panels of finely plaited bamboo strips set in light frames. Without doubt this is the origin of this form of hull. It is a survival of the stage reached when the freeboard of a shaped, shallowly hollowed tree-trunk was increased by building an elongated box in the centre of it, a form of boat which is still found at intervals in the eastern Papuan

Tami Islands Canoe



East Java Coaster

Outline drawings of the Tami Islands Canoe (above) and the East Java Coaster (below). The drawings have been prepared to show only the general form of the two boats, and a number of points of detail have been omitted. The built-up portions of the Tami Islands Canoe are sewn together with pieces of creeper.

region, and is exhibited well by the sailing canoe of the Tami Islands. The outrigger coasting trader of east Java is undoubtedly but a further step in the line of development towards a normal hull. And in its hull the old Madura trader differs only in having rather more sheer forward and being appreciably beamier, and thus able to dispense with the outriggers—but even then, as we shall see, the outrigger boom has not been abandoned completely.

We return to the Madura traders. Both the older and newer boats are steered with a single paddle. It is a lovely thing, about 10-12 feet long. The leading edge is straight, while the following edge curves gently back as the haft flattens to form the blade. At its base the blade is about 30 inches wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 inches thick. It is held by loops of rotan in a groove on the aft side of a broad cross beam which projects outwards for about a foot on either side of the hull. It is operated by a fairly short, straight tiller bar which is inserted into the leading edge of the haft about 2 feet from its end.

All the Madura traders have two stout, thick-set, rather primitive-looking masts. These are usually made of teak and fitted with wood blocks at intervals, like the pole in a bear pit, so that the men can climb them easily. Both masts are approximately the same size, rising about 11-12 feet above the level of the deck, but owing to the marked sheer of the bows the foremast appears to be 2-3 feet taller than the main mast. The sails, which are usually of bleached canvas, are triangular in shape, but much longer than they are tall. The spars are of bamboo; often they are each composed of two stems bound tightly together, an arrangement which gives considerable strength for relatively little weight. When the sail is set the boom is bound to the yard 2-3 feet short of its end, and the free end of the latter then braced to a bitt on the windward gunwale of the boat. The sails are attached to the spars by rotan loops, about 6 inches in diameter and sewn along the boltropes at intervals of 8-10 inches. These cease about 5-6 feet short of the tack, and the yard is fastened to the mast by a stout circlet of rope a short distance forward of this point. A single curved outrigger boom is set to windward immediately forward of the main mast. It usually projects 15-18 feet from the side of the boat. To it are attached a head stay from the main or both masts and the two yardarm sheets.

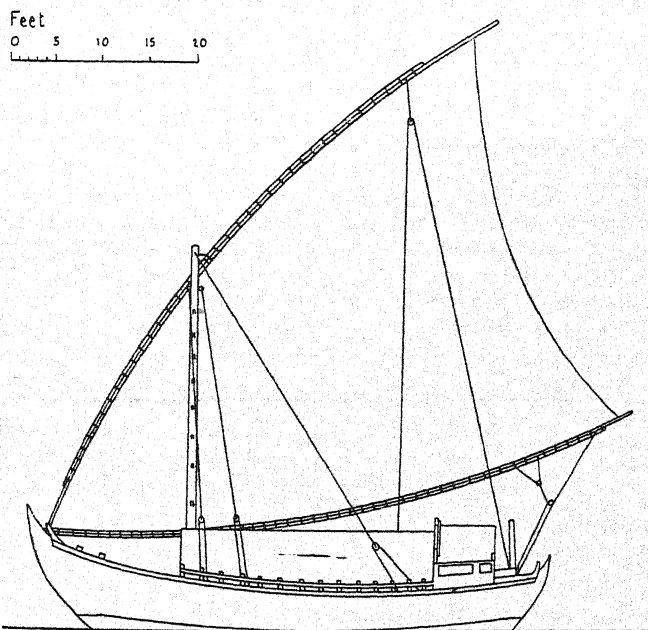
"Golekkan" is derived from *golek*, which is equivalent to the English *crank* when used of a boat or canoe. The term might equally well be applied to the Leteh-Leteh, or many other local boats, but in this case it probably originates from the period when the Golekkan was being evolved from the East Java coasting boat. As we have said the older style of hull is very similar to that of the latter but much beamier. The double outriggers undoubtedly stiffen their boat, and if the earlier Golekkans were less beamy than

the extant ones they would certainly have been markedly crankier than the coasters.

3a. The Leteh-Leteh.

The two boats described so far are without doubt the most noteworthy in the Indonesian region. The Leteh-Leteh and the Lambok which follow have a wide range and may be encountered in many ports, but they are on the whole less interesting and the designs are fixed less precisely.

The first of these boats, the Leteh-Leteh (see plate 3), bears some superficial resemblance to the Golekkan and examples from Madura have actually been described as a single-masted version of it, but this is merely more nonsense from Europe. The hull of the Leteh-Leteh is in several respects similar to that of the Pajala, but it certainly has little in common with the hull of the Golekkan. Basically the Leteh-Leteh has a double-ended carvel-built hull



Profile of a Madura-built Leteh-Leteh. This is one of the large old boats, as in the upper picture on plate 3.

which is beamy and full in the bilges, with little flare, a rounded keel and only a slight sheer aft. It rides fairly high in the water, is steered by two paddles, one on each quarter, has the whole deck except for short sections fore and aft covered with a permanent

shelter, and is propelled by a single, large triangular sail. We have noted the similarity of the hull to that of the Pajala in shape; it further differs from that of the Golekkan in the absence of the tie-beams. It is also of interest to stress the two paddles. The Golekkan normally carries only one, while the Leteh-Leteh generally has two and frequently has both in the water, in spite of the fact that no great difficulty would be experienced here in changing a single paddle from one quarter to the other. Finally the sail. This is broadly similar to the sails of the Golekkan, but it is larger and set from a much taller mast which is placed just forward of amidships, and stepped through the deck house. Unlike the Golekkan sail it is suspended from a point only a short distance from the middle of the yard and it is normally closely attached to the two spars throughout their length.

The Leteh-Leteh is made on Madura and in southern and western Celebes. Possibly there are other building localities, but I have not seen or heard of examples from anywhere else. The triangular sail is otherwise almost unknown in Celebes, and suggests that the boat was evolved on Madura or at least in the region of East Java. On the other hand the Pajala-like hull and the use of two steering paddles suggest a Celebes origin. The essential features of the boat present an interesting admixture of the practices of the two areas.

The Leteh-Leteh is not fast, but it is a good sea boat, and its comparatively shallow draught makes it most useful in coastal waters. It is popular and may be met with over the greater part of the Java and Flores Seas, the Makassar Strait and the southern portion of the Celebes Sea; probably it also reaches the Moluccas. The over-all length ranges from 30 to nearly 60 feet. Measurements in feet of several boats are give below.

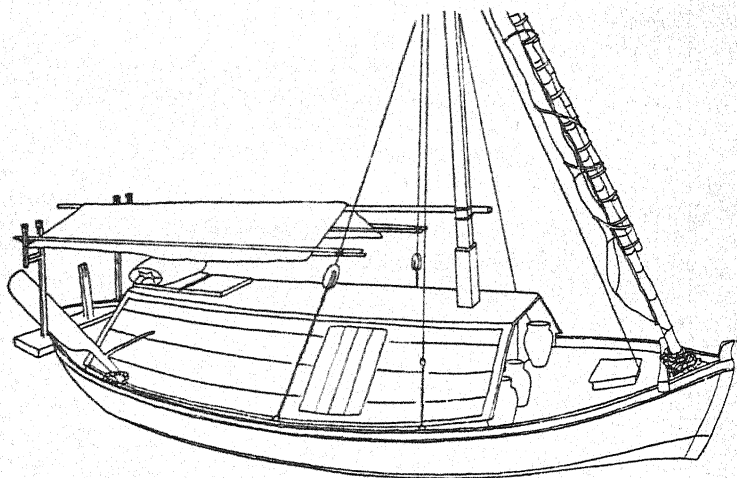
Origin	length over-all	waterline length	length deck- housing	max. beam	draught amidships	freeboard amidships
Madura (A)	56	49	34	13	5	3¼
Madura (A)	50	44	31	12	4¾	3½
Madura (B)	52	47½	36	12½	4¾	2¾
S. Celebes	35	30½	18	8	3	1½
?Makassar	30	28	15	7½	2¾	1½
Mamuju	35	31	17	8	2¾	1¾
Tambu	31	27.5	15	7	2½	1½

The boats reaching Singapore are mostly the larger examples from Madura. With an over-all length of 56 feet, waterline length about 50 feet, they set approximately 900 square feet of canvas in the one large sail. Such boats have a maximum speed of 7.8 knots, and carry about 550-600 piculs of cargo. They are worked

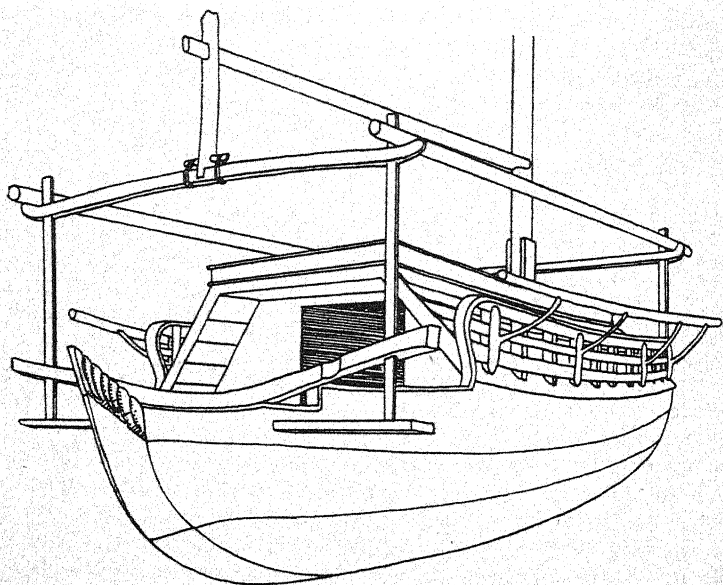
with complements of 5-6 men, including the master. It will be seen that their maximum speed is less than that of the preceding two boats, but they are not appreciably slower on long passages. This is partly because they manage to hang on to full canvas for longer in approaching bad weather, and partly because, in spite of their shallow draught, they are able to sail nearer to the wind. This is true of the large examples, and even more markedly so of the smaller ones met with in Celebes and eastern Borneo waters. The great majority of these boats carry a second, smaller storm-sail which is set in place of the master sail in bad weather. It is said that in severe storms the men set the small sail, lash the steering paddles in position and then batten themselves in the deck-house, and leave the boat to ride out the bad weather for them.

The Leteh-Letehs show considerable variation in finish, apart of course from the variation forms mentioned below under section 3b. To date I have recorded four general styles, of which brief particulars are given here. Two of these are associated with Madura, and two with Celebes. As a general distinction between the two areas it seems that the Madura boats have the deck house peaked, while in the Celebes ones the centre portion of the roofing is flat, but it may be that peaked permanent shelters are built in southern Celebes. In all cases the deck house is constructed of wood. In the Madura boats it is usually covered with a matting of plaited split bamboos, as in the Golekkan. In the Celebes boats it is generally covered with kajangs of nipah or pandanus, held in place with narrow cross-battens. In some Celebes boats the planks overlap, instead of being placed edge to edge, and may be left uncovered.

Examples of the larger and more impressive of the two Madura boats are shown at the right hand side of the two photographs on plate 3. It will be seen that in this boat, the deck housing does not extend more than 1-2 feet forward of the mast, and the greater part of the fore deck is therefore clear. In addition the housing is built in two separate portions, the longer of which is used for storing cargo. The aft portion, which is shorter and slightly taller, provides accommodation for the crew. It will be seen from the pictures that there is no permanent stern spar rest in these boats, but instead a horse is constructed at the junction of the cabin and the cargo house which has a short rest at its centre. A temporary Y-shaped crutch may also be lashed to the steering post when the boat is in harbour. The steering post itself is relatively simple, with a deep slit at the top to take the throngs from the heads of the paddles. The hafts of the latter are also lashed against a cross beam in the usual manner. The stem and stern post are rather like simple versions of those on the Golekkan, but they are more nearly plumb.



Hull and deck housing of a South Celebes Leteh-Leteh, drawn from a boat lying at anchor at Semporna, North Borneo. Note the temporary awning built over the aft portion of the deck and deck-housing, and the steering paddle which resembles that in the Palari except in the position of the tiller bar.



Hull of a North Celebes Leteh-Leteh, drawn from a boat beached on Si Amil Island, off the coast of North Borneo. The boat is viewed from the stern. Note the side rests for the spars, the framework for supporting a temporary awning when in port, and the form of the cross bar for the steering paddle.

The other boat from Madura has a single deck housing, placed slightly further forwards, so that the mast rises through it and there is a longer stretch of clear deck aft. In this case the stern part of the housing is used as a cabin for the men, and when in port they frequently extend it aft with an awning. These boats usually have a rather elaborate but undecorated spar-rest rising from the ends of the steering beam. As can be seen in the lower photograph on plate 3 it is also used to support the ends of the bamboos on which the awning rests. The steering post resembles that in the other Madura boat, and the stem and stern are roughly the same, except that they are usually rather more plumb. In actual fact this hull in all its lines is very close to a Pajala with the posts slightly truncated. An interesting feature often incorporated in it is a short bowsprit for the attachment of the forward ends of the spars and the tack of the fairweather sail.

The southern Celebes Leteh-Leteh is generally rather smaller, and relatively beamier, than the Madura versions. Otherwise in the main it resembles the last boat except for the difference in the form of the deck housing, and the fact that it usually has almost plumb, undecorated ends. Also, sometimes at least, it is the tabernacle and not the mast itself which rise through the housing, and the mast is set in it above the roof. The boats from north-western Celebes resemble those from further south in most respects, except for the presence of side rails and lateral spar-rests, and the form of the suspension for the steering paddle (see accompanying sketch). In these features they approach the larger boats built on the east coast of North Borneo, and probably represent practices developed round the southern shores of the Celebes Sea. In the case of the steering paddles it will be seen that there is no centre post to take the throngs from the head of the haft; instead they are attached to two bitts placed on the gunnels immediately forward of the paddle beam. In addition the haft itself is lashed to a cross strut shaped like an inverted yolk and fixed above the main beam, and not against the aft surface of the beam itself.

Leteh-Leteh is used for these boats by both Madurese and southern Celebes sailors. Men from Makassar and further north sometimes call them "Lambok", but this name should be reserved for the fourth pattern in this paper. Similarly in North Borneo, apparently, it is usual to call these boats "Perahu Bugis" because it is mostly Bugis sailors that take them there, running across with cargoes of copra and rubber from the north Celebes ports; but again this word should be reserved, if it is to be used at all, for the Palari.

3b. The "S kochi".

This is a boat of little distinction. As its name suggests it is a recent local hotch-potch, and not a true native design. It has

a double-ended hull, like that of a Leteh-Leteh or a Pajala, is steered by two quarter paddles and has a long, permanent deck housing. It might up to this point be a scrappily built Leteh-Leteh, and is in fact sometimes called by that name. Its distinguishing feature is that it is sloop-rigged, with a single pole mast. Usually it has a short bowsprit (see plate 4, upper picture), but this may be absent. Occasionally the bow and stern are plumb and the boat is steered with a rudder like the Lambok. On one occasion examples of all three patterns were lying together in Singapore roads among a small group of sloop-rigged Lambok, some of which also were of doubtful origin. Together they showed how messy and uninspiring eastern shipping can be when the traditional or semi-traditional designs are abandoned and the owners patch up their boats without recourse to them. Unfortunately there is no doubt that such teratomas are becoming increasingly numerous. They fall within the definition of a boat, they can carry cargo and they suit a messy and untidy age.

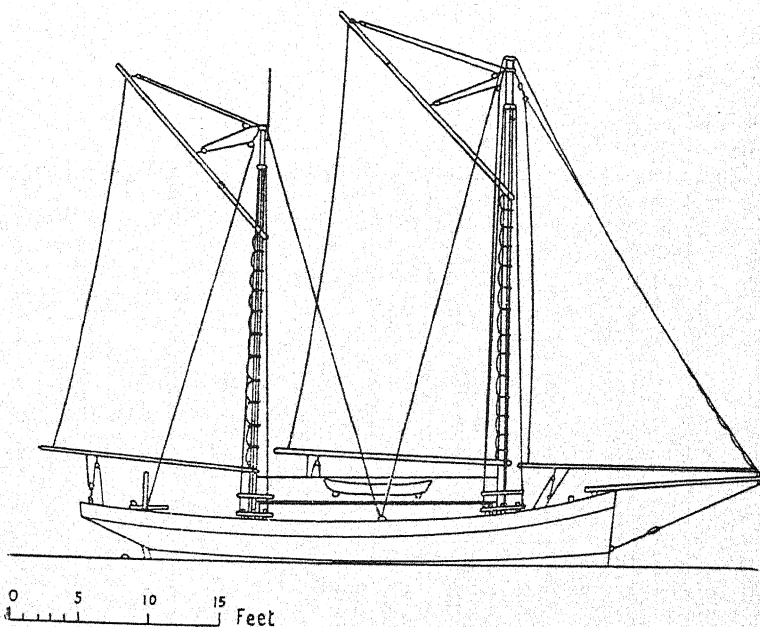
I have used the name "S  kochi" for these boats as it is probably the most suitable here. Proud owners may call them anything from *Pinas* and *P  rahu* to *Leteh-Leteh* or *Lambok*, but they are, of course, none of these things. S  kochi is derived from the Dutch *schuitje* and is used fairly widely wherever Netherland's influence has spread, but always, I think, for a double-ended hull. In the Malacca Strait it is the term for a small coasting junk which again has a lifeboat hull, though in this case it is fitted with Chinese-style batten lugsails and a junk poop. Similarly the word is used for a plain, and increasingly popular, double-ended fishing boat on the east coast of Malaya, which has spread there from northern Java. An interesting point is that it is not used for the Dogar (see Gibson-Hill, 1949: 111-2, pl. 9), which has a somewhat similar hull to the S  kochi of the Malacca Strait. This boat (the Dogar) also resembles the Bangkok Lorch   in its hull, though the sail plan is different. To me it suggests strongly that the design of the Pinas Dogar reached Trengganu from the north or direct from Europe, and not by way of Singapore.

4. The Lambok.

This boat is modelled fairly closely on European lines, though it is a rather clumsy copy of the original. It is plentiful and widespread, and steadily increasing in numbers. Boats ascribable to it are being built at many points from Java and Borneo eastwards to Flores, and probably as far as Timor. Its trading range is as wide as that of the Palari. Nevertheless, in view of its form and origin, no detailed account will be attempted here.

The Lambok has a European-style hull with one or two single-pole masts and a long, heavy, tri-partite bowsprit; in the last particular it differs sharply from the Trengganu Pinas, which has

a single-spar bowsprit. It also follows Indonesian custom in having a long, permanent deck housing amidships, stretching aft from behind the main mast, and in the two-masted examples usually stopping short just before the mizzen mast. It is steered with a rudder and tiller, but the rudder is often slightly distinctive in having the upper surface concave so that it terminates aft in a short, up-pointing spur. The keel is normally straight, with a rounded forefoot and an almost plum bow. The hull usually has a little sheer forward, but scarcely any aft. In detail the lines vary to some extent with the builder's personal views. The best Lambok are said to be built on the island of Bonerate, at the western end of the Flores Sea. The boats from here (one of which is shown in the accompanying sketch and a second in the lower picture on plate 4) have fairly well moulded clipper sterns, though their general lines are rather heavy. They are said to be built of "kayu jati", but this probably means merely a good, true hard wood, and not specifically teak. The majority of the boats from south Borneo, which occasionally reach Singapore in some numbers, have transom sterns. A few are double-ended, but under these conditions they have a prominent



Profile of a Lambok Ketch from Bonerate, drawn from a boat in Singapore Roads.

stern galley, built out in imitation of the upper portion of a clipper stern. The distinguishing points between these latter boats and the S  kochi are slight, but the difference lies in the presence of the

stern galley and the long, tri-partite bowsprit. The Sarawak "Schooner" which I have not yet seen in Singapore, has a clipper stem and stern, and two or three masts ketch, or possibly sometimes schooner, rigged with three head sails. This boat probably falls in the Lambok group, but I have not had an opportunity of examining any examples in detail. The single-masted Lambok is normally sloop-rigged, with a large gaff-headed mainsail. Both sails are fitted with booms. The Lambok sloop is generally 45-60 feet overall, with a waterline length of 30-40 feet. The smaller among these boats, waterline length 30 feet, set about 950 square feet of canvas (headsail 320 square feet, mainsail 630 square feet). Such boats have a cargo capacity of 300-350 piculs, which is less than that of a Palari of the same size, but they are rather faster and can be handled with a much smaller crew. On the other hand the Lambok cannot, in my experience, get within 5-6 points of the wind, and it beats very badly, though of course it goes about much more easily than the Palari. A few of the single-masted Lambok are cutter-rigged, and some of them carry topmasts, but I have never seen one with a topsail set. Finally some of the boats in this class from Java and south Borneo, which may be known derisively as "Përahu Lontok", are as little as 25 or even 20 feet along the waterline.

The double-masted Lambok is always ketch-rigged. It usually sets a single headsail, but I have seen boats with three headsails like the Palari or the Sarawak trader. Nearly all the boats in this category reaching Singapore are of the Bonerate pattern, with clipper sterns. They range from about 40-55 feet along the waterline, with an over-all length of 58-80 feet. The larger examples have a sail area of about 2,000 square feet and carry over 700 piculs of cargo. The total complement may be only 6-7 men, which is the same number as in a Palari or a Golekkan carrying only 500 piculs.

5. The Sumatran Coasters.

At least two coasting boats are found on the east side of Sumatra, both of which are appreciably different from the other cargo boats described in this paper. They are lightly built, with water-line lengths of 20-30 feet. They are fitted with burden boards but they are not usually decked at any point. Both step only a single mast on which is set a distinctive rig. When carrying cargo they are normally handled by two or three men, irrespective of their size. In each case, like the Bedar on the east coast of Malaya, they would seem to be larger versions of local fishing boats.

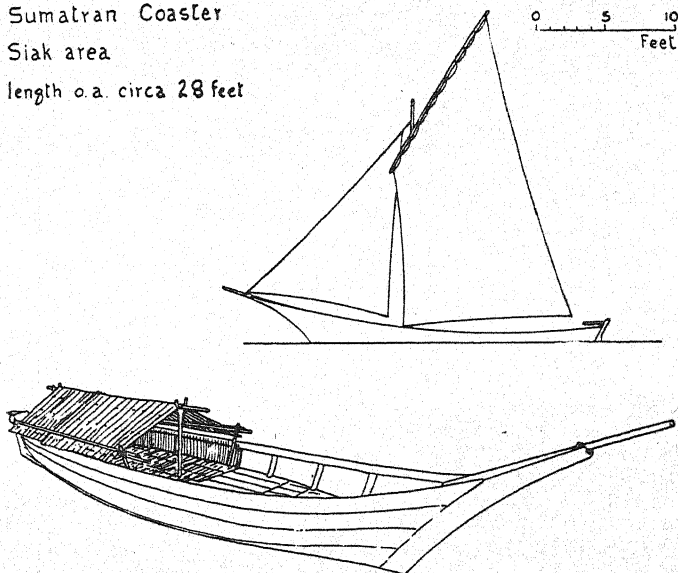
The kind most likely to be seen in Malayan waters apparently comes from the stretch of the Sumatran coast between Siak and Medan. It does not travel widely, but there are often a few examples lying in the Malacca River which have slipped over from

Pulau Medang or Pulau Rupert. It also occasionally reaches Kuala Linggi, and presumably Port Dickson. In Malacca it is generally referred to as Sampan, Kolek or Përahu Siak. It has a long, straight keel, with the forefoot and heel angled, and the stern almost plumb. The highly distinctive feature is the bow. The boat carries a considerable amount of sheer forward and the stem, as in the accompanying sketches, is carried up in a form suggesting

Sumatran Coaster

Siak area

length o.a. circa 28 feet



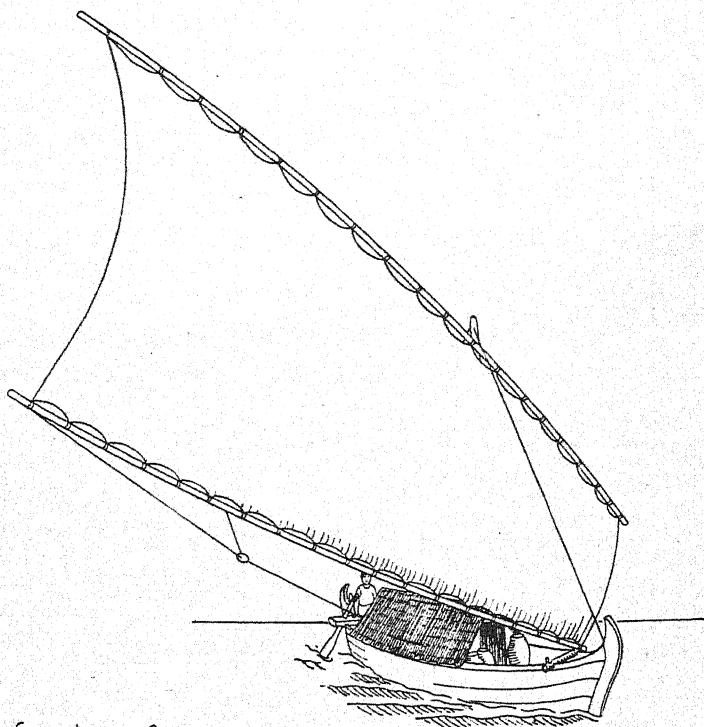
A Sumatran coasting boat from the Siak area, waterline length about 20 feet. Above, profile, showing sail plan. Below, a sketch of a boat from Pulau Medang lying in the Malacca River, with the mast shipped and the temporary housing erected over the aft portion of the boat (April, 1949).

an exaggerated version of a clipper bow. It is extended further by a short bowsprit which in part lies in a groove on its upper surface. According to Noteboom (1947: 222), the estuarine examples of this boat have a rounded keel, while in the sea-going versions it is straight or even slightly concave, so that the stem and stern have a deeper draught than the middle of the hull, but I am not in position to verify this. I have never seen one of these boats out of the water.

The Siak coasters only make short passages. When they are in port an atap shelter, supported on Y-shaped crutches, is generally rigged over the stern half of the boat. When they are under way it is normally dismantled, though it may be used to cover the cargo. Typically these boats set a large jib and a high-peaked, boomless standing lug, but the latter may be replaced by a spritsail

or the more usual Malay rectangular sail with a gaff and boom. They are generally steered with a rudder and tiller, but a short paddle may be used.

The other Sumatran coaster most likely to be encountered in Malayan waters comes up from the south-east end of the island, and may occasionally be seen in Singapore roads. It is double-ended, with the stem and stern post upturned at their heads, as in the accompanying sketch. There is a little sheer at both ends. The shallow keel is almost straight, with the forefoot and heel barely rounded. There is a long, peaked permanent housing amidships which occupies the greater part of the boat. It is used for stowing the cargo and a shelter for the crew. There is a single Y-shaped crutch for the spars at the stern, placed just aft of the steering beam.



Sumatran Coaster
circa 35 feet o.a.

A Coaster from the south-east corner of Sumatra, over-all length about 35 feet under way; drawn from a boat seen in the Banka Strait, August 1940.

A single paddle is used, which differs from those described in the earlier part of this paper in that the shaft runs into the centre of the blade, not into the leading edge. The post for the head of the

steering paddle is short and curved slightly forward, as in many of the local fishing boats.

These boats have a single mast, set fairly well forward and rising through the roof of the cabin. It sets a long rectangular sail which is appreciably narrower at the luff than at the leach. The spars, which are about as long as the hull, are usually single lengths of bamboo. In general appearance, including the shape of the sail, this boat is very similar to the fishing boats that one sees on the east side of the Sunda Strait and along the north coast of Java at least as far as Cheribon.

Acknowledgements.

I am most grateful to Captain W. H. Walmsley for technical advice, and to Mr. T. W. Burdon, Fisheries Officer, Singapore, for transport while I was revising this paper.

A Note on the Plates.

These pictures were taken in Singapore roads, those on plates 1-3 between September and November 1947, and the two on plate 4 in September 1949.

Plate 1. The Palari or Makassar Trader. **Upper picture**—the forward end of a small example of the more modern boats, showing the coarse clipper bow and the single-pole main mast. **Middle picture**—stern view of a small Palari, showing the steering paddles and the built-up poop. **Lower picture**—bow view of one of the older boats, showing the transom end to the built-up portion, the method of supporting the bowsprit and the triple-pole main mast.

Plate 2. The Golekkan or Madura Trader. **Upper picture**—boats of the recent pattern lying at anchor with their sails drying; the photograph shows the characteristic finish to the stern, the shape of the great steering paddle and the ornamented crutch for supporting the spars. **Lower picture**—stern view of an old style Golekkan, showing the different form of the spar rest and shape of the stern post; the backward prolongation of the keel is just discernible at the bottom of the picture. The lower of the two pictures shows clearly the ends of the cross beams projecting beyond the sides of the boat, picked out in black. These are just visible in the negatives of the upper pictures on this and the next plate, but they are painted the same colour as the surrounding wood in the modern boats, and do not show clearly in the prints.

Plate 3. The Letch-Letch. **Upper picture**—two Golekkan and a Madura Letch-Letch lying in Singapore roads; the picture shows the essential differences in the appearance of the two boats, and the two steering paddles of the Letch-Letch stowed on the roof of the housing. **Lower picture**—two Madura Letch-Letch, showing the differences between the two Madurese versions of this boat.

Plate 4. **Upper picture**—a "Sökochi" in sail; this picture shows two steering paddles in action, but the mounting is unusual in that the tillers are set to point to the stern, not forward as is the normal practice. **Lower picture**—a Lambok sloop from Bonerate in sail, showing the long, heavy bowsprit and the clipper stern. Taken together these photographs give the points of distinction between the "Sökochi" and the Lambok sloop.

References.

- Abell, Sir Westcott. 1948. *The Shipwright's Trade*. Cambridge, Eng.,
- Clowes, G. S. L. 1932. *Sailing Ships, their History & Development*. 3rd edn. H. M. Stationary Office, London.
- Collins, G. E. P. 1936. *East Monsoon*. London.
- Collins, G. E. P. 1937. *Makassar Sailing*. London.
- Gibson-Hill, C. A. 1949. Cargo Boats of the East Coast of Malaya. *Journ. Malay. Br. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, 22, pt 3: 106-125.
- Hornell, James. 1920. The Outrigger Canoes of Indonesia. *Madras Fisheries Bulletin*, 12, No. 2: 43-114.
- Hornell, James. 1946. *Water Transport, Origins & Early Evolution*. Cambridge, Eng.
- Nooteboom, C. 1947. The study of primitive sea-going craft as an ethological problem. *Intern. Archiv fur Ethnographie*, 45, pts 4-6: 216-224, pls. 5-8.
- Nooteboom, C. 1949. Eastern Diremes. *The Mariner's Mirror*, 35, No. 4: 272-275, pls 1-3.
- Poujade, Jean. 1946. *La Route des Indes et Ses Navires*. Paris.

Short Notes

The origin of "Batu Gajah"

(Received June 1949)

While resident as District Officer Kinta, I became interested in the origin of the name Batu Gajah and made enquiries locally to see if there were any legends to explain it. 'Che Mohd Najimi, Acting Penghulu at Sungei Trap, near Batu Gajah, supplied me with the following two stories. The second he describes as rather vague and ambiguous but he says that a good number of Malays still believe it to be true.

According to his first account the place was long ago inhabited by Sakai, and there were then very few educated Malays in the district. Subsequently tin-ore was discovered in the neighbourhood. Then it became well-known and many foreign immigrants came from Sumatra to trade in tin. They were all Buddhists, that is to say worshippers of carved images. They made frequent visits to the place by boat, coming up the Sungei Kinta from what is now Teluk Anson. As they could find no name for it they carved the figures of two elephants in stone, one an adult and the other a young one. When they had done this they set them up on the edge of the river for two purposes. One was to serve as a landmark, and the other so that they might provide a centre for worship. From them the place has been known since as Batu Gajah.

The second story is rather different. A long time ago, it says, there was a thing with life called "Sang Kēlembai" by the Malays. It had the power to transform other living things into stone when they heard its speech. At that time the district was covered with dense jungle, where wild elephants roamed freely. One day when a wild elephant and its calf were about to cross the Kinta River, "Sang Kēlembai" called out. They were immediately transformed into two stones, and after them the place has been named Batu Gajah. According to 'Che Najimi, these stones are to be found at Kampong Pisang even to this day, but they are fast disappearing.

H. A. L. LUCKAM, *M.C.S.*

The Cannon on Pulau Aur

(Received May 1949)

Pulau Aur, the most seaward of the islands of the Johore Archipelago, lies approximately 15 miles due east of Mersing. Formerly it was part of the territory of Pahang. In July 1849 it was visited by J. T. Thomson, then Government Surveyor at Singapore, in the course of a survey of the east coast of the Penin-

sula and its adjacent islands as far north as the Rompin River.¹ At that period the Sedili was the most northerly river of importance which undoubtedly recognised the supremacy of Johore. Some claim was made to the Mersing valley, but it appears to have been virtually uninhabited. Pulau Aur at this time had a population of about 1,400 persons settled in twelve bays round the coast. The principal kampong was on the west side. When Thomson landed there he found the headman seated on the barrel of an old cannon lying close to his house. He was told that it and the others near it (no number is specified) had been brought ashore from a brig that had been wrecked on the adjacent reef about thirty or forty years earlier. The survivors had lived on the island for a short time, and then made their way to Singapore. The remains of the hull were said to be visible below the water at the edge of the bay, but Thomson does not claim to have seen them.

In July 1948 I paid a short visit to Pulau Aur. The population is now very much less than it was in Thomson's day, and the principal settlement is on the north side of the island, facing the channel between it and Pulau Dayang. Telok Tokaya, the bay at the south-west corner where Thomson landed, is uninhabited but the present penghulu took me round to it. Four rusted cannon barrels are still lying on the ground immediately behind the beach. Two, side by side and about ten feet apart, are near the centre of the curve of the bay, pointing straight out to sea. The other two, one on each side, and about forty yards away, point to cover the water adjacent to the headlands. The easiest place to get ashore is close to one of these cannon, where a small stream runs into the sea. If the same arrangement held when they were landed, the other three must have been pulled along the beach to reach their present positions, presumably with a view to defending the bay against an attack from the water. Further, those that are not too damaged by rust can be seen to be marked with a capital "F" on one side, and the date 1782 on the other; when we reached Pekan ten days later we found two identical barrels, with the same markings, among the cannon placed to ornament the grass space round the District Office. Nevertheless the penghulu at Aur had told me much the same story that his predecessor had told Thomson in 1849.

In view of the persistence of the tradition, virtually unchanged, it seemed to be of interest to enquire into it further. The Admiralty Librarian was able to inform me that there is no record of the loss of one of H.M. Ships in this area over the period concerned, but the cannon might, of course, have been carried by an

(1) Thomson, J. T., "Pulo Aur", Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol. 4, 1850. pp. 191-198. *Idem*, "Description of the Eastern Coast of Johore and Pahang, and Adjacent Islands", *ibid.*, Vol. 5, 1851, pp. 85-92 & 135-154, *passim*.

armed merchantman. In sailing days Pulau Aur was much used as a landfall and watering place by ships crossing the South China Sea. Horsburgh in the second edition of his Directory (1817, Vol. 2, p. 217) says "This island is generally adopted as a point of departure, by ships bound to China; they also steer for it on their returning passage". The vessels normally anchored in Telok Tokaya, where the cannon are, about half a mile off the shore. They were strongly advised to do so westward bound in dark, hazy, blowing weather if unacquainted with the entrance to the Singapore Strait. According to Horsburgh there was then a considerable number of huts round the bay. Firewood and coconuts could be obtained there, but no other refreshments except water, the ships watered with their own boats, "for the natives although shy of strangers, are generally found to be inoffensive".

Later I received a fuller version of the story. Early in 1949 M. J. T. McCann, District Officer Pekan, sent me a statement taken down from the father of one of his penghulus, a very old man who had formerly been Dato' Dalam of the Pahang Court. According to this account the loss of the ship occurred about 500 years ago, which is clearly impossible, but apart from this it fits well with such other evidence as is available. In it the cannon are said to have belonged to a Dutch sailing boat which was lying at Pulau Aur, "dan telah jadi satu perkelahian di-antara Belanda dan tewas orang² Belanda terus kapal-nya tenggelam di-Pulau Aur. . . .". The Dato' gives the chief man at Pulau Aur as Tok Kaya Binchol, who afterwards became "Raja Pahang 'Koris'", but who in his youth "tidak dudok tetap selalu ia keluar negeri dan suka beramok² di-luar negeri". Dr Linehan tells me that Tun Koris was Bendahara Paduka Raja of Pahang *ca.* 1803-1806.² If the Pekan account is accepted, therefore, the cannon came from a Dutch ship which was sunk in a fight with Malays some time between 1783 and 1803, probably in the earlier part of this period. The survivors presumably went to Batavia or Riau, not to Singapore.

The former Dato' Dalam also says that the cannon now at Pekan were taken there from Aur by Tun Ahmad after he became Bendahara Sewa Raja of Pahang. Four guns are said to have been moved. Two were lost in the Pulau Tambun River, one was placed under the *rengas* trees in front of the Istana Kota Biram³ and the fourth in front of the Masjid Lama. The two surviving cannon are thought to have been transferred to their present position by G. M. Laidlaw when he was District Officer Pekan. The

(2) Linehan, W. "A history of Pahang", *Journal Malayan Br. Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 14, pt 2, 1936. pp. 1-257. See pp. 54-55.

(3) The *rengas* trees in front of the Istana Kota Biram are the trees on the river bank in front of the present Residency which stands on the site of the old fort. The latter, which may have existed before the Malacca Malays captured Pahang about 1458 A.D., disappeared some time ago. (Dr. Linehan, *in litt.*, 6.6.49).

association of their removal from Aur to Pekan with the name of Tun Ahmad helps to explain the arrangement of the four still at Telok Pokaya. Shortly after the death of Tun Ali (who ruled Pahang from 1806-1857) fighting broke out between his two sons, Tun Mutahir, who had succeeded him as Bendahara, and Ahmad. Tun Mutahir ceded Tioman and the other islands to Temenggong Abu-Bakar of Johore, in exchange for his support in the struggle. He was finally defeated early in 1863, and in May of that year he died at Sedili. Shortly afterwards Ahmad was formally installed by his chiefs as ruler of Pahang with the title of Bendahara Sewa Raja. He immediately refused to acknowledge the validity of the session of the archipelago, and in October 1863 summoned the headmen of the islands and obtained their allegiance. The dispute lasted for several years, and Pulau Aur was invaded at least once by the Temenggong's men. It was no doubt during this period that Ahmad had the cannon removed from the wreck and the four put in the positions which they now occupy. The final outcome of the dispute was the present boundary, which gives Tioman, Sëri Buat, Kaban and the other islands north of latitude 2° 40' to Pahang, and Pemanggil, Tinggi, Aur and the other islands south of this line to Johore. This arrangement was suggested by Abu-Bakar in 1867, and awarded by Sir Harry Ord the following year, but did not receive final confirmation until 1897 (Linehan, *tom. cit.*, pp. 88-91).

C. A. GIBSON-HILL.

The "White Tiger" in Penang

(Received September 1949)

Almost every Chinese temple in Penang possesses a White Tiger. He is one of the four divine creatures from the four corners of the heavens: the Black Tortoise of the north; the Vermillion Phoenix of the south; the Azure Dragon of the east; and the White Tiger of the west (白虎).

In spite of his popularity his effigy is nearly always tucked away in some dark corner of the temple. Generally it is in a cave-like hollow or small dusty grotto below the shrine; often it is obscured by the sacrificial tables of a better-known god. Despite his name his effigy is never white, but it is easily distinguishable by the piece of greasy pork that lies before it and which is used in his worship; and by the crude cut-out figures of scarlet paper that are pasted on the wall or rock above his head.

The White Tiger is considered to have the power of casting out sickness, of saving people in times of trouble—from danger of shipwreck, from imprisonment and the like—of calling back the straying affections of an errant husband and of discomfiting enemies or rivals. During the Japanese occupation the Tiger was extremely popular, particularly at his shrine in the Kwan

Yin (觀音廟) temple in Pitt Street, which was often so crowded that it was almost impossible to get near it. It was the scene of many petitions made particularly by the wives of Chinese who were working in dangerous positions, or who had been unfortunate enough to be imprisoned by the Japanese. This still remains one of the most popular White Tiger shrines on the island, though he is actively worshipped also at the Burmah Road Goddess of Mercy temple, the God of the Town in Jelutong Road, the God of Health and Agriculture near Glugor and at many others. The most propitious days on which to visit him are the second and sixteenth days of the moon.

Quite by chance I recently witnessed part of a service conducted before him at the Pitt Street temple, on the sixteenth day of the moon. It was about half an hour after sunset. The brisk evening worship of the God of Heaven (天公) was over and the courtyard almost deserted. Only a few red sparks flying up into the rapidly darkening sky and smoke pouring from the braziers showed that joss papers of the worshippers were still burning. Inside, two women and a baby were kow-towing or telling their beads before Kwan Yin's many glittering lamps. The courtyard and inner pavilion behind the goddess were very dim; the only light came from the White Tiger's corner, silhouetting in its ruddy glow a little group of men and women and shining grotesquely under the high cheek bones of a bland-faced priest. The almost hypnotic sound of his chanting droned on and on, and I went closer to watch the performance of the ritual. I had never seen it before, though it had been described to me by Mr C. S. Wong.

No one seemed to resent my presence. The women devotees were so intent that they did not notice me. The few men of the party, rather obviously disbelieving the whole business, looked amused at my interest. The priest never moved a muscle of his taut face but once or twice his expressionless glance flickered in my direction. He was holding a white shirt in one hand and a yellow paper in the other. Probably the shirt belonged to a sick man or boy, or to the devotee's husband ensnared by the charms of another woman. Incense smoke curling up in the soft candlelight gave the scene an air of witch-craft as the priest, with gestures as smooth as his monotonous chant, moved the paper up and down above the flames. Then a small black object was produced from a package held by the woman. The priest laid it down and took the woman's sandal from her foot and with it ground the object on the stone floor. It was a pair of miniature boots, bought as part of the paraphernalia of White Tiger worship and supposed to represent the personal property of the enemy rival. Later the woman, at the priest's command, spat on the shirt. This seems a little confusing but it is part of the exorcising of the evil, sickness, or bad spirit that may have taken hold of the owner of the shirt.

According to my informant the yellow paper that is used is called "the Auspicious Document that Exorcises all Evils". The first action of the ceremony is the smearing of the Tiger's mouth with fat pork, which translated into Cantonese is actually an idiomatic phrase for influencing someone in your favour. Candles and incense sticks are then lighted and the document that I saw is produced, together with the shirt or other garment, the boots and the paper figures. These are scarlet for the man that is to be assisted and white (rarely seen after the ceremony as it is usually burnt) for the man who is to be cursed or somehow defeated. The priest is well paid for these services: he receives a "red packet", eggs and sometimes the fat pork as well, though it can scarcely taste very appetising after it has been smeared on the greasy and blackened face of the Tiger.

The Pitt Street Tiger looks like a small carving from the Easter Islands; it is made of granite and has written across it "the stone that dares to resist". But the most attractive White Tiger I have yet seen crouches at the back of a cave in Penang Hill. I stumbled on him quite literally one evening, barking my shins in the process. The temple, which has a very fine view of the Straits, is called Immortal Cliff and is dedicated to Toh Peh Kong (大伯公). Its White Tiger is in a narrow passage among great rocks that are part of the hillside itself. With tail up and back arched it is stretching, for all the world like a sleek cat, while two small tiger cubs nestle close to its face. The young Buddhist priest—the burns of his recent ordination clearly visible on his shaven head—solemnly informed us that during the occupation this effigy wept large tears of sorrow:—an improbable story, but undoubtedly a most appealing White Tiger.

KATHARINE SIM.

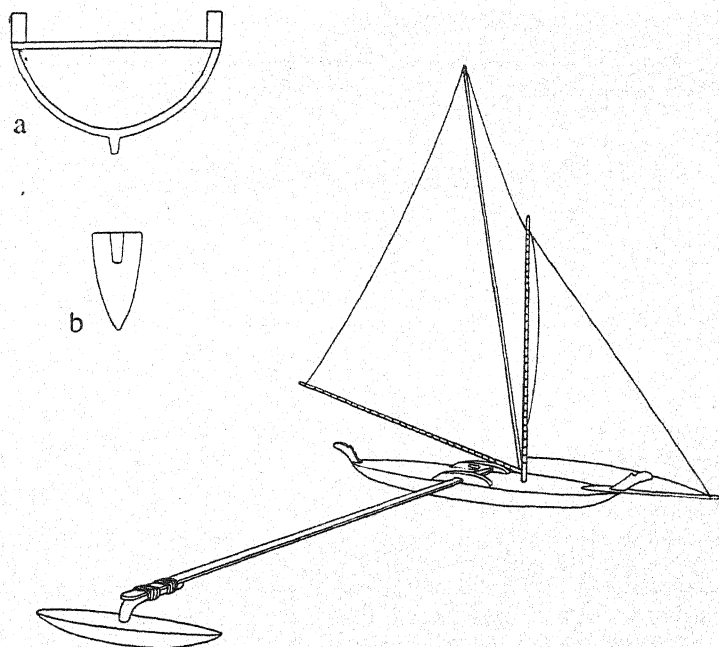
The Racing Jong

(Received, October 1949)

The word *jong* was formerly applied to any unspecified sea-going sailing boat; possibly in its origin it is connected with the Javanese *jongkong*, and so with "junk". This meaning is to a large extent obsolete. Wilkinson (Romanised Malay-English Dictionary 1932 (1): 477) says "Today a ship is *kapal* or *përahu*; *jong* is a model boat used by children", but one can add to this. In the extreme south of the peninsula the word is applied to a very special model boat, the *jong* of this note, which is by no means only a child's toy.

The special *jong* is a light-weight sailing model, without a true keel or rudder, and balanced by a float at the end of a long out-

rigger boom set to windward. It is made for racing by the Malays on the coast of Singapore and the adjacent islands to the south (possibly down to the Lingga Archipelago), along the Strait of Johore and at Mersing. The design probably originated in the region of the Singapore Strait, as the shape and finish of the hull,



Outline drawing of a racing *Jong* with the sails set. Fig (a) & (b), drawn to a scale of approximately five inches to an inch, show transverse sections through the mid-points of the hull and float respectively.

including the characteristic curved heads to the stem and stern posts, follow the Johore *kolek* closely. I have not been able to find any evidence of its use further afield, nor do I know of any early references to the pastime. The Raffles Museum contains two fine models, analysed in the accompanying table, which are about 20 years old. On the other hand Wilkinson makes no mention of model-racing in his paper on Malay Amusements (*Papers on Malay Subjects, Life & Customs*, pt 3, 1910).

The *jong* has a hollow, thin-shelled, equal-ended hull cut out of a single piece of wood, and covered with a thin deck. It is strongly flared at the bow and stern, with the forefoot and heel well rounded. There is no sheer and the "keel", which is only a

shallow ridge for the greater part of its length, is straight. At the present time the hull is generally made from Jelutong wood, *Dyera costulata*, which is light and buoyant. The deck covering may be of the same material or, in cheaper models, of thin plywood. The *jong* carries a wooden bow-sprit built on the hull, and a single slender mast. It is normally fitted with a large triangular foresail and a sprit-mainsail. The mast and spars are generally of "jati" (supposedly, but not always, *Tectona grandis*). The hull end of

The Racing Jong—Table of Measurements

Location and Name of model	Raffles Museum		Pasir Panjang Singapore					
	Model "A"	Model "B"	"Kilat"	"Burong Hijau"	"Muliya"	(No name)	"Panahberapi"	"Ebat"
Hull along waterline	61	56	39	39	38	35	34	33
Length of bowsprit	15	14	17½	14½	14	13½	14½	13½
Max. beam of hull	9	8¼	6	5¾	5¾	4½	5¼	5
Max. depth of hull	3½	3¼	3	2¾	3	2½	2½	2¼
Mast aft of bows	—	—	12½	13½	13	10½	10½	11
Height of mast	17	45	36	34½	35	30	32½	30
Length of outrigger boom	78	80	54	64	65	57	57	56
Length of float	10	35	24½	24½	23	23	21	22
Max. beam of float	—	—	1½	1½	1½	1¼	2¾	1
Max. depth of float	—	—	2¾	2¾	2½	2½	2¾	2¼
Area of jib	5.5	5.0	4.4	3.5	3.3	3.0	3.0	2.8
Area of mainsail	15.0	11.6	7.4	6.8	7.3	5.8	6.2	5.0
Total sail area	20.5	16.6	11.8	10.3	10.6	8.8	9.2	7.8
Wt of hull	—	—	19.6	21.1	21.4	13.8	17.5	12.0
Wt of float	—	—	15.1	14.8	16.8	12.8	6.9	11.3
Wt of outrigger	—	—	11.3	9.6	11.0	11.9	9.1	9.1
Wt of mast, spars & sails	—	—	10.6	9.8	10.3	7.4	8.8	6.6
Total wt of model	—	—	56.6	55.3	59.5	45.9	42.5	39.0

In the above table lengths etc. are given in inches, sail areas (approximate only) in square feet and weights in ounces (avoirdupois). The bowsprit is measured from the tip to a point vertically above the point where the waterline cuts the stem when the model is floating; "mast aft the bows" is measured from this plane to the centre of the mast socket. The outrigger boom is measured from the midline of the hull to the midline of the float. I am indebted to 'Che Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee for the hull and float measurements of the two examples in the Raffles Museum collection.

the outrigger boom (*Batang Katir*) passes through a slot in one of two strips of wood placed at either side of the deck, just aft of the mast, with its heel resting in a socket on the inner side of the further strip. Sometimes two slots are present in each strip, allowing for two alternative positions on each side. Normally the outrigger is made to trail at an angle of about 60° - 65° to the line of the hull. It is generally cut from Nibong, *Oncosperma tigillaris*. The float is fastened to the under surface of its distal end by a wooden peg which fits into a socket on the upper surface of the float. By this means the owner can rotate the float in a horizontal plane, and thus vary the angle between its long axis and the long axis of the hull. It is occasionally made of Nibong, but usually a much heavier wood is employed, and in some cases it is cut from teak, *Tectona grandis*. The relation between the drag-moment of the float and the weight of the hull are most important in determining the amount of sail that can be carried. The boat's course in relation to the wind is fixed by the set of the jib and mainsheet, and the angle between the line of the float and the line of the hull.

These models are generally made to fit in one of two size groups. The larger boats have a length along the waterline, when floating, of about 55-65 inches, and the smaller one about 33-40 inches. The bigger *jongs* are used mostly in the area south of Singapore and at Mersing, though formerly at least a few were built on the island itself. The two examples in the Raffles Museum are in this class. At the present time the models in use off Singapore Island mostly come in the smaller group. Such boats cost about \$15-20 when new. The measurements of six from the Kampong at Pasir Panjang are given in the accompanying table. It will be seen that the approximate sail area in this series ranges from 7.8-11.8 square feet, and the total weight from 39.0-56.6 ounces. Nevertheless the boats are said to race on roughly equal terms. One boat (the *Panahbérapi*) differs from the remainder in having the hull proportionately heavier, and the float much broader and a great deal lighter; it is apparently able to carry slightly more sail in relation to hull length than the others, but it is said if anything to be rather slower.

These models can only be set to a straight course, but with fairly calm water and a moderate breeze they are remarkably fast. In part, naturally, this is due to the absence of a weighted keel and the use of the outrigger boom and float to counterbalance the sail. When well under way they skim over the water, with the stern down, the bow up and the fore third of the keel above the surface, much in the manner of a speed boat. They are usually raced from the sea to the shore. Two posts are set up at the edge of the beach about 30 feet apart, and the models are launched 2-6 furlongs from them. They may not be handled once the race has started

and they must touch the land between the posts to qualify as finishing. The larger models are sometimes set off from koleks, but for the smaller ones the men almost invariably waded out until they are in about 4 feet of water. The Pasir Panjang models may be raced any Sunday morning when the weather is suitable, but the principal occasion is on Hari Raya Puasa. Difficulty is caused in this region by rocks near the shore and the slope of the sea bottom. Racing can be done safely and satisfactorily only at or round low water, and when there is an appreciable drop in the tide. As a result there are often runs of several weeks when it cannot take place.

C. A. GIBSON-HILL.

Neolithic implements from North Borneo

(Received, October 1949).

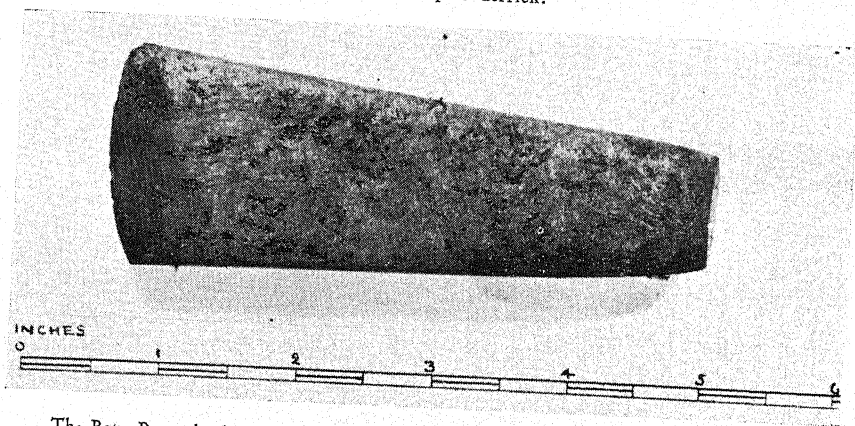
See Photographs on Plate 6.

In March 1948 during clearing operations by Messrs. A. H. Dumbleton and F. Vassey of the Associated Drilling & Supply Co., at Batu Penotal in the Padas Gorge a few miles below Tenom Lama, a stone adze, a grooved stone "hammer" or pounder and a piece of pottery were uncovered. Although stone artifacts from time to time have been obtained from natives, (commonly called *gigi temparik*—thunder teeth) in North Borneo there is, so far as is known, no published record of the actual discovery of neolithic implements *in situ* other than those by Evans (7) in Kota Belud District, and Banks (1) in North Borneo. Collings (6) in writing on shaped stones says, "In British North Borneo quite another kind of stone sago pounder is found" but it is not clear whether he refers to stone sago pounders in current use or not. He also refers to a collection of stone tools obtained by Mr Tom Harrison "...from the Murut People living about Merapok near Lawas and behind Brunei Bay...". Merapok is just across the North Borneo-Sarawak boundary and not far from Sindumin in North Borneo. Harrison (8) mentions having two paleoliths from the Segama River of "the so-called Sumatran type" lent to him by the Australian (Brisbane) Museum and says he has a lot more of North Borneo material but he does not say whether the material was found *in situ* or obtained from natives.

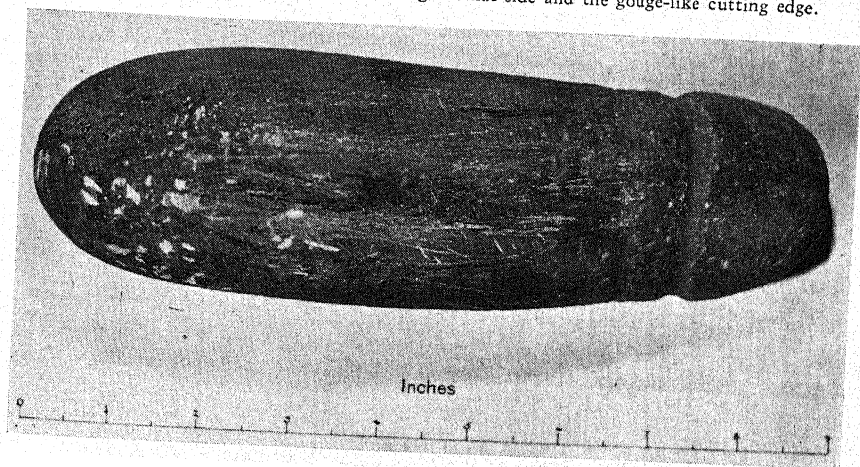
The site of the Penotal find is approximately one and one half miles south-west of Tenom, at Mile 85 on the Beaufort-Melalap railway line on the right bank of the Padas River, about 50 feet above the river surface. But Penotal, which is the proposed site of the dam for the hydro-electric scheme, is the subject of much Murut folklore in North Borneo and is credited with being the point where an ancient lake broke through—a fact that is now actually confirmed, I believe, by geologists. Photographs 1 and 2 are pictures of the site taken by Mr G. Wilson of the Associated



Two views of the site of the find at Batu Penotal. The actual spot is close to the three-pole derrick.



The Batu Penotal adze. A view showing the flat side and the gouge-like cutting edge.



Drilling & Supply Co. The actual place of discovery being very near to the 3-pole derrick visible in the photographs. Rutter (9) quotes several Murut tales which relate how and why the ancient lake broke through at Penotal Rock. There are numerous other variations of these tales all having the break through of the lake and the formation of what is now the Padas Gorge as their main theme.

Photograph No. 3 shows the stone adze which is similar but not identical to those illustrated by Collings (5) and Tweedie (10) and is made of a hard blue-grey stone, probably andesite or a fine-grained basalt. In cross-section it is not identical to the typical cross-sections of the neolithic adzes etc., illustrated by Beyer (3), the Penotal adze being well-made, flat or nearly flat on the gouge surface, with the edges slightly sloping inwards to a rounded back. Beyer (4) suggests that as the adze is of hard stone associated with red pottery fragments, if it had been found in the Philippines, he would regard it as being Middle or early Late Neolithic and probably made sometime between 1000 BC and 2000 BC. The potsherd appears to be a portion of the rim of a pot, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, unornamented and made of hard red clay.

Photograph No. 4 shows the grooved stone or pounder. This appears to have been made from a large river pebble. One side is flattened. The convex side has two grooves, possibly for lashing the stone to a wooden handle, the flat side being placed against the handle. One groove extends completely around the stone, while the other and shallower groove goes as far as the flat surface only. This grooved stone appears to be unique and no reports can be traced of an identical artifact having been found in the Malaysian region. Beyer (4) suggests the grooved stone is "...quite closely related to the *patu* family of implements so widely distributed in Polynesia, and found also in Formosa and Japan...". (See also Beyer (3) p. 30). He goes on to say there is nothing like it in the Philippines but suggests that it may be of about the same date as the adze, *i.e.* Middle or early Late Neolithic.

Various theories have been advanced as to the use of the grooved stone. It was first reported as a phallic object but even the most casual inspection renders this theory untenable. Another theory is that it was used as a hammer for driving the wooden pegs (*pak-pak*) used for climbing bee trees and for *damar* collection; the grooves are explained as being used to fasten the stone to a line which is in turn tied to the climbers wrist. This is an ingenious explanation but it is to be doubted. Hardwood mallets are widely used for this purpose even today and it is not probable that anyone would go to the trouble of working up a stone hammer for a purpose that is adequately served by wood.

The grooved stone shows no damage or marks resulting from it being used for breaking stone or similar hard substances, and this may suggest that the artifact may have been intended and used as a weapon rather than a tool. Beyer (4) suggests that the grooved stone was used for pounding, only one end being so used, "...as is the case with the *patu*..." and goes on to say that certain *patu* that he has seen from Formosa resemble the Penotal grooved stone more closely than anything else he has personally examined. This suggestion that the Penotal grooved stone is a pounder fits in with Collings's (7) reference to sago pounders from Sarawak but the Penotal grooved stone does not in any way resemble the sago pounders illustrated by him.

References

- (1) Banks, E. 1937. Some Neolithic Remains from the Kelabit Country in Sarawak with some notes on the Kelabits themselves. *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 15.
- (2) Beyer, Dr H. Otley. 1947. Outline of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces. *The Philippine Journal of Science*. Vol. 77, Nos. 3 & 4.
- (3) Beyer, Dr H. Otley. 1948. Philippine and East Asian Archaeology and its relation to the origin of the Pacific Islands Population. *The National Research Council of the Philippines*, Bulletin No. 29. pp. 1-130.
- (4) Beyer, Dr H. Otley. 1949. Correspondence. (not published).
- (5) Collings, H. D. 1936. Report of an Archaeological Excavation in Kedah, Malay Peninsula. *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, Series. B. No. 1, Plate XVIII.
- (6) Collings, H. D. 1949. Some Neolithic tools from Sarawak. *Sarawak Museum Journal*, No. 1 (New Series).
- (7) Evans, I. H. N. 1922. Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo. London.
- (8) Harrisson, T. 1949. Correspondence. (not published).
- (9) Rutter, Owen. 1929. The Pagans of North Borneo. London.
- (10) Tweedie, M. W. F. 1941. The Stone Age in Malaya. *The Malayan Nature Journal*. Vol. 2, pt 1, Plate 11, fig. 3.
- (11) Utsurikawa, Dr N. 1934. Distribution of the Patu type of Stone Artifact in the Pacific Area, and the similar Stone objects discovered in Formosa. (In Japanese; not seen, quoted from Dr Beyer).

H. G. KEITH.

The Mandulika of Sungai Ujong

(Received October 1949).

In my book *The Malays: a Cultural History* I point out that the description *Mandulika*, a Sanskrit word meaning Governor, occurs on the 14th century Trengganu stele, in the Malacca and Pahang legal digests, in the *Séjarah Melayu* as a former title for the territorial chief of Klang and in the present title of the Undang

of Jelebu. I added that Tomé Pires mentions Mandulikas in Sungai Ujong, Klang, Selangor, Bernam, Mjinjam, Bruas and Perak. In the 15th century they were governors appointed by Malacca but in view of the word's occurrence on the Trengganu stone, it was almost certainly the title of territorial governors under Sri Vijaya.

Since I wrote my book, Mr J. M. Gullick has contributed an interesting history of Sungai Ujong to this Journal (Vol. XXII, pt. 2, 1949). From that history it is clear that though submerged and corrupted the title Mandulika has survived there as Andika Mandulika (*alias* Andalika Mandika) and that until ousted by the Dato' Bandar in the last century its holder ranked next to the Klana and acted in the office during any interregnum after a Klana died (*op. cit.* pp. 38, 41). So acting he fulfilled the functions that the leading indigenous Malay chief (afterwards styled Bendahara) carried out for Rulers with foreign blood: in short, he represented an older *regime*.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Indra and Saktimuna

(Received October 1949).

To Volume IV (1926) of this Journal I contributed a paper on "The Founder of Malay royalty and his conquest of Saktimuna, the Serpent," in which I summarized folk-tales that tell how the first ruler of Minangkabau (Miscellanies, Sumatran Mission Press, Bencoolen 1822, vol. II; *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, ed. Shellabear, Chapter 2) got his throne after the slaying of Saktimuna, which has been translated "Serpent of wondrous power" or "Water Giant." The blade that slew it is named variously Churika Mandakini, "blade from the lake Mandakini" on the Ganges, or Chemundang Giri "Conqueror of a mountain." In a version of the story from Ujjain, the ancient capital of Malwa in western India, the demon or giant is slain by a grandson of Indra (Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Part III, *The Dying God*, 3rd ed., pp. 122-3). Why was this widespread tale so popular and so often incorporated in mythical history?

The ascription of the feat to a grandson of Indra may supply a solution. For as many scholars have now pointed out, early Malay rulers claimed to be incarnations or receptacles of a Hindu God, generally of Indra, Lord of Meru, the Hindu Olympus, wielder of the thunder-bolt and controller of weather (JMBRAS, 1947, Vol. 20 pt. 1, pp. 133-4). And in his book "Kings and Councillors" (Cairo, 1936; p. 56) Mr A. M. Hocart sets forth how "the Rigveda is full of references to the slaying of a serpent and the release of waters. The slayer is Indra, the thunder-god. We learn from the commentators that the serpent demon is the cloud, but the clouds are mountains, and so the demon is also a mountain. This cloud-

mountain is cloven by the thunder-god, who thus releases the waters held by the demon. It is remarkable that the Malay legends still refer variously to a serpent and to a mountain. Naturally Muslim Indians ascribe the feat not to Indra but to a descendant of their own adopted god-king, Alexander the Great. Yet there seems little doubt that the story they told the Malays goes back to the Rigveda's account of Indra, controller of weather. Malay legends associate the slaying of Saktimuna with a prince who descended from the sky and whose coming improved the rice-crop.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

A Note on Takola, Langkasuka and Kataha

(Received January 1950)

All who have followed Sir Roland Braddell's contributions to this journal must have appreciated that he has raised the study of Malayan historical geography to a new and highly critical standard, and has opened up several fresh avenues of approach. Moreover he has, I believe, been rewarded with some substantial results.

While the study of place names has never made much appeal to me personally, I have at times, mainly in connection with localities that interested me archaeologically, expressed certain views, or endorsed those of others. I should therefore like to call attention to certain instances in which Sir Roland's conclusions now seem definitely to supersede views I formerly held. Naturally, as is so frequently the case in this subject, we must still often speak in terms of probability, rather than of absolute certainty.

In the first place I have pleasure in joining Prof. Nilakanta Sastri¹ in accepting Sir Roland's identification of Trang, rather than Takuapa, as the most probable site of Takola. Probably I was most influenced in accepting the once generally held view by reason of the known later importance of Takuapa. But I now recognize that it is never safe to argue backwards in that way and, as Sir Roland has shown, continuity in the importance of a site in Malaya is the exception rather than the rule.

I also agree that Sir Roland has shown good ground for the belief, amounting almost to certainty, that Langkasuka (Lang-yahsü, Ilangāsogam etc) was essentially an east coast state, though it may have stretched across the Peninsula at times. And here it may be interpolated that Mr. Hsu is probably equally right in placing Ch'ih-t'u on the east coast, though exactly where appears to be doubtful.

(1) This journal, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, 1949, p. 25.

This recognition that Langkasuka centred on the east coast, and it is interesting to note that M. Coedès also appears to have given up his location of it in Kedah, is of prime importance because after that the location of Kaṭāha (Kaṭāram) can no longer be in the slightest doubt. I now fully agree with Sir Roland that Kaṭāha must have been situated in Kedah and that we can trace its history continuously from the IVth century to the XIVth, under a variety of names. I do not think I would ever have seriously thought otherwise had it not been that I had taken the location of Langkasuka in Kedah as settled, and the archaeological evidence made it absolutely impossible for me to conceive of two cities existing side by side in this small area at the same time. The very secondary objection which I had to regarding the Kedah remains as being those of so important a city as Kaṭāha has now been resolved by my own further study: I have shown elsewhere that we cannot expect to find such impressive architectural evolution in cities of Sumatra and Malaya, however prosperous, as we get in Java and Cambodia. Perhaps I may add that many of the arguments I put forward for the existence of some city of importance in Perak in Chola times still appear to me to hold good.

Finally, I would go so far as to say that I think Sir Roland's views on Borneo are most interesting.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

A Note on the "Four Main Waves"

(Received January 1950)

In his "Note on the Sambas Finds"¹ Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says that he is "not convinced of the wave-theory of the flow of cultural influences from India to the colonies and the attempts of Dr. Quaritch Wales to distinguish four such waves seem to me only to complicate a simple issue." But in the next sentence he states that "the colonies...shared in all the cultural movements [note the plural] that developed in India from time to time."

The movements, as he says, developed at different times, and one may add, in different places (e.g. South India and Bengal). It is difficult to see, therefore, how one can deny that they must have set in motion different impulses, *i.e.* waves of influence.

It is true, as he says, that my "different waves form a chronological continuity". I tried to make it clear, when I first formulated the wave theory² that I wished to avoid "the use of the term 'period' in the usually accepted sense, because it suggests those watertight compartments that seldom exist in nature." I stressed

(1) This journal, Vol. XXII, Pt. 4, 1949, p. 18.

(2) *Indian Art & Letters*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1937, p. 30.

that while it was convenient to make use of what appeared to be exact definitions, it was necessary to bear in mind that the effect of the various waves tended to overlap and that the process was cumulative. But I am afraid that my "chronological continuity" is not, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri suggests may be the case, intended to have the same meaning as his "continuous unity" i.e. a waveless continuous unity.

There would, of course, be no excuse whatever for complicating a simple issue, but I am more and more convinced that my theory, which was at first advanced as a means of analysing a rather complex process, corresponds to actuality. Perhaps it will bring us nearer to proving this if we consider what might well be regarded as a "fifth wave". From its being relatively nearer to us in time, and somewhat isolated, we are better able to distinguish its working. I refer to the late Mahāyanist missionary endeavour of the 13th century, consequent upon the scattering of the monks of Nālandā. In Java, where the effects of this new influence are most noteworthy, there is in the Singhasari period (following the relatively static Kadiri period) a remarkable response in both architecture and sculpture, which undergo a large measure of re-Indianization. Yet, though the main Indian colonizing period was over, and Indian influences had long been at a low ebb, we would hardly dare to say that contacts between India and Java were entirely in abeyance during the preceding Kadiri period.

So too when we go back to consider the nature of what I call the fourth, or Pāla, wave. In the words of Coedès: "The expansion of the Mahāyāna in the countries of outer India, which coincides roughly with the accession in India of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal and Magadha towards the middle of the VIIIth century, is the dominating fact in the period studied in this chapter" (covering the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 9th century).³

Does this not give precisely the impression of a "cultural movement", a well defined stimulus, producing a distinct wave of influence overseas? I have little doubt that earlier movements, coinciding in the main with the rise of Pallava and Gupta power and cultural achievement, operated in the same way, that is to say with a more or less definite ebb and flow, though forming a chronological continuity.

Lastly I would claim that my wave theory is perfectly in accord with what is well recognized as characteristic of the mechanics of diffusion throughout the ages. Thus Professor Heine-Geldern says: "I came to the conclusion that we had to distinguish at least two, and possibly more, megalithic waves which reached Indonesia

(3) G. Coedès, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie* Paris 1948, p. 165.

at different times. The older one, in reality probably a series of ethnic and cultural waves...."⁴

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

Errata, Vol. 22 (1949),

Part 1, March 1949.

Winstedt, R. O. (The Malay Annals Again)

- p. 180. Twenty-third line from the top of the page. Insert "46" after "about" to read "and about 46 when he drove out the Siamese".

Thirtieth line from the top of the page. Replace "who was never acknowledged as king, either because he was not of the Singapore royal house or because Majapahit would not recognise a creature of Siam." by "who was not a ruler but a (?Malay) governor appointed by Siam".

Part 4, September 1949.

Quaritch Wales, Dr H. G. (The Sambas Finds in relation to the Problems of Indo-Malaysian Art Development.)

- p. 29. The second passage quoted from Devaprasad Ghosh should read; "peculiar *jatamukuta*, a marked advance in the ornamental aspect, the undulating lines of the *uttariya* running across the breast, the fine *upavita* (Brahmanic cord) dangling loosely along the left side of the torso, the nature of the jewellery and particularly the bowlike curves of waistline".

(4) "Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies" in *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*, New York, 1945, p. 151.

Obituary

C. O. Blagden, *D.Litt.*

It is with deep regret that we chronicle the death, on August 25th, 1949, of Charles Otto Blagden at the age of 85 years. He was born on September 6th, 1864. From Dulwich College he won a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took a first in Literae Humaniores. In 1888, he entered the Straits Settlements Civil Service—a Service which at that time had not yet been amalgamated with those of the States—and worked in Singapore and Malacca until, in 1897, ill-health forced him to retire. In 1898, he joined Gray's Inn as a Holt scholar and two years later was called to the Bar. Appointed Lecturer in Malay at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, in 1917, he was promoted Reader and then Dean, and later was elected a Fellow. He was for several periods a Vice-President both of the Royal Anthropological Institute and of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Dr. Blagden's greatest single contribution to Malayan scholarship was the comparative vocabulary of aboriginal languages in the *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* by Skeat and Blagden, a work, unfortunately now long out of print, which appeared in 1906. In this Journal alone have been published forty papers written by him (a full record of these is contained in JSBRAS, V, Pt. 4, 1927, and JMBRAS, XXI, Pt. 3, 1948). The subjects dealt with include linguistics, archaeology (especially on the epigraphical side), history, studies of the texts of Malay MSS., folklore and religion. Among the papers are "The Teaching of Malay at the School of Oriental Studies, London," and "Curriculum of a Course in Malay, in Paris" (a subject which was later pursued by Mlle. Vera Sokoloff in her "Le malais à l'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes"). In 1916, the Royal Asiatic Society (London) published a translation by Dr. Blagden of Four Essays by Dr. Brandstetter on Indonesian Linguistics. As Sir Richard Winstedt points out in the *Obituary* appearing in the September issue of *British Malaya* (to which I am indebted for much of the information appearing in the present note) Dr. Blagden's interests were mainly linguistic. In 1917, was published a *Malay Reader* by Blagden and Winstedt (now out of print), and in 1934 appeared Blagden's *English-Malay Phrase Book*, recently reprinted, and well-known to students of the Malay language. Between 1920 and 1935 he produced an edition of Mon Inscriptions in *Epigraphia Birmanica*.

Although I never had the privilege of knowing him personally, I can testify to the unflinching kindness and helpfulness which Dr. Blagden displayed towards those striving to elucidate obscure points touching upon the peoples and the history of Malaya.

W. LINEHAN.

Vol. XXIII.

Part 2.

JOURNAL
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

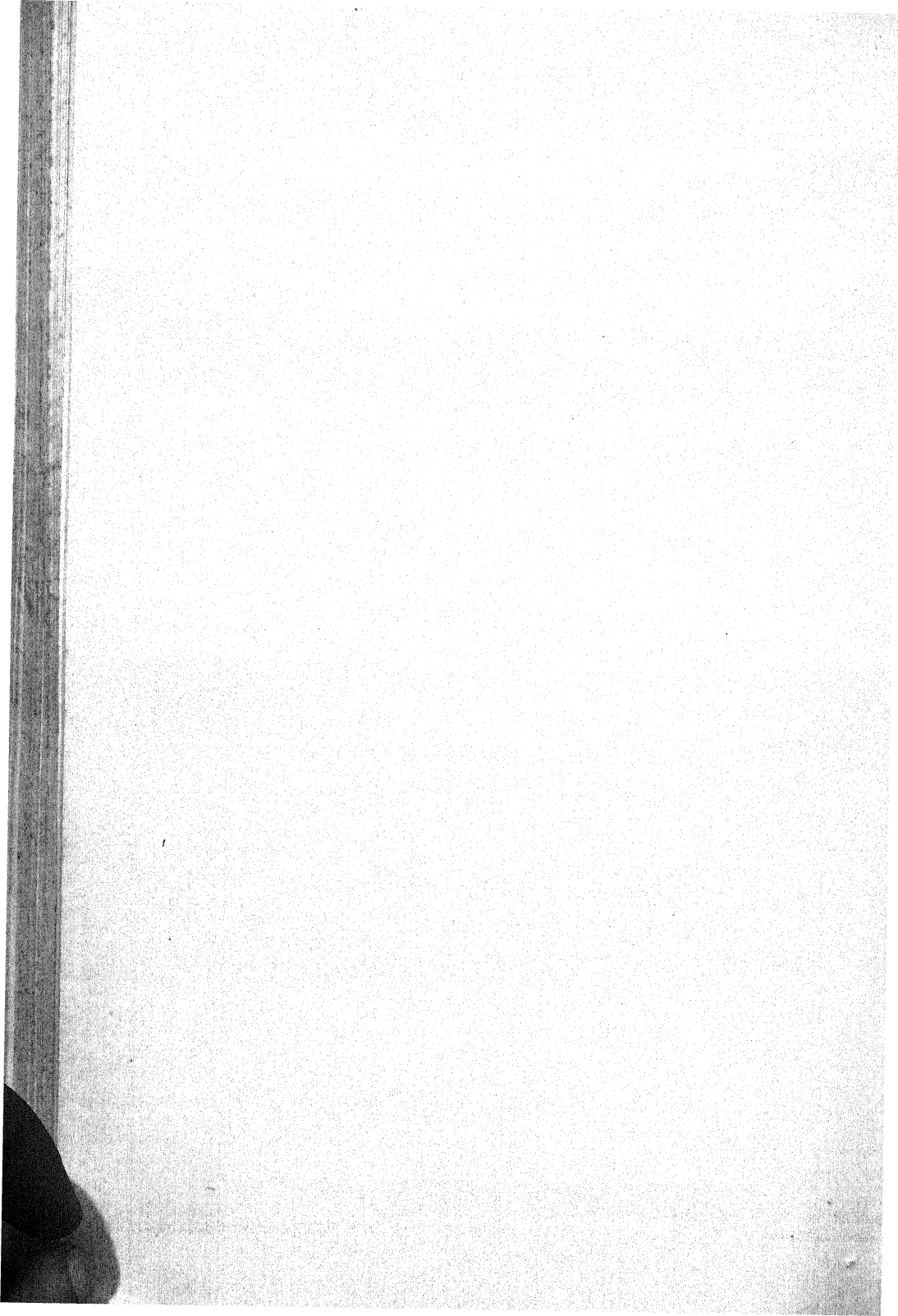
(Covering the territories of the Federation of Malaya,
the Colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo,
and the State of Brunei)

March, 1950

Early Penang & the Rise of Singapore
1805-1832

Documents from the manuscript records of the East India
Company, selected & edited with an introduction by C. D.
Cowan, M.A., Lecturer in History at the University of Malaya.

SINGAPORE
Malaya Publishing House, Limited
1950



CONTENTS

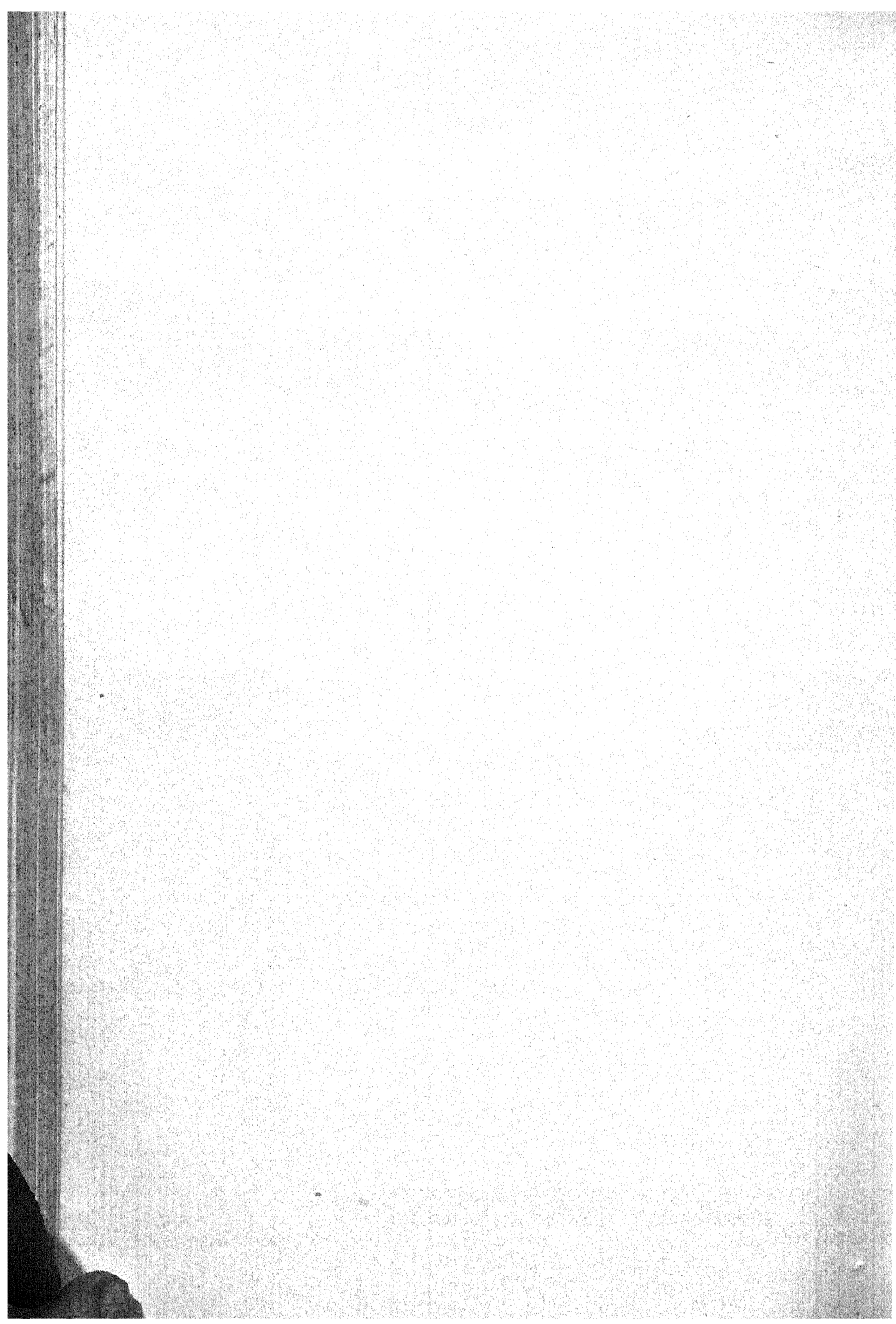
Volume 23, part 2, published March 1950

Council for 1950	v
Editorial & Notice to Contributors	vii

Early Penang & the rise of Singapore, 1805-32; a series of documents from the manuscript records of the East India Company *selected and edited with an introduction by C. D. Cowan, M.A., Lecturer in History at the University of Malaya.*

Editor's Note	1
Introduction	3
Note on Books	19
Note on Weights & Currencies	21
Documents illustrating the development of early Penang and the rise of Singapore	22
Index	206

Frontespiece: Part of the Map reproduced in Crawford's "History of the Indian Archipelago", 1820.



The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

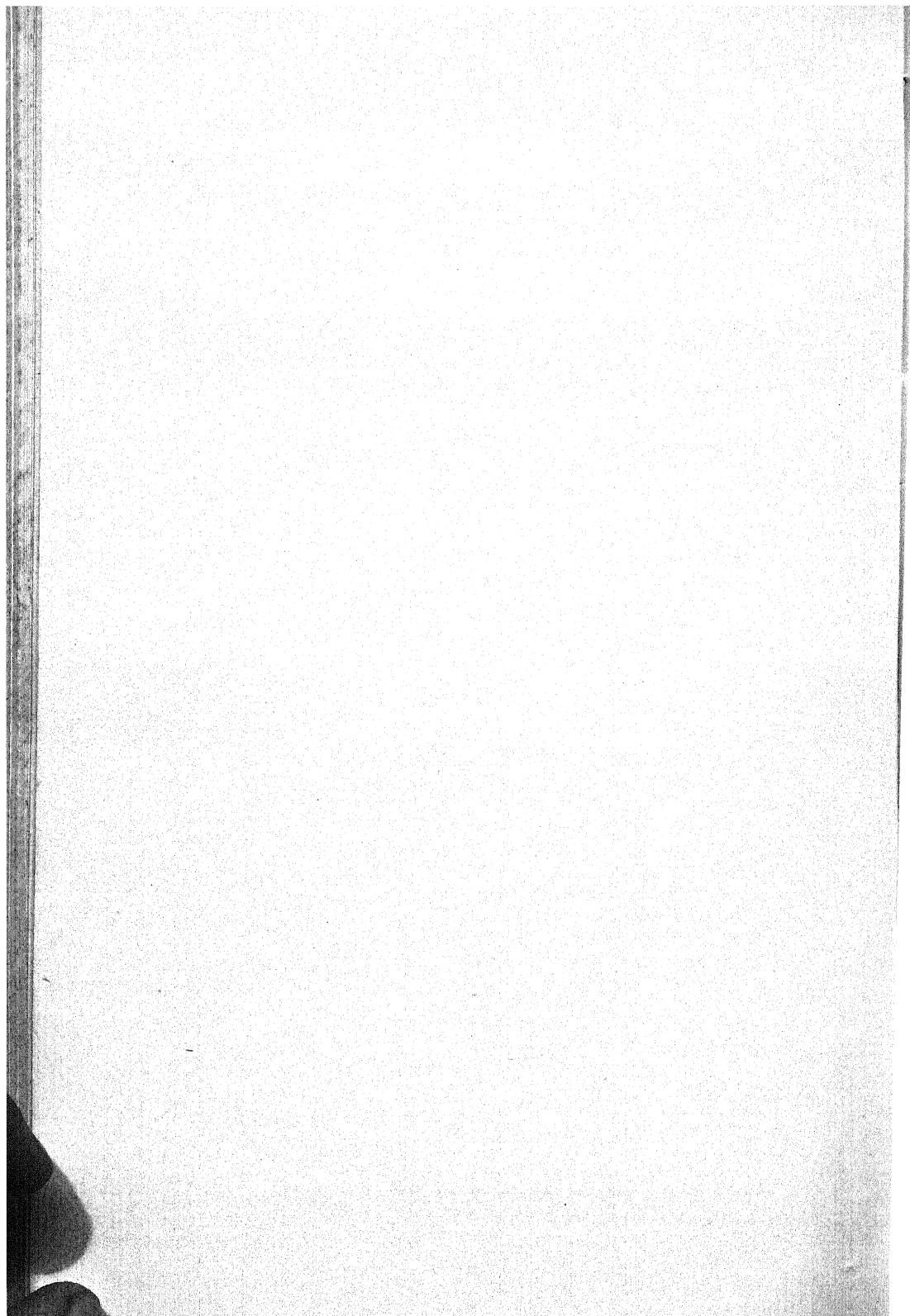
Patron:

His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C.

Council for 1950

Dato Sir Roland Braddell, <i>S.P.M.J., M.A.</i> , ..	<i>President</i>
The Hon'ble Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, <i>D.K., S.P.M.K.</i> ..	} <i>Vice-Presidents</i>
Mr. Anker Rentse, <i>S.M.K.</i>	
Mr. J. N. McHugh	
Mr. Brian Harrison, <i>M.A.</i>	
The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. Keith, <i>B.Sc.</i>	
Mr. M. C. # Sheppard, <i>M.B.E., M.C.S.</i> ..	
Mr. G. L. Peet	} <i>Councillors</i>
Prof. R. E. Holttum, <i>M.A.</i>	
Mr. Hsu Yun-ts'iao	
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. N. Taylor ..	
Mr. B. A. Mallal	
Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, <i>M.A.</i> ..	<i>Hon. Secretary</i> <i>and</i> <i>Hon. Treasurer</i>
Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A.</i>	<i>Asst Hon. Secretary</i>

Hon. Editor: Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, M.A.



Editor's Note.

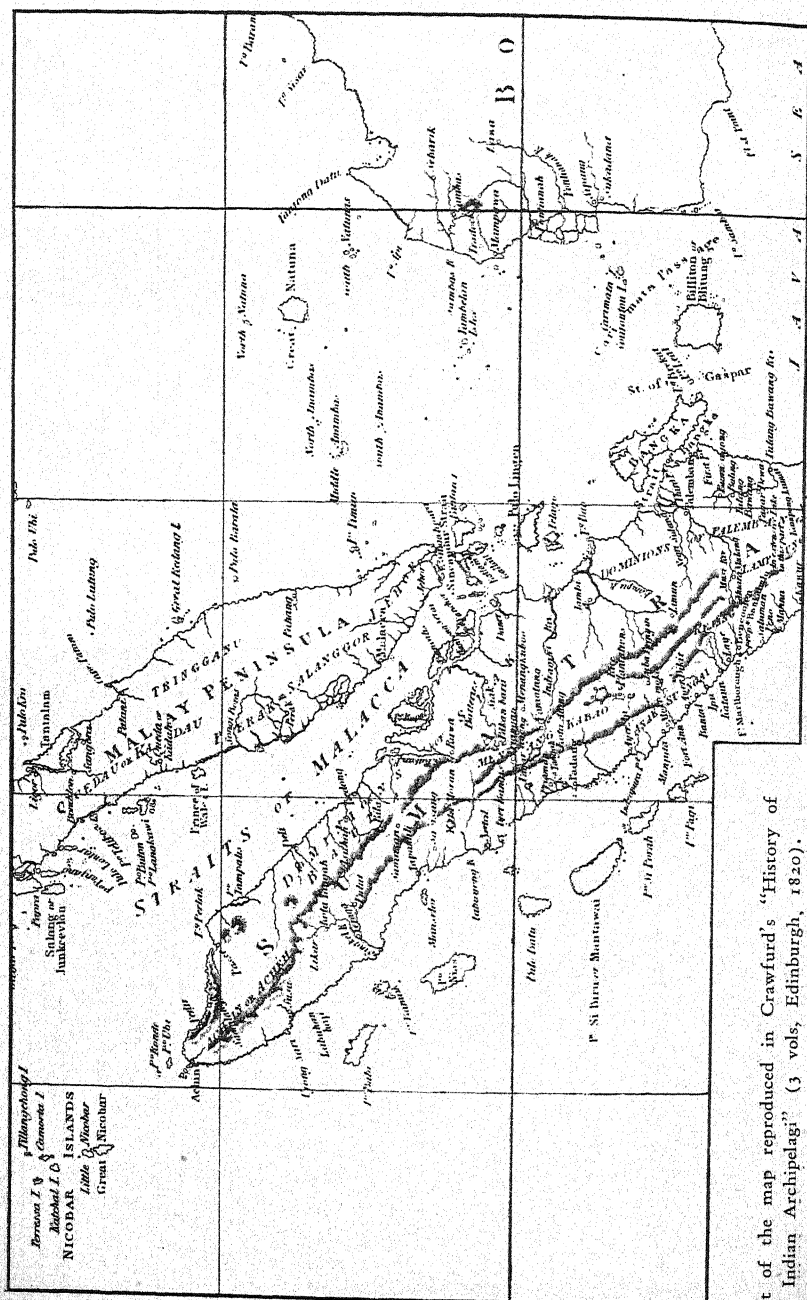
When it was decided to include a special subject in the history of Malaya in the course for the Degree of B.A. (Hons) in History in the University of Malaya, the writer began to collect materials for the period 1805-1832 from the Ms records of the Penang and Singapore governments, which survive (many in a very damaged condition), in the Raffles Museum & Library, Singapore. These materials, it was intended, should be reproduced in a source book, privately printed, so as to provide students with an original documentary basis for their studies. It was however represented that these documents might be of use or interest to many outside the University or outside Malaya. It was therefore agreed that they should be published as part of this Journal. This made it necessary to attempt to render the documents as self-contained as possibly by the provision of a short introduction and explanatory foot-notes.

The documents as printed are not of course adequate foundation for any final analysis of the period. It was never intended to prevent students going themselves to the original Mss, and the documents printed represent only the personal selection of the writer. There are many gaps in the records which need to be supplemented by the India Office and British Museum collections, and as in most official proceedings many important aspects of private trading, etc, are ignored. A note on the most readily accessible publications for the period has therefore been appended.

I have to thank Mr. B. Harrison, M.A., Lecturer in History and Head of the Department of History in the University of Malaya, who read both Introduction and text in typescript, and Mrs. D. Pepler, who typed most of the original extracts and the final text. Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, M.A., Director of the Raffles Museum, and Mr. S. C. Tan, the Archivist there, showed me much courtesy in forwarding my work in the Museum. I have also to acknowledge my debt to the late Professor W. E. Dyer, M.A., Professor of History in Raffles College, Singapore, who encouraged me to undertake this work, and arranged for the necessary financial assistance.

*University of Malaya,
Singapore.
8th October 1949.*

C. D. COWAN.



Part of the map reproduced in Crawford's "History of the Indian Archipelago" (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1820).

Introduction

Penang was occupied by Captain Light, acting as the agent of the East India Company, in 1786, and named by him Prince of Wales Island. The motives which prompted the Company to sanction this step were almost entirely political. The successful defence of the English possessions on the East coast of India demanded that a harbour of some kind should be permanently available to the English fleet, where it could refit and take in fresh provisions and water during the North East monsoon, and yet be within striking distance of the Coromandel coast. Penang was not the only place which fulfilled these requirements. Achin Roads, Junk Ceylon (Ujong Salang), the Nicobars and the Andamans were all investigated and recommended as alternatives in the period following 1763, when the Court of Directors first gave orders to search for a suitable base to the Eastwards. Penang seems to have been chosen because in addition to being suitable it had the merit of an owner who was willing to make it over to the Company, in return for the security which he hoped the Company would give him against the threats of his suzerain, Siam, and because Light pressed this fact upon the Company at a time when they were ready to act.

There were other considerations advanced by the protagonists of Penang which probably influenced the decision of the Supreme Government in India and the Directors in London. The possession of the Island would provide a refitting station for East Indiamen on the voyage to China, and make them independent of the Dutch-held ports to the Eastwards. It would put a stop to the growing Dutch power in the Malayan Peninsula, which if unchecked would place them in control of the sea routes to China and of the commerce of the area. Through Penang the Company might obtain a supply of the spices of the Archipelago, which were in theory a Dutch monopoly, except for a brief period after 1784. The Island would eventually become a trading centre which would pay its own way, and might even contribute to the revenues of the Company.

Whilst it was certainly not deaf to these arguments, especially that which affected the safety of the China trade, the Company was primarily concerned during this period with securing its Indian possessions from the danger of French irruption into the Indian Ocean, and with isolating and destroying French influence in India. To keep Penang permanently available as a base it was willing to pay, although of course it would not be averse to possessing a new commercial centre which might cover part of the expenses. The indecision of the Indian and home authorities between 1786 and the turn of the Century, as to whether or not Penang was worth

keeping, arose, not from doubts as to the commercial or financial benefits which would ensue, but from a conflict of professional opinion with regard to the Island's strategic superiority over the alternative sites. Only when the rival settlement in the Andamans had been abandoned in 1795 because of the climate, and the use of Penang as a rendezvous for the Manila expedition of 1797 had proved its strategic importance, was the retention of the Island certain.

The same factors may be said to have held good in 1805, when Penang was raised to the status of a Presidency. The eulogies of Popham, Macalister and Leith all contended that Penang *was* an ideal naval base, and *could be* a very prosperous trading centre. It was hoped that by developing its own resources, especially the growth of pepper and spices, and attracting to itself much of the trade of the area, Penang would cease to be a drain on the finances of the government of India, and become self-supporting. This however could have been achieved without a great increase in its administrative establishment. The vital motive was the creation at Penang of a naval base which should act as a centre of operations against a French or Dutch force based on Ile de France and Bourbon, (Mauritius and Reunion in modern nomenclature) and on the Dutch bases at the Cape, Trincomali and Java. This was before the victory of Trafalgar broke French sea-power and freed British ships for service outside European waters; it was a period when privateers from the French colonies in the Indian Ocean were inflicting heavy losses on British shipping, and when French influence in Holland was on the increase. Operations to the Eastward of the Straits of Malacca, against which the China trade must be secured, were becoming more probable.

The role which it was intended Penang should play was made clear by the division of the Eastern Fleet into two parts, one to be based on Bombay, the other on Penang, and by the choice of Philip Dundas as the first Governor of the new Presidency; his last post had been on the naval establishment at Bombay, and his family connections linked him with the Government in England.

"In 1805 the Court of Directors having taken into their consideration the position of the island, its fertility, its harbour, its produce of large timber, its contiguity to Pegu, which contains the most abundant teak forests in Asia, and which had long pointed it out as an acquisition of very great importance in a commercial and political view, being placed in a most favourable situation for an emporium of commerce in the Eastern Seas, and for becoming a commanding station for the rendezvous, refitting and supply of that portion of His Majesty's Navy required for the protection of the Company's possessions and affairs in the Eastern parts of Asia, had resolved to new model the Government, and to place the island under the same form of government as the Company's other settlements in India enjoyed; when the Board of Admiralty laid before them a plan for the building and repairing His Majesty's ships, which gave a new and high degree of importance

to the subject, and rendered the projected reform of government absolutely indispensable. Accordingly the Island was formed into a regular government."

That Government, Philip Dundas, his Council, and subordinate officials, arrived at Penang to organise the new naval arsenal and trade centre on the 24th September 1805.

In the period from 1805 to 1810 the main theme in the history of Penang was the attempt of the government of the island to implement the scheme to make Penang a naval arsenal and a centre of shipbuilding, until the final decision of the Admiralty to abandon all idea of building ships at the island, and to transfer the naval stores there to Trincomali, led to the first retrenchment in the government establishment.

Great trouble was experienced in obtaining supplies of suitable timber, most of which was finally imported from Rangoon, so that the frigate which was eventually completed in 1809 was very expensive compared with building costs in India. The Penang government did not possess an engineer capable of constructing docks and large slipways, skilled artisans were unobtainable, funds were short, and the execution of the project appears to have been regarded with indifference in London. The reasons for this fiasco seem to have sprung largely from home policy, and not local obstacles. The victory of Trafalgar removed any real danger of a large enemy fleet appearing in Eastern waters, and made any building programme outside English dockyards seem unnecessary. The Directors, faced with a large deficit in their Indian budget resulting from Wellesley's administration, and under pressure from the East India shipping interest at home, were not in a position to continue the scheme without Admiralty backing. Any hope there might have been of financing the project from the revenues of Penang itself had disappeared before 1810.

The trade of the island increased steadily during this period, and several private fortunes were made, but the pepper and spice cultivation, which was to have provided the profits for the Company, and paid for the shipbuilding and docks, met with as bad fortune as they did, and again not for local reasons. The Decrees of Berlin (1806) and of Milan (1807) had the effect of shutting the Company off from its Continental markets, and stocks of pepper, spices and coffee piled up in the London warehouses. The prices of these commodities fell so far that they no longer covered the freight from the East, and the pepper planters of Penang, unable to dispose of their crops at a price which covered their costs, were faced with ruin.

The prime purpose of the settlement at Penang, its naval base, had disappeared. The cost of its upkeep was no longer the neces-

sary price for the security of India's East coast, but an outlay which provided private merchants with the facilities for their trade, but brought the Company no visible return. The Directors therefore began to think of cutting down their commitments there. The establishment was reduced from a Governor and three Councillors to a Governor and two Councillors, salaries were cut, and retrenchments ordered in the administrative departments.

From 1810 to 1816 the Dutch possessions in the East were in British hands, and from 1812 Britain was at war with America as well as Napoleon. The general features which run through this period as far as Penang is concerned were largely the consequences of this; firstly the end of the steady increase in the general trade of the island, and secondly a series of mercantilist experiments in the growth of an export staple. Pepper having failed, coffee, cotton and hemp were tried, one after the other, in response to directions from London which fluctuated with the changing face of European politics. None brought great success.

Another factor, which was to become more serious after the foundation of Singapore, appeared at this time; the want of ships to take the export crops not wanted on the London market, pepper, cotton, and also tin, to China, where there was a market for them. The Company's ships carried goods to China as the captains' personal speculation, in his privilege tonnage, that is to say, the portion of the cargo space which the Company allowed him for his own use. But these ships were insufficient for the trade, both in point of numbers and in cargo space available. The Company's ships stationed to the Bay and China were fully laden with pepper or raw cotton. The Portuguese ships, which carried many of the exports of the local Chinese traders to Macao were few, and as foreign bottoms were charged double export duties. There were country ships, but not enough of them. Mostly they found it more profitable to dispose of their opium and specie in the Dutch Islands to the Eastwards, or to load to capacity direct for Canton. The pepper of Penang, therefore, except when there was a year of exceptional demand, continued on the unwanted list, the planters remained depressed, and not unnaturally the revenue of the island did not increase.

The recession in the trade of the island (imports and exports sank from £1,106,924 in 1810/11 to their lowest point, £759,643 in 1814) seems to have been the direct result of the British occupation of Java, and the disturbed state of Achin, in the North of Sumatra. As soon as the administration of Java and the other Dutch Islands passed into British hands the merchants of Penang were placed at a disadvantage in their trade with these places. Trade which used to go to Penang to escape the high duties of the Dutch authorities was now drawn back to Batavia. The mer-

chants of Calcutta and Madras could supply the Batavian market with much more profit than those of Penang. They paid the Company's duties in India, and at Batavia. The Penang merchants paid three times; in India; at Penang, and at Batavia. The customs regulations were modified in favour of Penang in 1812, but her position on the fringe of the Archipelago, which was the real trouble, told against her trade when duties at other ports were not unreasonable. With the spices of Amboina in British hands there was little demand for those from Penang. The British market was in any case over stocked. The tin trade of the island also suffered a severe setback after the British took over Banka. What had been a Dutch monopoly became a British monopoly, and there was now no incentive to smuggle contraband tin to Penang. All went to the government in Java.

From the coast of Achin came the bulk of Penang's pepper and betel-nut imports, and it offered a market for large quantities of opium and Indian piece goods. It occupied an important position in the Straits of Malacca. The Sultans had long been weak and dominated by the territorial chiefs, but the reigning monarch, Johor Allum Shah ⁽¹⁾ failed to maintain his hold even of the usual revenues. Contemporary opinion held that he was a waster and a drunkard, and his policy was notoriously controlled by his European advisers, time-servers out for their own ends. Failing to exact the usual contributions from the chiefs in control of the coastal areas he banned foreign trade to ports not under his control, and enforced the ban by a system of piracy, or blockade, depending from which viewpoint the situation was regarded. The trade suffered severely; not only were the native craft scared off, but country ship under British colours were also attacked, which, as in the case of the Annapoorney, illustrated by extracts from the documents, brought the government of Penang on the scene. The legal problem involved was solved by the King being driven from Achin altogether in 1815. It is not certain how far the government of Penang supported and encouraged his rival, Saif Allum, ⁽¹⁾ in his bid for the throne. Their official attitude was one of neutrality. The old King, Johor Allum, returned to the Achinese coast in 1816, and the civil war which followed further depressed trade. Official relations with Achin were not settled until 1819, and the unsettled state of the country continued long afterwards.

In 1816 came the first great retrenchment, far more severe than that of 1809/10. In a review of the situation the Directors noted that since the pepper and spices which were to have paid for the administration of the island had failed, the naval arsenal

(1) This transliteration has been used because it occurs most frequently in the documents, although it is probably further from the original than most of the alternative renderings.

been given up, and the yearly deficit averaged £81,448, there was no alternative but for a large-scale pruning of the establishment lists. In many cases, however, their orders seem to have been treated merely as recommendations or statements of policy, and did not produce an appreciable reduction in expenditure.

The government of Java was handed back to the Dutch in August 1816, and from then until the foundation of Singapore in 1819 Penang passed through what in retrospect seems to have been the most critical period in its history. The government of the island was faced with a multiplicity of serious problems. There was an urgent need to increase the revenues and cut down expenditure in order to avoid further unpleasant reductions in the establishment. The Achinese civil war threatened, if it continued, to put a complete stop to trade with that coast, whilst the return of the Dutch to power in the Eastern Islands and in Malacca, threatened to cut off the trade from the Eastward and even from the Southern states of the Peninsula, which had been, nominally at least, dependencies of Malacca. In the Northern states the aggressive behaviour of the Siamese threatened to plunge the whole of the Western coast into chaos, and to put a stop to trade, especially the important tin trade.

A reduction of the gap between income and expenditure never seems to have meant more to the officials at Penang than the practicability of increasing the taxes on trade and on land and property. Real economy was impossible where all thought in terms of retaining their posts and privileges intact. Although Bannerman, the Governor during this period, did put up several suggestions for increasing the receipts as well as for effecting reductions in expenditure, the main development was an attempt to introduce the Directors and the Supreme Government in India to a new view of the value of the island. Whilst admitting that revenue was not in proportion to expenditure, it was pointed out that this was chiefly because the duties on trade were so light. The importance of the settlement should be judged, not by the size of the local revenues, but by the additional wealth and revenues its trade brought to the other Presidencies of India. All this was quite apart from its great political importance as a safeguard against Dutch attempts to gain control of the route to China.

Bannerman's policy, although he had been specially sent out from a seat on the Court of Directors to implement drastic economies, was based on the principle that Penang could be made so important both as a trading centre and a political outpost, that the advantages it brought to India would more than compensate for the Indian subsidies necessary to maintain its existing system of government. This argument Bannerman had more difficulty carrying in Penang than in India. The Penang officials did not

want to lose what revenues they had, and Phillips, the Collector, and Bannerman's eventual successor, was frightened that whilst the Indian revenues might be augmented Penang would get no credit for the increase, and the subsidies would still be given grudgingly. 1816 had been a good year for trade, largely owing to the demand for pepper in China and the effect of the transition period in Java, where the return of the Dutch scared many native traders to Penang. But the improvement was not maintained. There continued to be no demand for pepper in London, and the cotton plants failed. Moreover trade was severely retarded by the state of affairs in Achin. There were now two claimants for the throne in that country, each in control of separate portions of the coast. Both were attempting to prevent each other from collecting revenue by banning trade with the other's ports, and enforcing the ban by a system of licensed piracy. The government of Penang favoured intervention in favour of the stronger candidate, Saif Allum, whose father was under their control, and who appeared to command the support of most of the important chiefs. Raffles from Bencoolen supported recognition of Johor Allum, the former King, the man with the best legal claim but the least chance of enforcing it. Penang hoped that a British Resident, backed by an armed force and a docile King, would result in security for trade under the provisions of a formal treaty. What Raffles hoped would be the outcome of his policy is not clear. The Treaty of 1819, made after Raffles had carried his point with the Governor-General and the Agent of the Penang Government, Major Coombs, committed the Company to the recognition of Johor Allum, and obtained a promise from that individual to exclude the Dutch from residence though not from trade, and to admit a British Resident. But it made no provisions for armed intervention on behalf of the King beyond calling upon the Penang government to exert its influence to secure the withdrawal of Saiful Allum, and seems to have had no ameliorating effect on conditions in the country.

The return to the Dutch of their former possessions in the Archipelago, including Malacca, which despite protest from Penang was handed over in 1818, left Bannerman in Penang in a very awkward position. The restored Dutch government in the East was characterised by an energetic attempt to regain commercial and political domination throughout the Archipelago and the Malayan Peninsula. It was the policy of the British government, voiced by the Board of Control, to keep Holland as strong as possible, and on no account to risk war by coming into collision with the Dutch in the East. The Directors of the Company on the other hand, were acutely conscious of the danger that Dutch control in the Straits of Malacca and surrounding waters would constitute to their lucrative China trade. It was essential both to the interests of the Company and their private patronage that this trade should be

maintained intact. Bannerman was afraid that unless Dutch influence was restricted any chance there might be of recovering the position in Penang by extending its commercial importance would be lost.

His policy therefore consisted of an attempt to forestall the Dutch both by concluding Commercial Treaties with those Native States over which Dutch control had not yet been reasserted, and by securing as much of the trade of those states as was possible before the Dutch appeared on the scene. This was one of the ideas behind his Achinese policy, and behind the Penang government's decision to take over the tin trade of the Peninsula. He hoped to establish such a strong position that the Dutch would hesitate to challenge it. If they did challenge it, however, he saw from the first that he would have no alternative but to retreat, unless the home government changed its policy, or some sort of Anglo-Dutch demarcation line in the East was negotiated in Europe.

Unfortunately both the speed with which the Dutch acted, and the delays resulting from frequent references to the Supreme Government in India, meant that too little time was available for success. He was forestalled in Pontianak, and though treaties were actually signed with Rhio, Selangor and Perak, the Company's position there had not been consolidated enough to deter the Dutch from action. This action Bannerman lacked the force to challenge, even if he had been willing to risk a collision or defy his instructions. The postscript to this failure was the foundation of Singapore by Raffles, who was not hampered by any scruples over the danger of a collision with the Dutch, and who possessed a knowledge of the private opinions of the Governor-General to which Bannerman had not had access. The occupation of Singapore precipitated the general settlement of Anglo-Dutch interests in the treaty of 1824, which Bannerman had urged earlier.

This period was also decisive in that the nature of Penang's commercial relations with the Peninsula states for the next fifty years was determined by developments between 1818 and 1821. The Island's Malayan trade was hindered by the chronic state of unrest prevailing in the Peninsula. Kedah was engaged in a war with Perak, instigated by Siam, whose attempts to assert her influence over the Malay States made it impossible for the Penang merchants to risk their capital in any large scale attempt to develop the trade of the states to the North, and greatly curtailed their value as a market. Bannerman attempted to arbitrate in the Kedah-Perak conflict and tried to smooth the way for private capital, and to restore confidence by undertaking a trade in tin on behalf of the Company. This he hoped would eventually make Penang the centre of the tin trade, and offset the Dutch monopoly of the Banka mines. At the same time he tried to persuade the

Supreme Government to send a diplomatic mission to Bangkok to come to some understanding on the subject of Siamese ambitions in the Peninsula, and to create conditions for opening up a direct trade with Siam. The arbitration failed; the Siamese had overrun all the Northern states by the time Crawford's mission was sent to Bangkok in 1822, so that these states relapsed into anarchy; the difficulties in the way of the tin trade proved almost insurmountable, so that after Bannerman's death in August 1819 it was abandoned.

The future of Penang at the end of 1819 was not bright. The annual deficit remained as high as ever. Trade, whilst a slight improvement was noticeable, was not good. Achin was as unsettled as it had been for the last ten years, and there seemed no prospect of improvement. The Dutch had secured a hold in Selangor and the Islands in the East, and even if the threat which their presence in Malacca constituted did not prove as serious as it seemed, the trade of that quarter would probably be engrossed by the new settlement of Singapore. By 1821 the Siamese were in control of the Malay states as far South as Perak, and their bellicose attitude made large-scale trade with that quarter impossible. There was still no demand for pepper on the London market.

The story of the foundation of Singapore is too well known to need comment here. The events of the period between 1820 and 1826, when Singapore was brought under the Government of Penang, are dominated by the phenomenal rise of Singapore as a commercial entrepot, and the reactions of this on the trade of Penang. Already by November 1819 Singapore was trading with all the important native ports East of the Straits. Nos. 89-91 in the text illustrate the nature and extent of this trade during 1820 and 1821. The fact that Singapore was for legal purposes an Indian port gave it a great importance for the China trade. It was possible, by transshipping exports from China at Singapore for private merchants to evade the Company's monopoly of the direct trade between Europe and China, for the Indian trade had been open since 1813. Thus by 1822 the value of the trade of Singapore exceeded that of Penang, and it went on increasing at the same unprecedented rate, with occasional small recessions usually, it appears, due to the conditions of the China trade, which made up more than a third of the total trade of the port.

The development of Singapore did not at first result in the decline in the trade of Penang which contemporaries had expected. The trade with the native ports to the Eastward seems to have been lost almost at once. In this the geographical advantages of Singapore were reinforced by the piracy notoriously prevalent in the Straits. The native trade of Penang had always suffered from

this scourge, and so did that of Singapore, but whereas the Bugis prowls had been willing to run the gauntlet of the pirate infested Straits in order to reach the one free (or almost free) market in the Archipelago, they had now no need. Free-trade Singapore was available at the Southern entrance of the Straits. Whilst trade with the Eastward was lost, however, trade with Achin took a turn for the better. The unsuccessful claimant to the throne left the country and became a British pensioner, and although (or perhaps because) Johor Allum, who had been recognised by Raffles' Treaty, did not succeed in reasserting his control over the country, trade improved. In effect, especially after the death of Johor Allum in 1823, the control of the country was in the hands of the Sagis, and the King had not the power to prevent the chiefs in control of the ports trading with whom they wished. The years of difficulty in the trade of Achin, from which the major part of Penang's imported pepper had always come, had also had the effect of stimulating the pepper trade with the ports on the East coast of Sumatra, which reached larger proportions than ever before between 1821 and 1823. The demand for pepper in these years resulted in the revival of the pepper cultivation of Penang, and exports of pepper to China seem to have been limited only by the shipping tonnage available.

What was taking place was a division of the trade of the area between Singapore and Penang. Singapore seems to have engrossed the import trade of the native ports to the Eastward, most of the import trade from Siam, the import trade from, and a large part of the export of local products to China, and the distribution trade of European and Indian goods to these markets. Penang held the trade of the Sumatran coast, Burma, the West coast of the Peninsula, and part of the Siam trade, a large import and distribution trade in Indian piece goods of very old standing, and an important local export trade to China, of pepper, tin and Straits produce. This trade the Penang government sought to consolidate by their tariff policy. Maintaining that it was primarily the location of Singapore, and not her free trade which secured her the Eastern trade, they refused to abolish the duties on trade altogether, but sought to remove those which bore on the trade of Siam, Sumatra, and Burma, so as to hold these markets, in which they held the geographical advantage. They also removed the double duties and pilotage fees on foreign ships, to encourage them to call at Penang, rather than as many American ships did, go direct to the native producer for their supplies of pepper and betelnut; this measure was also designed to ease the way for Portuguese ships from Macao which carried most of the local Chinese merchants' consignments to China.

The instructions given to the two missions sent to the East coast of Sumatra during this period, and to Crawford prior to his mission to Siam in 1822, were designed to retain and increase these

trades, to keep the Dutch from capturing the Sumatran trade, and to increase the trade with Southern Siam and the Peninsula states.

At the same time there were several developments in the political field the significance of which, as far as Penang was concerned, could not at once be assessed. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch gave up Malacca and resigned their ambitions in the Peninsula, removed any claim they might have to control the trade of Selangor and the hinterland of Malacca. The monopoly of the spice trade of the Moluccas which it secured to Holland raised hopes that the spice production of Singapore and Penang would be encouraged so as to free the British spice market from dependence on the Dutch. At the same time it was feared that the recognition of Sumatra as an area in which political predominance was reserved to Holland might have an adverse effect on the trade with Achin and the East coast of Sumatra.

Siamese activities in the Peninsula continued to curtail trade with the Malay states there. The Rajah of Ligore, Siam's agent in Malaya, kept Penang in a state of apprehension by collecting forces based on Kedah for an expedition against Selangor, which it was feared might be used against Penang. There was an almost constant state of unofficial warfare between the Siamese and the adherents of the ex-Rajah or Sultan of Kedah, who in his exile at Penang never gave up hope of reconquering his country. At the same time the naval forces collected by the Sultan of Selangor to repel the expected Siamese attack from Kedah and Perak engaged in desultory piracy to keep their spirits up. The result was that for long periods the coast-line from Junk Ceylon to Selangor was too dangerous for unarmed prows and junks to venture abroad, and the native trade of the region came to a standstill. Crawford's mission to Siam in 1822 achieved nothing except a Siamese acknowledgement of the Company's right to Penang, but the events of the Anglo-Burmese war (1823-6) and the British capture of the Tenasserim provinces seems to have installed some respect for the Company in the minds of the Siamese Ministers, and it was hoped that the terms of Burney's Siamese treaty of 1826 would result in a more settled state of affairs on the West coast of the Peninsula, although the Penang officials did not place much reliance on Siamese good faith.

The annual deficit at Penang continued to increase. Revenue from customs duties made up almost 45% of what annual assets there were, so that the Government were very loth to concede to the merchants equality with Singapore in the matter of free trade. When they spoke of equalizing the duties at the two ports they thought of bringing Singapore in line with Penang, and hoped that the Directors, by the same language meant the same thing. On this assumption they actually re-imposed certain duties

at Penang in February 1826. In August Singapore, which, although her revenues covered the cost of administration, the Bengal government found it inconvenient to control from Calcutta, was formally placed under the Government of Penang; and in November, much to the chagrin of the local government, they were forced to notify the suspension of customs duties at Penang. The transition to free trade reduced the revenues of Penang by five Lacs of Rupees at a time when the Court of Directors was becoming acutely conscious of the need for retrenchment in India, and when the Indian government itself was less able than ever before to subsidise the governments of the settlements in the Straits.

In the early twenties, while the trade of Singapore grew from virtually nothing in 1819 to a flourishing commerce worth £2,772,943 in 1824/5, that of Penang did not seem to have suffered. It had totalled £949,109 in 1818/19 and by 1824/5 was up to £1,182,370. Penang was overshadowed, but by no means ruined. After 1825 however, a decline, which soon became a disastrous depression, began. By 1830/31 the trade of the Island had dropped to £708,559, the lowest point reached.

In some measure the great recession of these years was only temporary. There was a serious fall in the price of pepper, and a heavy import tax on gambier in Java killed one of the few trades with the Eastwards which had survived the establishment of Singapore. Trade with the West coast of the Peninsula remained in a state of uncertainty owing to the difficulties created by the Siamese in Kedah, although Fullerton's determined action, taken in defiance of his orders, to maintain the independence of Perak seems to have done something to set trade with that state going again. On the East coast of Sumatra the hinterland of Siak was ravaged by the tribes of the interior, so that trade with that part of the coast was restricted.

From the records of the Penang government which have survived in Malaya, however, it appears that two of the most important branches of Penang's trade began to decline at this time because of changes in the pattern of trade. These were the distribution trade of Indian articles, chiefly piece goods, and European manufactures, and the export trade to China. It appears from the Penang records that the China trade to Canton, as far as the exports from Penang were concerned, was almost entirely carried on by the Company's ships, either as a speculation by their captains, or shipped by private merchants who hired the captains' privilege tonnage. It further appears that there was never adequate tonnage for the trade, since no ships were stationed specially to "Prince of Wales Island and China", and most of those stationed to the "the Bay and China" completed their cargoes in India before they

reached Penang. Moreover the Directors began more and more to frown on what they considered excessive delay in the length of time their China bound ships spent at Penang. After 1817 the Company's ships, owing to American competition in the trade from which the Company's monopoly did not protect them, were more intent on making a fast passage to Canton, and less ships called at Penang, or if they did stayed for shorter periods. The foundation of Singapore offered them a more convenient stopping place on the route. There are frequent references in the documents to the shortage of shipping, and pleas to the Directors to station a ship specially for Penang and China for the purposes of this trade (see for instance No. 160 in the text): in 1823 the Penang government made a very strong protest against the threat that China bound ships might be stopped from calling at Penang, a prohibition, they said, which would strike a death-blow to the prosperity of the place (See No. 108). Whether the threat was carried out does not appear; probably not, but shipping space certainly became scarcer.

This is reflected in the value of goods exported to China during these years. In 1821/22 pepper to the value of 459,123 Sicca Rupees was exported to China. In the following year the figure rose to about 600,000 Sicca Rupees. By the season 1828/29 it was down to 111,432 Rupees. It is possible that this was mainly due to fluctuations of the market, but the figures for tin and betel-nut show the same trend. In 1821/22 exports of tin totalled 167,129 Rupees. In 1828/29 they were down to 86,321 Rupees. Betel-nut in 1820/21 totalled 303,336 Rupees, and by 1828/29 was down to 205,411 Rupees. It is significant that the only commodity which could not conveniently be obtained elsewhere, Straits produce (birds' feathers, birds' nests, sea slugs, dammer etc.) held its own, the value exported remaining about the same.

Though there was this falling off of the tonnage available so far as the company's ships were concerned, it seems strange that the Indian country ships did not play a more prominent part in the trade. That exports to China were nearly all carried in the Company's ship appears again and again in the records, so that one is forced to the conclusion that the country ships, for one reason or another found no attraction in the trade. Either they sailed from India fully laden with opium (which is not a bulk cargo), raw cotton or pepper and trade goods, or they found it more profitable to complete their lading with the products of the Archipelago, smuggled tin from Banka, or contraband spices from the Moluccas. There is of course the possibility that the Penang officials were partners in the ventures made by the captains of Indiamen, and deliberately overstated the case. The decline of the China trade during the period, however, cannot be explained by a similar hypothesis.

The import and distribution trade in Indian articles was one of the oldest branches of Penang's trade, founded on Penang's position between India and the Archipelago. Trade from India formed a far greater proportion of the total trade of Penang than it did of the trade of Singapore. After the first decade of the century, however, the Indian piece goods, the greater part of this trade, were steadily crowded out of the market by the cheaper products of the British cotton industry. Thus not only did the trade in Indian goods become less profitable and more difficult to push, but shipments of British and European piece goods and other manufactured articles tended, because of the changing conditions in the shipping routes, to be shipped direct to Singapore rather than to Penang. We find contemporaries noting by 1825 a flood of British piece goods into Singapore and Batavia which threatened to drive the Indian articles out of the market. The Indian trade was thus, as far as Penang was concerned, a wasting asset.

The report on the trade of the settlements for 1828/29 (No. 15) shows the distribution of trade two years before the trade of Penang began to recover slightly. Penang's imports from India are less than those going to Singapore, and the total amount received in Penang from India is now less by value than it was in 1805. The import of Indian piece goods is about the same as it was in 1805. The import of English piece goods into Penang, on the other hand, is shown as only 77,500 Rupees, compared with an import worth 1,648,859 Rupees into Singapore. Penang's biggest export trade, that to China, is dwarfed by the same trade from Singapore. It is interesting to note that whilst by 1828/29 Indian piece goods had lost ground to European piece goods, the quantity imported into Penang and Singapore was still larger than the amount of the European article, and similarly the amount re-exported from these ports to Java and the Archipelago generally retained its predominance. Whilst direct trade between Europe and Batavia is not of course accounted for, it does not appear that the large quantities of cheap English cottons usually held to have ruined the Indian industry and to have captured the Javanese market in the period before the reign of Van den Bosch, had in fact yet ousted the Indian article.

The chief concern of the Governor, Fullerton, after the union of Singapore, Malacca and Penang, was to do something towards closing the gap between income and expenditure. He was spurred on by the attitude of the Indian Government, who mainly owing to the expenses of the Burmese War, were faced with a large increase in the Indian debt, whilst the charges of the Indian establishment produced an annual deficit which was never much below £3,000,000. The position of the Governor General, Lord Amherst, was extremely insecure, and he was unwilling to allow the drain

on the Indian Treasury which the support of Penang entailed, to continue. To the contention that the worth of the Settlements should be judged, not by the revenue which they produced, but by the amount of revenue and wealth which their commerce brought to India, the answer was returned that they could continue to do so with a more modest administration.

Fullerton was faced with the problem of devising new methods of raising revenue which would not interfere with the commercial prosperity of the settlements. In this respect the union of the three governments under Penang was not of much help. The revenue of Singapore had been steadily rising with her increasing population, and since 1821 had covered the cost of administration. There was not however, a large enough surplus to be of much use to Penang, whose annual deficit was larger than the entire annual revenue at Singapore. Moreover, the cost of the garrisons at the three settlements was borne by the Indian governments, so that Singapore's revenue for 1826/7, \$77,316, whilst it covered the costs of administration, would not also stretch to take in the military charges, about \$30,000. The military charges at Penang were of course much higher.

The scheme for retrenchment and raising the revenues which Fullerton eventually produced, with the approval of Amherst's successor, Lord Bentinck, in 1829, involved new taxes on Land and Houses, on the accumulated wealth of Chinese and Indians returning to their homeland, new fines and fees in the Law Courts, and on the Government farms. More important, it involved a reimposition of duties on trade, designed however as far as possible to leave the native trade free and to fall on European imports. It is interesting to note that the first attack on the freedom of trade in the Straits came not from the Indian or Home authorities, but from the officials on the spot.

The decision of the Directors in London had however already been taken. In a despatch dated 7th April 1829 they directed that the Settlements of the fourth Presidency of India be reduced to the status of Residencies under the Supreme Government in Bengal. They hoped that the existing revenues would then pay for the administration, and leave a surplus to cover the maintenance of the Indian convicts in the settlements, and for part of the military charges. The benefits which the Company and the Indian Governments secured from the settlements would not, they thought, be in the least reduced by these retrenchments.

It is doubtful whether any scheme of reform adopted in the Straits would have persuaded the Directors to hold their hand. The Company's Charter was due to come up for renewal in 1833, and their Indian administration was already the target for consi-

derable adverse criticism at home. Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, warned the Directors at the end of 1828 that the government would not renew the Company's privileges unless their expenses were considerably reduced. He wrote to Bentinck "telling the Governor General practically that if he should not be economical one will be found who is". Retrenchment was an urgent political necessity, and the establishment at Penang was an obvious opportunity for the Directors and the Governor General to show their willingness to reform.

The Directors' orders took effect in February 1831. Fullerton had recommended Malacca as the seat of Government because of its central situation, but the Governor General chose Singapore, because of its increasing importance and its proximity to Java and the Archipelago. He had already decided that a centralised administration was preferable to three separate Residencies. In 1832, because of purely technical difficulties arising out of the fact that the Charter of Justice, framed for the Presidency of Penang, had not had its terms amended, it was decided that the Chief Resident at Singapore should in future be known as the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and that the Assistant Residents at Malacca and Penang should be styled Resident Councillors, their powers remaining unincreased.

Note on Books

The best general survey of the early history of Penang and Singapore is in L. A. Mills, *British Malaya, 1824-1867* (1925), published as Vol. III Part II of JRASMB. H. P. Clodd, *Malaya's First British Pioneer, the Life of Francis Light* (1948) gives a detailed account of the events leading up to the occupation of Penang. The *Journal of the Indian Archipelago & Eastern Asia* (1847-59), sometimes known as 'Logan's Journal', contains many valuable articles, especially the *Notices of Penang* which cover events up to 1810. N. Macalister, *Historical Memoir Relative to Prince of Wales Island... and its Importance Political and Commercial* (1803), Sir G. Leith, *A Short Account of Prince of Wales Island, in the Straits of Malacca* (1804), and Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir) Home Popham, *A Description of Prince of Wales Island... with its Real and Probable Advantages and Sources to Recommend it as a Marine Establishment* (1805), are eulogies by contemporaries who held official positions in the Straits, and give some idea of the extravagant hopes placed on the future of the Island.

Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820), vol. III, contains a general contemporary account of the trade of the Archipelago. W. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce... including the Coasting or Country Trade from Port to Port, also the Rise and Progress of the Trade of the various European Nations... particularly that of the English East India Company... with an account of the Company's Establishments, Revenues, Debts Assets etc. at home and abroad* (1813) contains more specific information and is very valuable. The best modern general account of the East India Company's Trade is in C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813* (1937).

Anderson's three pamphlets, *Political & Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, *The Political & Commercial Relations of Prince of Wales Island with the States on the East Coast of Sumatra*, and *On the Restoration of Banca and Malacca to the Dutch, as affecting the Tin Trade and the General Commerce of Pinang, with the result of a Mission to Perak and Selangor in 1818*, all published at Penang in 1824, are very valuable. His *Acheen & the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra* (1840) is a very full account of events on the coast of Achin in this period, but is not, like the pamphlets, in accordance with the story told by the records, whose validity it often challenges. The whole subject needs

careful re-examination. Of the many publications concerning Raffles' activities perhaps the most useful in this context are his own *Statement of the Services of Sir T. S. Raffles* (1824), and Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir T. S. Raffles* (1830). There does not seem to be a satisfactory general account in English of the history of Achin. The best short account is in *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch Indie*, vol. I., under 'Atjeh' and 'der Atjehers'.

C. N. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834* (1940) is useful for the points of view of the Board of Control and the Directors in the negotiations leading up to the Dutch Treaty of 1824, and for the pressure brought to bear on the Directors and the Governor General in the interests of retrenchment in 1828. Maxwell and Gibson, *Treaties and Engagements affecting the Malay States & Borneo* (1924) contains the text of those treaties from which extracts only are printed here. Horsburgh, *Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, Etc.* (5th Ed. 1841-43), used in conjunction with Milburn's work cited above and modern Admiralty Pilots of the area, is most useful for the identification of place names.

T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in The Straits of Malacca* (1839) contains much that is of use for this period, but is chiefly of value for its very detailed account of the way the trade of the Settlements had settled down by 1836. T. Braddell, *Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca* (1861) is also important, but should be used with care, especially for the years before a systematic enumeration of goods which did not pay customs was begun. So unsatisfactory was the way in which the Company's officials in the Straits kept these records that a good deal more work will be necessary before any certainty can exist in this field. Fullerton, Governor from 1824-30, discovered with some surprise in 1829 that "the Resident Councillors at Singapore and Malacca seem to have signed without notice any statement put before them; the most glaring errors were discovered, an enquiry into which only brought to light further inaccuracies and rendered the complete recompilation of those for past years inadmissible."

I have not here noticed papers in current Journals, but many in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, will be found to be of interest.

Weights & Currencies

Weights

The Tahl	=	1.3 oz.
The Kati (16 Tahils)	=	1.3 lb.
The Picul (100 Katis)	=	133.3 lb.
The Bhar (3 Piculs)	=	400 lb.
(bahar; bahara in Johore)		
The Koyan (40 Piculs)	=	5,333.3 lb.

Currencies

<i>The Spanish Dollar.</i>		
100 Spanish Dollars	=	210.85 Sicca Rupees.
	=	£26.5.0d
<i>The Sicca Rupee.</i>		
100 Sicca Rupees	=	\$47.42 Spanish
	=	£12.9.3d
<i>The Pound Sterling.</i>		
£100	=	\$366.97 Spanish
	=	773.76 Sicca Rupees.

The exchange between Dollars and Sicca Rs. is based on the figures for 1824. That between Dollars and Sterling is the average for 1815, 1816 and 1822.

The following currencies also ran at Penang and Singapore during this period (exchange per \$100 Spanish): The Surat Rupee (220.34); the Furruckabada Rupee (224.52); the Madras Rupee (224.81); the Bombay Rupee (225.25); the Dutch Guilder (252.27); the Ceylon Rupee (301.46).

This list is not exhaustive.

Note. The extracts that follow have been transcribed letter for letter from the the original manuscripts, except where it is shown in the text that summaries have been made. Errors of spelling and punctuation have not been made. Errors of spelling and punctuation have not been corrected in preparing the extracts for publication. Words and phrases underlined in the manuscripts are printed here in italics.

1. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM. (2)

24th SEPTEMBER 1865.

We have the Honour of announcing to your Excellency in Council our appointment by the Hon. the Court of Directors to the Government of this Island, where we arrived on the 19th instant. The following day, our Commissions having been publicly read and the several oaths administered to us respectively, we assumed charge of the Government.

(D3/15)

2. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 12th NOVEMBER 1865.

Para. 5 & 6 stating the necessity of placing the Island in a state of security, and enclosing papers from the 1st Lord of the Admiralty on the subject of establishing a Naval Arsenal. (3)

Our short residence affords us little authority to report to your Honble Court on the subject of these paras., we venture however to assert that this harbour may be rendered of the greatest utility in repairing His Majesty's Ships, and we have reason to hope, materials may be found on this and the neighbouring Islands, or on the adjacent Continent fit for building large ships, but we are unwilling and cautious on so important a subject to excite hopes which our longer experience might afterwards oblige us to disappoint, we however will exert our utmost industry to lay the whole of the business before your Honble Court as fully as possible by the earliest opportunity.

Paras. 7 & 8 urging the necessity of obtaining a settlement at Acheen.

The advantages that would arise to the British Nation from their occupying the port of Acheen are obviously pointed out in these paras. and the present time might not be unfavourable for making the attempt, a revolution having lately taken place in the Government of that country, in which the reigning Prince a youth of 20 years of age has been obliged to fly his capital now in possession of his Uncle, in which emergency he has applied to the late Lieut. Governor requesting assistance, which was referred to the Governor General and to which no answer has as yet been received.

We do not however find that much intercourse has lately been kept up between the Government of Acheen and this Island, although a very considerable trade is carried on, and we are of opinion that to establish and maintain a permanent post there, it would require a very considerable force of European as well as Native troops, a force sufficient to overcome if necessary a populous

(2) Calcutta.

(3) These marginal notes concern references in letters from the Court of Directors, to which this letter from Penang is a reply.

and turbulent city, and to cope with such an equipment as the French Islands, under their present circumstances may be enabled to find against it. We shall therefore be very cautious in recommending to the Governor General (with whom you have directed us to correspond on this subject) or to your Honble Court the undertaking any measure of this kind, at least until a more than merely defensive Military force is provided for this Island, now more than ever likely to become an object of attack by a European enemy.

It is not in our power at present to afford your Honorable Court much information on the subject of these parags. We have only to remark that there appears every reason to hope that under the fostering care of your Govt. the prosperity of this Island in a commercial point of view, will continue to encrease and particularly as a Depot for goods between India and China. On our arrival we found a considerable quantity of cotton warehoused here to wait an opportunity of being transported to China, and during the short period of twenty seven days that your Fleet remained in harbour, three country ships⁽⁴⁾ from B(om) Bay laden with cotton, transhipped their cargoes on their paying duties of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their invoice prices. This duty established since May last gave a considerable rise in the present lease of the Customs.⁽⁵⁾

Para. 45 to 47
—Relating to
the trade that
may be carried
on at this
Island on
account of the
Company.

The last importation of Opium from Bengal on account of the Honble Company was 250 Chests in the year 1798 which yielded a profit of 38 per cent. . . . We understand that the medium price of Opium at the first sale of last year in Calcutta was 1731 Rupees per Chest the market price variable from 1700 to 2200 Rupees.

The annual demand for the Malay Market from the best information to be obtained may be estimated at 1000 Chests, Half of this quantity appears to be supplied through the channel of the European and American merchants here, the other half by the first Bengal value of last year. A very large importation of Opium here last year was from 13 to 1400 Spanish Dollars per Chest, yielding a profit of from 56 to 69 per cent on the price at the first Bengal value of last year. A very large importation of Opium might not from a want of capital meet with a very ready money sale here, but we are of opinion that there would be no difficulty in disposing of several hundred Chests at the above rates, and we are not aware of any good reason why the Honble Company should not through our means, participate in the large profits the Malay markets afford in the sale of this article.

(4) A country ship was one built and operated in Indian waters by private merchants.

(5) The Customs were at this time farmed.

The pepper produce of this Island is estimated at about 2000 tons of 16 cwt. or $13\frac{1}{2}$ peculs and of this quantity 1500 tons may be fit for the European market, the price varying from 10 to 12 Dollars per pecul. The Balsimo, a Portuguese ship, carried a cargo from hence last year of excellent heavy pepper at 11 Spanish Dollars per pecul, the importation of foreign pepper into this Island is considerable and may be encreased if this market offers again to 1500 or 2000 tons of quality equal to the Island pepper, and at the same price.

The cultivators would readily contract to deliver their pepper at 11 Spanish Dollars per pecul, most of them receiving 25 per cent of their contract in Marine stores, cloth and iron;.....

Para. 52—re-
lating to the
import and
export duties.

The Import duty of 2 per cent ad valorem, of 1801, on Tin, Pepper, and Bettlenut was found vexatious and harassing to the importers, those articles being brought here by prows and other small vessels. This duty was also found to give the Farmer undue advantage over other Merchants, in the preference which his right of search and examination always affords him, by which he became nearly the sole purchaser.

For these reasons the Import Duty was abolished and an export duty substituted in lieu of it as follows.

On pepper	per pecul	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Capongs
Tin	do.	4	do.
Bettlenut	do.	1	do.
Sticklack	do.	5	do.
Cutch	do.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Rattans per 100 Bundles		7	Capongs.

A Capong being one tenth of a Dollar.

Besides the above there is a general export duty ad valorem of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all other articles except gold dust, Bullion, Opium, grain and spices,

The question whether any further duties can be safely imposed requires much consideration and greater experience than we yet possess to decide upon. In general we are inclined to give a preference to the present export duty over any that can be established on Imports, except on Imports from Europe on the Honble. Compny's Chartered ships, which have not yet paid Cos. duties before at any other Presidency, and on Imports by foreign ships from Europe, which in our opinion ought to be charged with a higher duty, than that paid by those on the Cos. ships.....

Another duty we also conceive may be established on imports from China Direct.

(B1/3-19).

3. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE VICE PRESIDENT, ⁽⁶⁾ FORT WILLIAM.
24th NOVEMBER 1805.

A considerable commercial intercourse at present subsists between this Port and the possessions of the King of Acheen, and from what we can learn, the Government of that country is now likely to be resumed by the Prince, in the legal line of succession, who some time ago was expelled by his maternal uncle, who usurped his authority and took possession of his revenue.

We have lately received a message from the young king, through an individual, who had been trading on his coast, and who had an interview with him, proposing to enter into the negotiation of a Treaty with this Government which should ensure to the Company the whole pepper produce of his country, and to himself his just revenues, which he complains he has been defrauded of through his subjects carrying on (what he terms) an illicit trade with American ships at the port of Soosoo ⁽⁷⁾ and elsewhere.

Not being aware of any great advantage likely to accrue to the Honble Company from a Commercial Treaty with the King of a country situated as Acheen at present seems to be, in point of stability in its Government, and rather thinking that the Company had better purchase here the pepper they may require, as opportunities offer, we have returned an answer in general terms to the King's message.

Notwithstanding however there does not appear any immediate commercial advantage likely to be derived, it is possible you may deem it of some consequence to discourage by all fair means, the American trade on the coast of Sumatra, it being found that the extent of their Imports does more and more affect the Co.'s sales in Leadenhall Street.

It would certainly at the same time be a most desirable object obtained, if the Government of Acheen could be induced, even as things are now situated, to shut its ports for refreshment and assistance, against the ships of the enemy, and it would become a most material consideration indeed were their fleet to appear in force in the Indian Seas.

(D3/21).

(6) The Governor General being on tour of the Bengal Provinces, or absent through some other contingency, possible the Maratha War.

(7) Soosoo—Port on the West coast of Sumatra in about 3°41'N 96°50'E.

4. GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM, TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.

26th NOVEMBER 1805.

....we consider it to be our duty to apprise you that the late war with Dawlut Rao Scindiah & the Rajah of Berar, and the existing hostilities with Insswant Rao Holkar⁽⁸⁾ have occasioned so heavy a pressure on the resources of this Government that it will not now be practicable to supply you with the Funds to an extent exceeding in any material degree the ordinary amount of the charges of the late Government of Prince of Wales Island. We therefore recommend in the strongest terms that you will not authorize any considerable alteration or improvement of the present Fortifications of the Island, nor the construction of any Docks, Warehouses or other expensive Works, until you shall be informed by this Government, that the requisite supplies of money for these purposes can be furnished without injury to the general interest of the Honble Company.

(E2/205-206).

5. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 21st FEBRUARY 1806.

The purpose of this letter is to inform you of our intention, of laying down the keel of a large Frigate, without delay, and that we have so little doubt, of being able about October or November next to begin also on a 74 Gun Ship, that we are induced to request that you will order the whole copper and iron work for both, to be sent out by the earliest opportunity possible. The non-arrival of the ships from Europe, disappoints us of the assistance of our Master Builder, so that we cannot forward a detailed indent or demand, for every particular article, but this your Honble Court will be able easily to obtain from the Navy Board, on your request for that purpose.

(B1/83).

6. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT DIRECTORS. 20th MARCH 1806.

The planters and merchants of this Island have at present a large quantity of pepper on hand and but very little demand for it, altho' pepper of good quality is selling as low as 9 Sp. Dollars per

(8) The reference is to Lord Wellesley's Maratha campaigns of August-December 1803 against Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsle, raja of Berar; and the campaigns of April 1804 — April 1805, against Jasvant Rao Holkar, terminated in the latter case by a Treaty which was probably regarded by Wellesley as a mere truce—"the existing hostilities". It was these campaigns which frightened the Court of Directors, dreading further territorial responsibilities and ever increasing Indian military budget, into replacing Wellesley by Lord Cornwallis. cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, Chap. xxii.

pecul which will no doubt experience a rise in the event of any considerable demand, but we may venture to say that even two ships' cargoes, if due notice previous to their arrival were given, might be procured within twelve (12) Spanish Dollars per pecul, a price still much under what your Malabar and Bencoolen pepper costs.

... we likewise send a small box, No. 101, containing a muster of cloves the produce of this Island of a plant of ten years old and introduced in this Island by Mr. Smith from the Moluccas. The Clove plant is not considered to be at its full strength until it has attained the age of fifteen years. All the clove and nutmeg plants upon this Island are healthy and thriving, and there is not a doubt but that at maturity they will yield luxuriant crops, and may be cultivated to the highest state of perfection, and to any extent in point of numbers.

Revenue.

We had the honor to transmit as an accompaniment to our address dated the 12th November last ⁽⁹⁾ a statement showing the amount of the Revenues of this Island, with the various heads under which they were collected, and we have now to advise your Honble Court of our having levied an import Duty, on all Europe, China and Indian Goods not having previously paid export Duties at Ceylon or at any of your ports in India, as follows.

- 1st. Five per cent on the Invoice price of all Europe Goods imported on British ships and Vessels.
- 2nd. Eight per cent on all Europe Goods, imported on foreign ships and vessels with the exception of American who pay as British.
- 3rd. Three per cent on all China Goods imported on British ships or vessels.
- 4th. Six per cent on all China Goods imported on foreign ships or vessels.
- 5th. Four per cent on all India Goods imported on Ships or other Square rigged vessels.

(B1/93).

7. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 31st JULY, 1806.

Commercial.

The measures we have taken in conformity to your Honble Courts Orders in soliciting a consignment of opium to be sold here on account of the Honble Company were stated in our last dispatch,

(9) No. 2 above.

since which we have received from the Governor General a reply to our application on the subject to which we beg leave to refer you.

By this letter we are informed that the exportation of opium by the Company having been considered to operate as a discouragement to the purchasers at the public sales at Calcutta, the Governor General in Council deemed it advisable to discontinue the exportation of opium on account of the Honble Company since the year 1798 and that Government are now engaged to the Public not to export any opium on their own account.

The Warehousekeeper has been instructed to exert his utmost endeavors to obtain the fullest & most accurate information as to the demand in the neighbouring countries and islands to the Eastward, as well as to cause the introduction of the Woollens into the markets of Rangoon and Siam, which appears to hold out the only hope for the ready sale of this valuable article of British manufacture to any considerable extent.

Encouraged however by the demand for the Chintzes the whole of which that are of a pattern suited to the Malays we could have sold immediately on their being landed at an advance of 60 per cent on the invoice price, we have selected patterns of such as are calculated for the Malay Market, and transmit in the packet an Indent for a quantity to the extent of £10,000 in value which we are convinced can be easily disposed of here, provided they are agreeably to the patterns sent, of a dark ground and large figured pattern and of fine quality. The plain patterns are not likely to suit this Market, and coarse Chintzes are in no demand.

Both the Swedish and British iron meet a ready sale at an advance of 30 per cent on the invoice price The British in particular from its being so much lower in price than the Swedish iron is in constant demand by the Chinese Settlers & we have therefore in our Indent which accompanies this despatch applied for a larger quantity of the British, than that sent by late ships & indented for the same quantity of Swedish.

(B1/134).

**8. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 17th JANUARY 1807.**

In the letter above alluded to, your Honble Court will perceive the measures adopted by us to bring a sufficient supply of Timber into the Yard which however have not from the peculiar untoward

circumstances of the long continued rains and disease among the cattle necessary to convey the Timber thither, been yet attended with so much success as our former sanguine expectations founded on the assurances of the natives led us to expect.

As however an opinion may be expected from us on this very important subject on which Your Honble Court must be so desirous to receive every information, we regret that from our own observations we do not feel ourselves so sanguine in our expectations as to the resources of this Island and its neighbourhood in large Timber as the Acting Superintendent and Storekeeper states himself to be.

It may however be necessary to observe, that Strait Timber is to be found everywhere in this neighbourhood, fit for any purpose to which Timber of such description is applied, and that our attention is wholly engaged in procuring Crooked or what is termed *Compass Timber*.

The principal difficulties we have to encounter in bringing to a conclusion this important point may be generally arranged under the following heads, viz.

- 1st. Our own want of knowledge whether *Compass Timber* of the size required for a seventy-four-Gun-ship does actually exist in the neighbourhood, and if so in what parts it is to be found.
 - 2nd. The same want of knowledge, among the natives whose attention has hitherto never been drawn to the resources of this country in this respect.
 - 3rd. Their total ignorance of machinery and want of skill in transporting Timber of so large a size as that required.
-

Revenue.

We feel much satisfaction in being enabled to lay before Your Honble Court, the Documents delivered in to us by our Collector of Customs and Land Revenues, and on which we confidently rely.

- 1st. An Abstract Statement of the Revenues received and paid into the General Treasury from our assumption of this Government to the 30 April last, amounting to Spanish Dollars 106,376.19 ½.
- 2nd. A Statement of the new duties laid by us on the imports from the 1st December, 1805, to the 30th April last, amounting to Spanish Dollars 7115.09.

- 3rd. A Statement of the duties actually received on the Import and Export trade from the 1st May to the 30th November last, amounting to Spanish Dollars 61,316.84.
 - 4th. A Comparative Statement between the Positive Revenues accruing from the Farms of the year 1804/5, and expected Revenues thereon, of the current year, 1805/6 exhibiting a clear encrease on this source of revenue of Spanish Dollars 49,020 per annum.
 - 5th. General Abstract Statement of the real, and probable encrease of Customs and Revenues arising from Farms in the current year 1806/7, exhibiting the total encrease of revenue to be Spanish Dollars 88,109.84 1/2.
 - 6th. A General Statement of Actual & Expected Receipts on account of Revenue under all its heads for the year 1806/7, amounting to Spanish Dollars 232,260.10 1/2.
-
- 8th. Statement of Tonnage either imported or calling for refreshment or repairs at, and generally having convey from Prince of Wales Island, from the 1st May to the 30th November last, from which it appears, that exclusive of 6,443 tons of native small craft, there have entered this Port during 7 months only, no less than 77,189 tons of shipping laden with the most valuable trade of this quarter of the Globe.
 - 9th. An account of the value of the merchandise actually exported from Fort Cornwallis from the 23rd May to the 30th November last amounting to upwards of seventeen hundred thousand dollars.....

We feel confident of the satisfaction your Honorable Court will derive from the conviction these Statements will afford you, of the rapid progressive encrease of your Revenues here, and of the light in which these Documents will place before you the value of this rising and important possession to the interests of the Honble Company in particular, and to the general mercantile interests of the Mother Country, as affording a new outlet for the produce of India, and the manufactures of Great Britain, and we request leave to draw your attention to the great national importance of the situation as a Naval Port, as strongly evinced by the safety that has been ensured by His Majesty's Squadron here to nearly 80,000 tons of valuable trade, during the short period of six months.

We have further to add that from the reductions we have made from the expences of the Dependency of Malacca, together with the Balance of Cash in its Treasury on the 1st of the current year,

there does not remain a doubt of our receiving a considerable pecuniary aid from this hitherto expensive Port.

We beg leave strongly to recommend to Your Honorable Court, the expediency of directing your outward bound China ships to touch at this Port as well in peace, as war, as it is upon the exports to China by these ships, that our principal revenue arises, and which has enabled us to lay so encouraging a Statement thereof before your Honorable Court, it not being deemed a Trade of sufficient importance to engage ships here exclusively for that purpose.

(B2/68/26).

**9. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 8th JULY 1807.**

It affords us the highest satisfaction to communicate to Your Honorable Court the probable result of the measures that have been taken for procuring from Rangoon, Compass Timber of fit description and dimensions for the frame of a 74-Gun-Ship.

In the 2nd and following paras of the last General letter in the Marine Department, you were advised of Mr. John Scott's having been sent to Rangoon with the Assistant Master Builder. All doubts on the practicability of procuring the Timber at Rangoon and its neighbourhood of the size and quality required for ships of the Line having since been removed by the favorable reports of Mr. Scott to which we beg leave to refer you, we have to call your particular attention to his letter of the 18th April wherein we are warranted by his assurances in believing that the principal Timbers for the Frame of a seventy four will be collected and ready to be forwarded in August, previous to which time the season will not admit of its being brought down.

(B2/114).

**10. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, FORT ST. GEORGE. (10)
13th APRIL, 1807.**

It is with regret that we have to announce to you the decease of the Honorable Philip Dundas late Governor of this Settlement, which event took place at sea on the 8th instant on board His Majesty's Ship *Belligneux*, on which he had proceeded after a dangerous illness for the benefit of a short sea voyage.

The office of Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its dependencies has in consequence devolved on Henry Stephen Pearson

(10) Madras.

Esquire who has taken the usual oaths and his seat accordingly, pro tempore. (11)

(D10/26).

**11. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, FORT ST. GEORGE.
16th OCTOBER 1807.**

We have the honor to acquaint you that Colonel Norman Macalister has this day taken the usual oaths, and his seat as Governor of Prince of Wales Island and further to transmit for your information copy of the Proclamation published in consequence.

(D10/35).

**12. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 29th JANUARY 1808.**

On the recommendation of the Warehousekeeper, and for the reasons stated by him in this Letter, we have authorized him to reduce the price to 10 ½ Per Cent Advance on the Invoice Price of the Woollens at the commencement of the next Official Year, not looking so much under present circumstances to an immediate advantage, as to the more general and extensive sale in future of this valuable article of British Manufacture.

Your Honble Court having expressed your desire to be furnished with the Sentiments of this Government as to the Advantages to be derived by the Honble Company in the exportation of Opium from Bengal to this Presidency on your account, the Warehousekeeper's attention has been particularly drawn to this Point.

It appears that the Annual Demand in the Malay Market is about 1000 Chests. Of this quantity not more than 250 Chests are landed at Prince of Wales Island, 60 of which may be considered the consumption of the place; the remainder of the 1000 Chests being conveyed at once from Calcutta to the Eastward, by Speculators from various parts, particularly Bengal. Coinciding in opinion with the Warehousekeeper that if the whole of Opium made for the Malay Market was to be consigned to this Presidency, and here to wait for Purchasers, the demand from the want of Capital among the Merchants here and many other causes would be considerably lessened, and that if the Company were only to send a

(11) Macalister, Colonel Commanding the troops at Prince of Wales Island, although senior to Pearson, was passed over on the plea that the Military and Civil Powers could not be united. He was upheld on appeal to the Supreme Government, and took over the Government from Pearson in October, 1807. cf. next extract (No. 11).

part of the Opium prepared for the Eastward, the sale of the remainder would be materially affected, and the Purchasers of the same enabled to undersell the Company here, and to the Eastward; We deem it our duty to state that however it might benefit the particular Interests of this Settlement, not the smallest advantage could be expected to arise to the Honble Company by an annual consignment of Opium to this place, any interference in the Opium Trade as now carried on, must be attended with Serious consequences to the Revenues arising from the sale of the Article in Bengal, which could not be counterbalanced by any Profit expected to arise from its importation in this Island by the Honble Company. (12)

The rate at which the Cultivators here can afford to sell good marketable Pepper, cannot be fixed at less than from 8 to 9 Dollars Per Pecul, and any quantity likely to be required by the Honble Company may without doubt be procured from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 Dollars Per Pecul, provided due notice is given to this Government, of your Honble Court's intention to export Pepper from hence to Europe or China on account of the Honble Company.

Your Honble Court's wishes with respect to the Cultivation of Coffee on this Island have, we are happy to state been in some degree anticipated, the Cultivators having since the fall in the price of Pepper, turned their thoughts towards this Article. It appears that there are at present 25,000 plants now on the Island in a very flourishing state, a great proportion of which are bearing, and that upwards of 200,000 young Plants will be transplanted in the course of a few Months, which in the year 1811 may be expected to produce 2500 Peculs, or Tons 148.16.11 $\frac{1}{3}$ of Coffee.

The cultivation of this valuable Article might we are convinced, if once the Cultivators had confidence in Government becoming Purchasers in the Article, be encreased on this Island to almost any extent, and little doubt can exist of the produce in Seven Years being nearly equal to that of Pepper, or not far short of Peculs 25,000, or Tons 1500 annually.....

(B2/158-162).

13. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 29th JANUARY 1808.

Marine.

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Orders contained in the 4th & 5th Paragraphs of the Honble Company's

(12) See No. 7 above. The profits from the sale of opium in Bengal for export by private merchants was of course one of the Company's principal items of Revenue. Nor did the Company care itself to engage in the carrying of this article of commerce to Canton, where its importation was illegal.

General Letter under date the 29th May, 1807, directing that until we receive your further Orders on the subject, all operations at this Presidency for building ships for the King's Service be suspended, excepting only such as shall be required for completing those two ships, for which Timber may already have been entered into, and we shall in obedience thereto, await Your Honble Court's further Commands accordingly.

It is with much concern, that we are compelled to call to your Honble Court's particular attention, the reasons which have occasioned a considerable delay in the construction of the Frigate of 36 Guns which we had directed to be built here.

It was with much disappointment that on the 11th November, we learnt from the Acting Superintendent of Marine, that a temporary suspension of the work had become necessary on the 15th of that month, in consequence of the objections stated by the Master Builder to the manner in which the Officiating Engineer was proceeding in the construction of the ship.

On receipt of Mr. Tate's reply the same was transmitted to the Superintendent of Marine in order that we might ascertain if the Master Builder's objections had been done away, but this not being the case, and Mr. Tate having in a letter to us dated the 21st December, stated his wish that the slip should be proceeded on by the Master Builder, we deemed it most expedient after mature deliberation and on attentive consideration of the whole of the circumstances, and on the recommendation of the Acting Superintendent of Marine, to order the Master Builder on whom the whole of the responsibility of building and launching the ship remains, to proceed in the construction of the slip and ground ways according to his own ideas, being averse to passing any decided judgment on the merits or demerits of the work partly constructed.

We have now the satisfaction of acquainting your Honble Court that the Master Builder is proceeding as expeditiously as possible in forming the slip while the Artificers of the Yard are employed under him in converting and trimming the necessary Timber, and that we have every reason to hope that the difficulties which have hitherto impeded the construction of the Frigate have been completely done away.

(B2/177).

14. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM. 3rd AUGUST 1808.

We now...proceed to give you our directions as to the quantum of Duty to be imposed at the Sea Ports of our respective

Settlements in India, on Goods and Merchandize imported into or exported therefrom by the Subjects of Foreign Europe or America.

It is but reasonable that those Nations which without incurring charge or risk in forming and maintaining a Settlement, are admitted at once to share in the Indian Trade with all the benefits of such Establishments ready prepared, should for that important advantage, unattainable before our acquisition of Territory in the East pay a suitable consideration in the shape of Duties beyond what is levied from Subjects of the British Empire.

Our general intention is that Foreigners shall be subjected to double the Duties on Imports and Exports paid by British Subjects; and if in carrying this general principle into all the details of particular cases your various regulations should not always have been duly adverted to you will adopt the specific Duties on the different Articles to that general principle.

(C2/68-73).

15. FORT CORNWALLIS⁽¹³⁾, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON THURSDAY THE 15th DECEMBER 1808.

Read the following letter from the Pepper Planters upon this Island dated the 30th Ultimo. (Enter). ⁽¹⁴⁾

The Board having every reason to believe that the Statement contained in the above letter of the distresses experienced by the Cultivators of Pepper is strictly correct, are of opinion that their most serious attention is due to the Policy of averting the impending danger by aiding the Planters with such pecuniary supply in the present juncture as may effectually relieve them without exposing Government to unnecessary risk, being fully aware that the general prosperity of the Island and the very existence of its internal Revenue, are intimately connected with, if not dependent on, the advancement of Cultivation; and that unless active and decisive measures are immediately adopted by Government towards meliorating the temporary embarrassment of the Planters there will be every reason to apprehend that many of the cultivated lands may revert to Jungle, and that a very large portion of the most valuable Class of the Inhabitants will emigrate.

Resolved that as the Board do not feel themselves authorized from the nature of this Establishment and the extent of the dis-

(13) Penang.

(14) The letters and memoranda cited in Council Proceedings during this period were entered, not in the Proceedings themselves, but in a separate series, which unfortunately seems to have been lost.

bursement required, to come to a final decision on the present application without a reference to the Supreme Government a Copy of the letter now received from the Planters, be transmitted by the very first opportunity to the Right Honble the Governor General in Council, and that under the circumstance of the want of information as to the Number of the China Ships intended to be sent out this Season or whether such Ships have orders to touch here, his Lordship be requested to make such Arrangement for the provision of Tonnage as he may deem most expedient, provided the Planters are willing to enter into an engagement that the Pepper shall not be disposed of until an Answer is received from Bengal in order that in the event of Tonnage being so appropriated the same may not in any possible event be unnecessarily sent down here.

(A5/50-52).

16. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 23rd MARCH 1809.

Your Honble Court will have been aware that the late Government were wholly precluded from adopting any measure towards ascertaining the practicability of constructing Docks, from the date of their arrival in Sept. 1805, until the month of May 1806, when Mr. Tate arrived as Asst. Engineer and to Officiate as Engineer until a Chief Engineer was sent out.

On the 2nd June following Mr. Tate received his Instructions to examine with all practicable expedition, the Shores of the Harbour and after giving every circumstance its due weight and the most mature consideration, to report his Opinion, with the reasons on which the same was founded, as to the most eligible place for constructing the intended Docks with building Slips and Warehouses adjacent thereto.

In consequence of these Instructions Mr. Tate on the 22nd August following, sent in his report, giving a decided preference therein to two inlets on the Island of Ierajah, as affording the greatest facilities for Docks Etc. and submitting a proposal for putting the most difficult part of the work to the test at an Estimated Expence of 70,000 Rupees.

Mr. Tate having on the 30th of the same Month, stated the reasons which induced him to *rescind his former proposal*, arising from the want of the requisite means, the Steam Engine having arrived without plan reference or Working Engineer & His Excellency Sir Thomas Troubridge on whom he relied for a number Skilful European Artificers, having left this Station, the Governor and Council addressed your Honble Court under date the 17th January 1807 referring you to their proceedings on Mr. Tate's

report and stating that they felt themselves bound in duty and justice to their Employers, notwithstanding the severe disappointment arising out of the delay of necessarily postponing the commencement of this important undertaking to resolve "*that the works of the Docks Etc. should not be proceeded on, and that the whole of the Papers on the subject should be transmitted to your Honble Court for your Orders and decision previous to any further steps being taken by them*, under the then existing circumstances to carry the same into execution, being well convinced that less detriment would arise to the Public Service from such temporary delay than from attempting to proceed therein with their then means & in the state of their information as to the most preferable Site for the purpose."

The whole of this subject having been referred to your Honble Court as above stated by the late Government we have been anxiously waiting your Honble Courts Orders and Decisions thereon, but not having as yet received any Advices whatever on the Subject further than the private communication, recorded by the Hon: the Governor on the 19th January last wherein it is stated "that nothing had been determined on, as late as the 2nd June last, respecting the Docks, owing principally to the want of Estimates of the Expences, which was one of the first things required by your Honble Court and one on which the prosperity of the Island Depended." We have under the total want of Official Advices felt it incumbent on us to act on the information thus obtained.

Adverting therefore to the Authority given to the Engineer by this Government during the year 1807, for the purpose of procuring in *India* such Artificers as he might require, & his unsuccessful attempts for that purpose in this Country and the non-arrival of the absolutely necessary assistance required from Europe, We regret that at this late date notwithstanding any thing within our power has been done consistent with the Resolution and reference of our Predecessors, the subject remains exactly in the same state as in the month of January 1807. As the Engineer states himself to be equally *deficient* in the requisite means for carrying into effect this important undertaking *even were we in possession of your Honble Court's Orders* to do so.

As the late Correspondence with the Engineer only tends to confirm his former reports long since transmitted to your Hon. Court, and it must be inferred from the Communication recorded on the 19th January that the requisite Assistance will not be sent out until Specific Estimates are received in England, We have been unanimously of Opinion that under every circumstance of the case,

the advantages to be derived by Mr. Tate's going home exceed any that can possibly arise from his longer residence here while wholly unemployed.

(B2/262).

**17. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
THURSDAY THE 25th MAY 1809.**

The Board referring to the Correspondence that took place with the Pepper Planters, entered on their Proceedings of the 8th and 22nd December 1808 and 5th and 12th January last. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Resolved that the Committee acting for the Pepper Planters be informed that the Board having received from the Supreme Government reply to their reference on the subject of the aid solicited by the Pepper Planters, they regret that circumstances render it inexpedient for Government to make any purchase of Pepper on the public Account, or to extend their Advances to the Planters beyond the Sum Already paid.

That the Board have however reason to expect the arrival of Tonnage to the extent of about 2000 Tons in the Month of July, when they will appropriate such quantity thereof, as may be at their disposal, for the purpose of conveying Pepper to China, the Planters paying freight for the same at the usual rate.

(A5/222-223).

**18. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS 19th AUGUST 1809.**

We have now the satisfaction of acquainting you that the Frigate built at this Presidency was launched on the 13th Inst. and named the Penang, and that in compliance with the recommendation of the right Honble the Governor General in Council she will be dispatched from hence to Bengal for the purpose of taking a Cargo to Europe on account of the Honble Company.

On a retrospective view of the whole of Proceedings with regard to Ship building for H.M. Navy, and the Orders of your Honble Court; as well as the most attentive Consideration of a subject so materially connected with the Interests of this Island, and interwoven with its Establishment we are unanimously of Opinion

- 1st. That from the number of Timbers collected, and the facility that has latterly attended its Collection from

(15) See No. 15 above.

the immediate neighbourhood of this Island, the Materials required for completing the construction of 74 Gun Ship might with ease be obtained—

- 2nd. That had Docks been constructed at this Presidency, or had we been assisted with proper professional Advice with regard to the construction of the ground ways and Slip; and the Master Builder been furnished with the usual assistance in the Yard, such Ship might have been Constructed at this Presidency with facility.

(B2/325).

**19. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 5th JANUARY 1810.**

In our letter of the 30th August last, we adverted to the unfavourable circumstances under which our Pepper Trade has long struggled. For your general information, we shall now proceed to inform you, that there are in our Warehouse in London nearly seventeen millions of pounds of Pepper sold and unsold; and we have also a very considerable quantity lying in our Stores on the the Western Coast of India and at Bencoolen.

We advertised 5000 Bags (lbs. 1,500,000) of Pepper for Sale on the 1st September last, at the price of Sevenpence P. lb; but no offers were made and the whole remained unsold.

We again advertised a Sale of the reduced quantity of 3000 Bags of Pepper, to take place on the 29 September last, at the price of ten pence P. lb; of which quantity 2100 Bags went off at an advance of one eighth of a penny p. lb, the remaining 900 Bags being refused by the Buyers.

Of Pepper therefore we do not require any, having a sufficient stock in our Warehouses in London for a considerable period to come.

The Honble the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy have signified to us that on account of the shallow draught of Water at Prince of Wales Island, and for other reasons, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty do not deem it proper that the building of the Line of Battle Ship (to be named the Akbar) should be proceeded upon. We have however in evidence that a sufficiency of Water may be obtained for launching Ships of the Line at your Presidency, and as we have reason to believe that the Timbers for a Ship of that Class have been long since collected, we conceive it

probable its construction may before this Dispatch reaches you be far advanced; in that case you will proceed to the completion of the Ship: but should any circumstances have occurred to prevent your laying down the Ship, we direct you to suspend all further operations in this undertaking.

(C1/6-8).

**20. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
THURSDAY THE 19th JANUARY 1810.**

On a conference with the Honble the Recorder relative to the effect which the new organization of the Government of this Presidency (as directed by the Dispatch from the Honble Court of Directors of the 21st April last) ⁽¹⁶⁾ may have on the existing constitution of the Court of Judicature declared by H.M. Charter to consist of the Governor & *three* Counsellors with the Honble the Recorder, & it appearing after a deliberate consideration of the subject that the immediate addition of those Orders may be deemed to interfere with constitution of the Court & embarrass its Proceedings unless provided for by an additional clause in the Charter of which no intimation has been received.

Resolved therefore that for the *present* the reduction of the Council be *not* promulgated as likely to excite doubts and Embarrassments better avoided, but that the primary Object of the Honble Courts Orders as conveyed in their separate Dispatch of the 21st April last vizt directing the reduction of expences, be carried into immediate effect, and that the doubts arising on the effects of these Orders on the constitution of the Courts of Judicature be referred to Bengal.

The Board is to evince their anxious desire of carrying into effect the Orders of the Honble Court in reducing the Expences of this Establishment without delay.

Resolved unanimously that the new Arrangement as far as it affects the Salaries of the Members of this Board be not delayed till the arrival of a new Governor but do take effect from this date—and that the measures necessary to be adopted for the reduction of the Expences of the subordinate Departments be taken into early consideration.

(A7/76-79).

(16) Apparently directing that the establishment at Prince of Wales be reduced to a Governor and Two Counsellors, with reduced salaries, and that the general expences of Government be reduced. A copy of this despatch has not survived in the records at Singapore.

**21. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 15th MARCH 1810.**

In pursuance of your Hon: Courts Recommendation, much of our attention has been bestowed to the advantages to be derived from the Cultivation of Cotton on this Island.

Your Hon: Court are already aware of the serious disappointment experienced by the first Cultivators in the want of an advantageous Market for Pepper in consequence of which a large portion of the Island formerly in high Cultivation has again reverted to its original state of Jungle,

The attention of the Agriculturists has since been turned, as your Hon: Court have been informed to the Cultivation of Coffee, which latter Article we now lament to find from the state of the Europe Market is not likely to turn out a much more advantageous speculation than the former.

Under these circumstances the encouragement held out by your Hon: Court in the Cultivation of Cotton, We have no doubt but that the Speculation will be generally embarked in, but as it will be impracticable to form a correct Estimate of its success until the Cultivation has been proceeded on to a certain extent, any general Opinion from us on the subject further than that the Island from its Soil and Climate appears well adapted for this Species of Cultivation, would at present be premature.

We cannot however omit on the present occasion drawing your Honble Courts attention to the very flourishing state of the Spice Plantations on this Island.

Of the Nutmeg Trees of which there are about 13,000 on the different plantations, several hundreds are in bearing and in the Course of a few Years many more will be old enough to bear fruit.

From the Clove Trees in bearing there have been upwards of 20,000 young Plants raised in the course of the last three Years—these have been disposed of by the Proprietors to different Cultivators and are reared with great success—in various parts of the Island the Proprietors still continue to raise young Plants from the Seeds of the old Trees from which practice the quantity must be annually increased to a considerable extent.

(B2/411-412).

**22. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, FORT ST. GEORGE.**

21st MARCH 1810.

We have the honor to acquaint you that the Honble Charles Andrew Bruce appointed to the Government of this Presidency, has this day taken the prescribed oaths and his seat accordingly.

(D10/84).

**23. STATEMENT OF REVENUES OF THE YEAR 1809/10
& THE AMOUNT COMPARED WITH THE REVENUE OF
THE PRECEEDING YEAR.**

Heads of Revenue

	Total Revenues of 1809/10	Total Revenues of 1808/9
Export Duties	51,255.11 $\frac{3}{4}$	66,685.11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Duties on the Sale of Houses and Lands	625.73	1,921.52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Quit Rent	2,259	2,259.52
James Town Opium Farm	5,880	6,240
Beetle-Leaf Farm	7,440	10,920
Artap Farm	2,200	2,785
George Town Opium Farm	33,720	38,400
do Gaming Farm	23,521	36,000
do Arrack Farm	25,320	31,200
James Town Gaming Farm	3,000	4,080
do Arrack Farm	2,100	3,372
Wood Farm	2,340	2,760
Import Duties	25,871.78 $\frac{3}{4}$	20,008.70 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shop Tax	1,496.25	800
Pork Farm	7,388.33	6,400
Toddy & Bhang Farm	4,860	3,000
Total, Sp. Dollars	199,357.21 $\frac{1}{2}$	236,911.86 $\frac{1}{2}$

(Table Appendix 1)
(A8/293).

**24. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, FORT ST. GEORGE.**

28th DECEMBER 1810.

It is with extreme concern we communicate for your information the lamented death of the Honble C. A. Bruce, late Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies, which took place yesterday morning after a short illness.

The office of Governor of this Presidency and its Dependencies has consequently devolved on W. E. Phillips Esq. who has duly taken the prescribed oaths and his seat accordingly as Governor protempore.

(D10/104).

**25. COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 10th APRIL 1811.**

The consideration of procuring a supply of Hemp from India is altogether deserving of, and has met our most serious attention, as also that of our Government General, and other Governments of India—We recommend it as matter for your deliberation particularly with a view to the production of a large quantity of Hemp from the Plaintain Tree and from the Ramy for the uses of this country at as moderate a rate of cost as the cheap price of labour in India will warrant us to anticipate.

The cultivation of Pepper in your Settlement does not seem necessary to a supply of the Markets in Europe: Coffee is equally uncalled for: Cotton Wool may also not be required the present subject seems therefore to present itself more opportunately.

Our Governments will perceive the manifold advantages which must arise both to India and to the United Kingdom, if the cost and properties of Indian Hemp, will allow of its being substituted for European Hemp. The cultivation of this most necessary article will encrease the value of land in India, (and more especially as it will apply to the jungles and wastes of our Presidency of Prince of Wales Island) and by giving employment to an additional number of cultivators, will benefit our Indian subjects, it will occupy a considerable additional tonnage of British or Indian Shipping and promote the encrease of British Seamen it will keep a large Sum of British capital from going to a foreign, and frequently a hostile Country as well for the purchase of the Hemp itself, as for the freight on foreign Ships in time of War and render the British empire independent in respect to an Article which is indispensably necessary for its interest and its glory.

(C1/180).

**26. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, BOMBAY. 9th MAY 1811.**

The Right Honble the Governor General in Council having under the authority conveyed to the Supreme Govt., by the Honble the Court of Directors, appointed A. Seton, Esq. of the Civil Establishment of Bengal, to be Governor of this Presidy. we have the honor to acquaint you that Mr. Seton has this day arrived at Prince of Wales Island, and has duly taken the prescribed oaths and the charge of the Govt. accordingly. ⁽¹⁷⁾

(D10/207).

(17) This appointment was a sinecure, made to provide Seton with a salary whilst he accompanied the Governor General on the expedition to Java. The actual government of Penang remained in the hands of Phillips until the appointment of Petrie in 1812. See the reference to the Acting Governor (Phillips) in the next extract.

**27. ACTING SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND,
TO THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT FORT WILLIAM.
23rd OCTOBER 1811.**

The hired ship Harriet laden with a valuable cargo of spices consigned to the Right Honble, the Governor General in Council having arrived in this port from Amboyna ⁽¹⁸⁾ on the 25th August last, and been placed under the orders of this Government, I am directed by the Honble. the Acting Governor in Council to acquaint you that on reference to the particular desire of the Resident, she has been hitherto detained with the view of procuring a convoy for her across the Bay.

(D4/1).

**28. COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 27th NOVEMBER 1811.**

In our advices of late years to each of our Presidencies, we have frequently had occasion to notice the Trade in Indian Cotton Wool: and as in the Year 1809 the state of public relations with America rendered the importation of that Cotton Wool into Great Britain an object of the greatest importance to the Manufacturers, very large consignments have in consequence been received but before their arrival could be effected the face of public affairs had changed, American Cotton had been imported as before, and Indian Cotton remains a ruinous and unproductive burthen both upon the Company and the private Importers. ⁽¹⁹⁾

It therefore follows that no Indian Cotton Wool must be sent to England upon our account except the small experimental consignment from Madras, and this we have directed to be kept within the most moderate Extent.

The whole of our Provisions at Bengal & Madras (except as above) and also at Bombay must consequently be sent to China and the five Ships which we have stationed to Bombay & China, and the four Madras and China Ships must be fully laden therewith agreeably to the established Regulations.

(C1/238-240).

**29. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM.
15th MAY 1812.**

Having received from the several mercantile gentlemen resident at this Settlement an address having date the 4th November

(18) Amboina was occupied by Britain from 1796 to 1803, and again from 1810 to the end of the Napoleonic War, and given the status of a Residency.

(19) The Court of Director's policy with regard to Cotton changed again during the American War of 1812 (June 1812-December 1814). See Nos. 31 & 39 below.

last, soliciting a modification of the rate of Import and Export duties, at that period, leviable on all goods, and merchandize in this port, we have the honor to submit for the information of your Lordship in Council, a copy of that address, and of the reply returned thereto, by this Government.

The indulgence solicited by the merchants, being founded on the consideration, that the advantages enjoyed by the traders at this port, will be materially affected by the recent conquest of Java, ⁽²⁰⁾, and by the opportunity which will be thereby presented to the traders of the other ports of India, for the transmission of Indian goods and merchandize, and from thence throughout the neighbouring countries, we have felt disposed after duly considering the different rates of duties at this port, and those in force at Java, and weighing the relative interests of the East India Company, and of the commercial part of the community at this Presidency, to authorize a modification, in the rates of import and export duties, collected in the passing trade, and as an act of policy, since it may be the means of encouraging the resort of vessels of all descriptions, and render this port in some measure the entrepot of the commerce, carried on between India and China, and the Islands in the Eastern Seas.

..... we take the liberty of representing to your Lordship in Council our sense of the great additional reliefs, which would be afforded to the commercial part of our community, if the duties which are now levied here on *Europe Goods* and Opium were authorized to be deducted from the imports payable both at Calcutta and Batavia, on those articles, which may after the payment of duties here, be exported either to Bengal, or to the Ports of Java.

(D4/47).

**30. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL FORT WILLIAM.**

28th SEPTEMBER 1812.

We have the honor to communicate for the information of your Lordship in Council, that William Petrie, Esq. appointed by the Honorable the Court of Directors to the situation of Governor of Prince of Wales Island, and its dependencies, having arrived at this Presidency on board the Honble. Company's ship *Royal George*, the 26th instant, he has this day duly taken the prescribed oaths and his seat in Council as Governor and President accordingly.

(D4/71).

(20) Final capitulation signed 18th September, 1811.

**31. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 21st OCTOBER 1812.**

The coarse Cotton Wool of which all the importations from India consist is rivalled in the British Market by the low Cottons imported from America, called Bowed Georgias and also by the Cotton from the Levant; but as the total quantity of such inferior Cotton consumed by the British Manufacturers is not a large proportion of the whole, it is indispensable to the success of an extensive Cultivation in your Settlement, that an improvement should take place in the quality of the Article by the introduction of Cotton seed from Bourbon and other Countries.—In furtherance of this object it is our intention to consign to India, a quantity of West Indian or American Cotton seed, so soon as we shall be enabled to procure the same; and in the interim you will request our Governments of Bengal, Madras and Bombay to transmit to you seed of the best kinds of Cotton which are cultivated at those Presidencies.

The prospect of an advantageous sale for Pepper, appears to be more remote than ever: the price of sound Black Pepper is at present somewhat less than seven pence P. pound exclusive of the Duties for home consumption.

The price of Coffee is also equally unfavourable, good Jamaica Coffee being now sold at the low price of Fifty Shillings P. hundred weight, exclusive of the Duties.

(C1/364-366).

**32. THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM, TO
THE ACTING SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
24th OCTOBER 1812.**

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Honorable the Governor and Council dated the 15th May last ⁽²¹⁾ with its Enclosures, and to request that you will inform the Governor and Council, that in cases in which Europe Goods may have already paid the duty established at Prince of Wales' Island of 5 per cent, and in which the duty established at Calcutta does not exceed that rate, that duty will be remitted on the importation of the goods into Bengal, on the production of a Certificate that the duty fixed at Prince of Wales' Island has been actually paid. In like manner in cases in which the duty established at Calcutta may exceed that fixed at Prince of Wales' Island, the difference only will be levied on the importation of the Goods into Bengal.

(E3/40).

(21) No. 29 above.

**33. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE KING OF ACHEEN.**

(Not dated, but noted as read and approved at a Council,
24th June, 1813).

Your majesty has received on various Occasions from the British Govt. the most unequivocal testimonies of its anxiety and desire to promote your interests and to assist you as far as is consistent with the security of our possessions and your majesty has received on more than one Occasion actual and undeniable Testimony of the Sincerity of this Desire in the presents which have been sent to you of arms & ammunition from the Supreme Govt. & from the Govt. at this Presidency and every obstacle has been placed in the Way of Supply to your Enemies of the means of acting offensively against you by prohibitory Decrees in force at this island against the exportation of Gunpowder and warlike Stores except for your majesty's service.

With these Sentiments & these principles which have been invariably acted upon by the British Govt. on the faith of an expected reciprocal Return from your majesty it is a matter of regret & concern that I feel myself called upon to notice the Reports which have been made to me of the line of Conduct pursued by your majesty & your ministers agt. the Ships & Properties of British Subjects trading to the territories of Acheen with friendly & commercial views.

I am informed that your majesty has entertained in your Service as your Admiral or Naval Commander a Mr. Fenwick who has been long a Resident in this part of Asia—and whose general conduct while residing under the protection of this Govt. has proved him to be a most mischievous & evil principled Individual and as such not a proper Adviser or Minister to be trusted with your majesty's affairs. It has moreover come to my knowledge that a large Ship from the Coast of Caromandel trading to Acheen under British Colors has recently been seized on that Coast by your majesty's people and that other English Vessels trading to the Coast are under similar Apprehensions.

It behoves me therefore to apprise your majesty that the Protection which the British Govt. has been ever accustomed to extend towards the properties of individuals trading under its flag will not allow of this Govt. to observe with silence such a Departure from the rules of neutralities & I must therefore caution your majesty against the Continuance of a System which will inevitably draw upon your majesty the severe Displeasure of the British Govt. & be calculated to remove from you these Sentiments of Regard which it has been accustomed hitherto to shew towards your majesty's Family.

I must therefore strongly recommend that your majesty will in the first instance return to its lawful owner the Ship which has been seized & that you will abstain from further interference with the British Trade on the Pedir Coast. (22)
(112/67-70).

34. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 30th JUNE 1813.

So far back as the year 1810 the Supreme Govt. dispatched Mr. David Campbell with letters & presents from the Rt. Hon. the Gov. Gen to the King of Acheen & directed his attention to the state and condition of the Country & Administration of its Govt.

Mr. Campbell's Report speaks favorably of the personal Character of the King of Acheen & enters into considerable detail with regard to his affairs both in his internal Govt. & his mercantile Interests.

Having however subsequently had occasion to dispatch Mr. Lawrence a Gentleman of our Civil Estb. to the residence of the King, We thought it advisable to direct his attention to be employed in the collecting such intelligence as might be useful with regard to Acheen & which we had not been previously possessed of.

Having collected the information that was needful regarding Acheen we were anxious to evince to the King the friendly Disposition we entertained towards his interests & complied as far as lay in our power with the requisition he made from time to time for Arms and Ammunition.

We expressed in our Letters to the King our Desires of cultivating the most friendly connection between the two Countries & explained to him the orders we had received from the Supreme Govt. to that Effect.

Your Hon Court are doubtless however aware of the state of tumult and disorder under which Acheen at present labours from the division in its Govt. and from the Jealousy and Dislike which the Native Subjects of the Kingdom entertain of the employment of Foreigners of all Descriptions in the Councils of the King—this

(22) i.e. the coastal area around the port of Pedir, about midway between Achin Head and Diamond Point. Pedir had declined since the days of the Portuguese, but the whole coast was still important for its pepper and betel-nut. See Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Ed (1921), Vol. II, pp. 182-6, and notes; and Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago (1820), Vol. III. pp. 414-5. Milburn, Oriental Commerce (1813), Vol. II, 351.

has produced a State of Rebellion during the progress of which the Capital of the Country has been wrested from the King & himself confined to the Govt. of Tulosamoy ⁽²³⁾ with a portion of the surrounding Country & the Command of the Sea Coast by which he intercepts the Vessels and trade of his rebellious Subjects.

The Councils of the King of Acheen have been guided for a number of years by a Mon. L'Etoile a subject of France born in this Country but who having undergone the form of Naturalization at Tranquebar subsequently stiled himself a subject of Denmark he has lately died & the King's affairs are now governed by Mr. Fenwick respecting whom your Hon. Court have been repeatedly addressed & respecting whom you lately issued your orders for his being sent to England.

While such people have an influence & Control over the Govt. of a neighbouring native Prince it cannot be considered a matter of surprise or astonishment, that Measures are adopted which are calculated to molest the trade carried on by individuals & to disturb the usual Course of friendly connection with the two Govts. A recent instance has been lately manifested of the Seizure by the order of the King of Acheen of a Vessel from the Coromandel Coast trading on the Coast of Sumatra under English Colors.

We confidently hope that the King of Acheen may see the Danger of continuing in his Service the Characters who are now in his employment who from receiving no pay must naturally be driven to extreme measures to provide for themselves & from the authority they possess must have the means of Oppression very dangerous to the people & oppressive to the Trade.

(B3/161-).

**35. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE HON E. RODNEY, CAPTAIN OF H.M. SHIP
AFRICAINE. 20th AUGUST 1813.**

Various complaints having been made to this Govt., regarding the treatment experienced by British Traders, and by other Individuals, under the British Protection, from the Govt. of Acheen; and a recent instance having occurred, which in the opinion of the Governor in Cl. demands Public Interference: I am directed to bring the circumstances of the Case to your Notice.

The Native Supra Cargo and another Individual, belonging to a Ship under English Colours, named the Annapoorny, trading

(23) Tulosamoy (Tooloo-Samwoi), both spellings occur in Horsburgh's Directory.—port of Achin just West of Diamond Point (5° 10' N, 97° 14' E)

between Negapatam and the Ports on the West Coast of Sumatra, have arrived at this Port, and have made an Affidavit, that in the progress of their Traffic, the Ship was seized by the King of Acheen, and notwithstanding the Payment of a large Sum as a ransom, that she was still detained and subsequently sold under the Orders of the King; and that the Noquedah or Native Commander, has been, and is still confined in Irons at Tollosamoy.

The measure of rescuing the Ship from the Persons who have seized her, will of course be effected, or otherwise by you, as you may judge needful, and also the recovery of any part of her Cargo; but I am especially desired to Suggest to you, that the Person of Noquedah of the Vessel, may be released from further Imprisonment, and that this point be insisted on.

(113/255-257)

36. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF H.M. SHIPS IN THE EAST INDIES. 6th SEPTEMBER 1813.

With reference to our letters to your Exy. dated the 20th and 23rd ultimo regarding the reasons which induced us to request the interference of H.M.S. Africaine for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the seizure of a vessel under English colors by the Govt. of Acheen and of affording relief to the parties should it appear needful we have the honor to advise your Exy. that H.M. Ship returned from that service on the 4th instant.

We trust that no inconvenience may result either to the arrangements which your Exy. may have contemplated or to the public service generally by the unexpected return of the Africaine to this port. We have given directions for the released vessel being received into the charge of the Master Attendant's Dept. and as we intend to address the Supreme Govt. in detail on the whole of this proceeding we shall be guided by such instructions as his Lordship in Council may think proper to issue regarding the future disposal of the ship.....

P.S. 7th September 1813.

Since writing the foregoing an additional communication has been received from the Hon. Captain Rodney of H.M.S. Africaine a copy of which is annexed to this dispatch for your Exy's information. We have much satisfaction in observing therefrom that previous to the final measures which were pursued for the release of the ship such inquiry and investigation was pursued as to establish in Captain Rodney's mind the fact of her unjust seizure

originally and which in his judgment warranted the interposition of H.M.S. for the liberation of the vessel her Commander and crew.
(D10/134).

**37. THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM, TO
THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
10th SEPTEMBER 1813.**

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 1st Ultimo communicating the proceedings of the Honorable the Governor and Council relative to the Seizure of a Vessel under the English Colours by the King of Acheen on pretence of having violated the laws of that Government by trading to prohibited parts, and adverting generally to the right assumed by the King of Acheen to impose restraints on the trade to those parts of the Coast of Sumatra on which he claims Authority.

The Governor General in Council presumes that the right of the King of Acheen to regulate the Trade of the Country actually under his Authority cannot be disputed, but his pretensions to exercise the same power with respect to Countries which are only nominally a part of his dominions cannot be admitted. The former is no more than the lawful exercise of a right inherent in the Sovereign power of every State, the latter is an untenable assumption; and in practice the seizure by the King of Acheen of Vessels trading to those countries on the pretence of it being a violation of the laws of his Kingdom is little short of piracy.

To apply these principles to the Case of the Vessel referred to in your dispatch & to the future proceedings of the King of Acheen, it is necessary to ascertain the coast limits not of the dominions claimed by the King but of the Coast and ports where his authority is actually recognized and obeyed and the Honorable the Governor in Council is accordingly requested to institute the necessary inquiries. If it shall appear that either in the present or in any future case of a similar kind the King has exceeded the bounds of his legitimate authority the British Government will possess the undoubted right of demanding satisfaction and atonement and the propriety and expediency as well as the mode of making and enforcing the demand will be for consideration.

(E3/263-266).

**38. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE CHIEF SECRETARY, THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT,
FORT WILLIAM. 2nd FEBRUARY 1814.**

I am directed by the H. the G. in C. to submit to the notice of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in

Council the circumstances of a case which has recently occurred in this neighbourhood in which Govt. considered it needful to execute interference and which as it embraced points of some importance to the interests of Prince of Wales Island is considered proper should be submitted to the Supreme Govt. and to the Honble. the Court of Directors.

It appears that several Chinese boats belonging to an individual of this Island named "Che Im" in the course of their traffic in various articles of merchandise and with the native ports to the Eastward ultimately touched at Lingin, where they were searched and detained in common with many others which had previously arrived at the same place from Malacca and other quarters by the Company's Cruizer Aurora under the orders of the Government of Batavia with no other alledged cause than that frequent Acts of Smuggling had been practised there of late.

A petition from the individual who was principally interested gave the first intimation to this Gt. of the circumstances which had occurred.

With the imperfect information however which the G. in C. had before him at that period it was considered advisable to refer the subject to the Commandant at Malacca.....

The H. the G. in C. has considered it a customary portion of his duty to correspond with the Eastern Native Princes in the Straits of Malacca of which those of Rhio and Lingin are the principal and the influence of this Gt. has been exercised with them in general cases whenever circumstances rendered the same necessary and since the period of the Capture of Malacca this system has been persevered in. The measures however now pursued have the effect altering the ordinary forms of correspondence and of substituting a new and unaccustomed channel of communication with the Malay States to the Eastward. If in this instance the Lieut. Governor of Java has acted under orders from the Supreme Govt. the G. in C. bows with submission to superior authority, if not it is apprehended that he has stepped considerably beyond the limits of his local jurisdiction.

The immediate influence of this Gt. has been more especially and in repeated instances exercised with the Sultan of Rhio to whom that of Lingin is tributary inasmuch as a most valuable and beneficial trade has been the effect derivable therefrom. The central situation of those places for facilitating the commerce carried on between the Straits of Malacca and the Gulf of Siam which is of considerable extent renders it the more necessary if not indis-

pensible that the same system should be continued which has proved so advantageous in former years and by the restriction of which by the Gt. of Java, at the present period considerable detriment has been occasioned to the commercial interest of this Presidency and the neighbouring settlement of Malacca.

In addition also to the inconveniences resulting from the measures above alluded to, it appears that even the prows and small native trading vessels from this port are subjected in their traffic with the Malay States to the Eastward to all the vexatious demands and the clashing of rival interests which as they could be little expected so were they the less prepared for and it is the opinion of the G. in C. that so long as the interference of Java in the politics of the Malay Rajahs in the Straits of Malacca is exercised so long will the consequences be felt in the continual depreciation of the commerce and revenue derivable at this Presidency from the Eastern trade.

The G. in C. is not aware of any political reasons which may operate to render expedient any interference of the Govt. of Java with places so near Malacca as the States of Rhio and Lingin. Such an interference must tend to hamper the native trade of this neighbourhood and must operate to cause either a considerable diminution of commerce or forcibly to turn off that commerce to a new channel even against the inclinations and wishes of those engaged in it. A general reason has been assigned for the detention of native vessels at Lingin in consequence of a system of smuggling in which it was said that port was principally concerned. Such a general reason might be assigned for the same measures to be pursued with all the Malay Rajahs in the Straits of Malacca all of whom in a certain degree have been addicted to the same practice and to prevent which a regular establishment could alone be effectual, but even allowing such a reason to be well grounded the G. in C. directs me to add that he trusts a representative from this Govt. and a proper course of measures from hence would have weight in the suppression of those practices in a degree equal at least to what may be produced by the interference of force from Java.

(D4/221).

**39. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 21st SEPTEMBER 1814.**

Having agreeably to you Hon: Court's Orders applied to the Govts. of the other Presidencies for Supplies of Cotton Seed in view to Experiments being made as to the advantages to be derived from its Cultivation, We have in obedience to your expressed Wishes and from a desire on our parts to promote the Interests of

Agriculture as much as possible held out inducements to individuals to cultivate the plant to a considerable Extent & We trust at no distant period to be able to report the success of this New Speculation which has been entered into with a considerable degree of alacrity by all descriptions of people.

From all that We are at present acquainted with it appears to us that the price at which We have offered to received the Cotton produce will if accepted by the Merchants afford them a certain advantage while the value at which Cotton is disposed of in the China Market even at the worst seasons leads us to a conclusion that the Company can derive no loss from the Speculation & We have consequently fixed the term of five years for the continuance of our Encouragement at which time We hope the Cultivation will have arrived at the height of its perfection.

We have already made advances to respectable individuals to the extent of SpD 6000 and with the view of preventing any unfair use being made of an indulgence solely intended to assist & to promote the commercial interests of the Island We have established the rate of advances of 10 SpD for every orlong that the individuals may bind themselves to clear and plant with Cotton.

(B3/319).

**40. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE VICE PRESIDENT, FORT WILLIAM.
26th SEPTEMBER 1814.**

Having received from the Lt. Gov. in C. at Batavia copies of his dispatches to the Rt. Hon. the Gov. Genl. in C. on the subject of our representation to his Lordship under date the 5th Feby. last ⁽²⁴⁾, we avail ourselves of the arrival of the H.C.C. Aurora proceeding to Bengal to make such observations as we think are called for from the tenor of the dispatch from that Govt.

In our representation to the Supreme Govt. it by no means enters into our views to interfere with the administration at Banca or with the monopoly of tin which has been established there for the exclusive benefit of the Company. Our object was to preclude too minute an interference from thence and from Java with the states of Rhio and Lingin which form as it were the southern key of the Streights of Malacca and are even reported by the Govt. of Java to have been declared independent.

(24) It seems that the despatch of 2nd February 1814 (No. 38 above) is meant. H. C. C.—Honorable Company's Cruiser.

Let that independence be respected by the authorities to the Eastward and we make no doubt the principal objectives we have advanced in our former communications will be avoided. In the contrary case by the establishment of any agency on the part of the Govt. of Java at these settlements it would effectually tend to discourage the Malay trade passing up the streights by the exercise of a local influence which for the present benefit of Java would prove permanently detrimental to other British Settlements.

The observations of the Lt. Gov. in C. in the 7th and 10th paras. of their dispatch do certainly call for remark. There is no doubt that during the former Govt. of Batavia it became as much a British interest as it is now under existing circumstances the reverse to encourage the resort to this place of vessels laden with the Produce of Banca but we are at a loss to conjecture on what principal this remark was suggested to them at this period except to lead to a suspicion which is absolutely groundless that this practice still continued. We are willing to abstain from the belief that the Lt. Gov. in C. can on reflection really adopt the maxim that by the establishment of a British authority at Java and its dependencies the trade of this presidency and Malacca should necessarily have suffered. We are rather of the opinion that it ought to have had the effect of establishing more permanently the existing advantage of a British settlement.

The observations contained in the dispatch from the Govt. of Java have imposed upon us the ungrateful task of thus bringing to the notice of your Exy. in Council the opinions we would otherwise be averse to entertain of the proceedings to the Eastward, the tenor of our representations to the Supreme Government which has for its object solely a recognition of the equal right of the merchants of this Settlement to engage in trade with all the native ports to the Eastd. unshackled by regulations which must ever be a bar to a free and legitimate commerce when passed by a Govt. having no ostensible controul over the native chieftains could not we had imagined have been calculated to produce such remarks as the Gt. of Java have seen fit to make on our proceedings and on the nature of the trade from hence.

Without presuming too much on the intentions and views of the legislature we may calculate on our occupation of the Island of Java solely for a limited period and in trust for its rightful sovereign and under existing circumstances it may be presumed the time is not far distant when other arrangements will be adopted regarding its future possession.

The regulations by which the whole of the native princes have been more or less restricted in their trade joined to the severe and indiscriminate system which has been adopted in regard to what is termed the piratical habits of the natives will have the effect of deterring for a considerable time the renewal of any intercourse with the British settlements at all events to the extent heretofore practised when the time may come that Java shall cease to be a British possession.

The existing regulations appear now to be established upon the exclusive principle of an uninterrupted possession of that valuable Colony and for the purpose of enriching it at the expense of every other consideration. In the event of its being restored to the Batavian Govt. we have no hesitation in saying that the advantages which have been derived to Java by the measures of its Govt. will have been drawn to it at the expense of every British interest in these Seas, and that it has been therefore aggrandised to the cost and disadvantage of those regular Establishments which had been heretofore the medium of Commerce and which ought to be looked upon as destined hereafter to enjoy the same distinction.

(D5/4-6).

41. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 26th NOVEMBER 1814.

Your Honble Court will observe on our Consultations, an Application to us from Mr. David Brown, for permission to clear some of the Waste Jungle belonging to the Company, for the purpose of establishing Tin Mines.

Mr. Brown has already commenced working in his own Estates. and we have assured him that for such quantity of Land yet unpromised and not granted to Individuals, on which he may establish Tin Mines he shall be considered as the Proprietor, and be entitled to a Grant, if such Documents are hereafter given to individuals.

On the same principle of Encouragement and with the view of extending the benefit to such persons as may be inclined to try the experiment of working Tin on the Island, We have resolved to exempt the produce from any Export Duty during the ensuing five Years, and as it may be reasonably expected that at no very distant period, the advantages to be derived from the Undertaking will be ascertained beyond the possibility of doubt. We shall consider whether it would not be prudent to remove the Duty on Tin altogether from the Export of the Article and of limiting it to the Importation, as is at present the case, with respect to Pepper produce.

(B3/391-392).

42. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE ACTING SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT,
FORT WILLIAM. 1st DECEMBER 1814.

The Commander of the Honble. Company's cruizer Shettra having referred to Government, a letter to his address, which he had received from a foreigner named "Nicholas Fischer" who has lately arrived from Acheen, representing the unusual manner in which the brig "Hero" is navigated to and from this port, and the plundering system provided while that vessel is under the immediate protection and orders of the King of Acheen, I am directed by the Honble. the Governor in Council to enclose copy of the above representation for the information of the Supreme Government.

It appears that the Brig Hero is in possession of a pass and register from this Government, and that the ostensible proprietors of the vessel, are Messrs. Dunbar and Scott, merchants of this Presidency. It would appear also from the deposition, that this pass is made use of only on her trading voyages to this Settlement, but that on the coast of Acheen, the British colours are substituted for others, with which the King of Acheen has furnished her as his own property, and that this alternative change is practised for the most unwarrantable purpose of plundering the native vessels that trade to and from this Presidency with the Achinese territories.
(D5/50).

43. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 6th MAY 1815.

The cultivation of pepper has again commenced with spirit but a considerable time will elapse before it can arrive at the perfection of former years or before an equal quantity can be collected in the year that We have above advised you the produce at present is calculated at about 12 or 14,000 peculs which of course will annually increase.

The Price of Pepper disposeable on the island varies considerably according to its demand and at this time it is as high as $9\frac{1}{2}$ & 10 Drs. P. pecul. The Cargo of pepper loaded for Europe on board the Lady Nugent was purchased @ 10 Drs p. pecul but being previously garbled & cleaned for the home markets it was encreased thereby in price at the rate of 10 P. Cent and stood the Owners in 11 Dr. p. pecul. the advantage of receiving pepper therefore at a fixed and moderate rate for a lengthened period is doubtless superior to trusting to the fluctuations of the Market & to

the capricious dispositions of individuals. We are certainly not aware of the expense incurred by the Company for the pepper supplied on the West Coast of Sumatra but question whether an equally reasonable prospect is afforded from that Source of supply to the present proposal which is now submitted for your Honble Courts approval and determination.

Adverting to the observations of your Honble Court in many of your preceding advices to us We observe that your Objections to the importation of pepper the produce of this Island into England on account of the Company arose not so much from any consideration as to its quality or cost as from the little prospect of a Market, this objection has now ceased to exist and if in the year 1807 and the subsequent periods you were of opinion that 10 or 11 Drs. p. pecul for pepper was more than could be warranted from the expectations of Sale We trust that the present state of affairs will cause an opposite opinion to prevail in this instance.

(B4/71-76).

**44. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 25th MAY 1815.**

It is with great regret we observe throughout the foregoing Letters to which we have been replying so strong a tendency in your proceedings to increase the expenses of your Establishment and this too at a time when every practicable reduction should be effected in order to lessen not to augment them. This disposition appears to arise from a very erroneous idea of approximating your Presidency more closely with those of our other Indian Govts. whilst the means by which this end can alone be attained are totally over looked.

We must decidedly object to this system of expense and positively direct your strictest attention to economy in future in all the different branches of your expenditure. We moreover enjoin you not to incur any expense on account of buildings, encrease of Establishment or allowance or on any other pretence whatever without our previous permission as we shall hold you respectively responsible in your Salaries for any breach of these our positive Orders.

(C2/217-219).

**45. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 13th DECEMBER 1815.**

We are concerned to bring to the notice of your Hon. Court a fresh instance of those tyrannical and arbitrary measures which appear to us to have guided the Conduct of the King of Acheen.

The Commander and Boat's Crew of the Hyder Ally a ship trading to his territories from and belonging to this Port were forcibly detained by that Chief and an attempt was also made by him to plunder the Vessel under the pretence of her Owners being in his debt.

We have now to add that Mr. Cuthbert Fenwick to whom has been and We believe justly ascribed most of the Acts of Aggression on the part of the King has quitted the Service of that Sovereign and is now on this island, he having in consequence of a medical Certificate of extreme illness received our permission to land but he will not be permitted to continue to reside here longer than absolutely necessary for his recovery We have taken the necessary precautionary measures to prevent his return to Acheen & also to ensure his departure from this Presidency to Bengal by an early opportunity.

Since writing the foregoing paragraphs regarding the King Acheen We have to report to your Hon. Court that this Prince has made his appearance at this Presidency having anchored off the Mouth of our Harbour on the afternoon of the 6th inst. attended by two of his Vessels and driven as We have reason to believe from his own Country to seek refuge in our Port it being understood tho' we have received no official advice of the fact that a revolution had taken place at Acheen & that the Chiefs & people there had received and placed on the throne one of the Sons of Syed Hussein⁽²⁵⁾ who had received an invitation to repair to Acheen & who accordingly quitted this Island about a month ago but without having met with the least encouragement from this Govt. in his view upon that Kingdom.

We anxiously await the instructions of the Gov. Genl. in regard to the future arrangements with Acheen our relations with that Country being now in a state of uncertainty very unfavourable to the public & commercial interest of this Settlement.

(B4/143-145).

46. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, TO THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 7th FEBRUARY 1816.

We have taken into our very mature consideration the objects we had in view in 1805, when we established a Separate Government

(25) Syed Hussein was a merchant and prominent citizen of Penang at this time. The truth of the Penang Government's claim not to have aided Syed Hussein is doubtful. See Note to No. 78, below.

for Prince of Wales Island, composed, as in the three principal Settlements of the Company in India, of a Governor and three Members of Council; these appear either totally or partially to have failed, or to be so materially diminished, as to render it necessary, in an economical view, to revise the Establishment at that time formed or since new modelled, in order to ascertain the practicability of an immediate reduction of the expenses, incidental to the maintenance of the Island under the form of Government thus given to it.

One of the principal objects for which the new Constitution of the Government of the Island was framed, was the formation of a Naval Arsenal, for building and repairing His Majesty's Ships in India, an object of great national advantage and of the practicability of which, we, at that time, entertained sanguine hopes. In May 1807, however, we found it necessary to give orders for suspending all operations of this nature, except for two Ships for which Timbers might then have been prepared. And in April 1809, We directed that the construction of Docks should be suspended, until it should be ascertained whether the system of Ship-building would prove permanently beneficial. In January 1810, the Orders for suspending the building of Ships for the Navy were repeated.

In our Instructions of the 18th April 1805, it was stated that indemnification for the additional expenses, attending the formation of the New Government was expected to arise from the Trade in Pepper, Spices and other Articles of Export from Prince of Wales Island; but in February 1807, we apprised you that the unfavourable state of the demand for Pepper, and the great quantities on hand, precluded us from encouraging the exportation of the Article from your Island in March 1809 and in subsequent years further purchases or consignments were for similar reasons, prohibited. Coffee was represented in October 1812 to be an Article equally unfavourable of Sale and at this late period no spices had been sent home.

The produce of the Sales of exports to London from your Island from 1805 is given in No. 1 of the Appendix⁽²⁶⁾ by which it will be observed that in nine years the amount has been £143 only.

From the foregoing observations the result is, as stated in the outset, that the objects we had in view have either totally or partially failed and we in consequence consider that the encreased expence incurred in their pursuit ought now to be reduced.

The expences of the Island from 1805/6 to 1813/4 are given in the account No. 2 in the Appendix,⁽²⁶⁾ which exhibits a net charge within the period, averaging eighty one thousand four hundred and forty eight (81448) Pounds P Ann(um).

The constitution of the Government is the first point which presents itself and though from a consideration of the long services of our present Governor and the length of time Mr. Phillips and Mr. Erskine have held their present situations we shall not make any reduction in their respective appointments, it is our intention, and we accordingly direct that whenever Mr. Petrie shall cease to hold the Government, the Salary of that Office shall be reduced from thirty two thousand (32,000) Dollars Per Annum to thirty thousand (30,000) or Seven thousand and five hundred (£7500) pounds, which exceeds the allowance for Table and other incidental expenses paid to the Lieutent Governor prior to 1803.

We further direct that whenever Mr. Phillips or Mr. Erskine shall vacate their present situations the incomes now attached to those Offices shall be reduced from Sixteen thousand (16,000) Spanish Dollars or four Thousand (4,000) pounds to eight thousand (8,000) Spanish Dollars or two thousand (£2,000) pounds each.

[There follow 43 paras. containing Various detailed directions for retrenchments in individual Departments]

Besides the foregoing retrenchments which the existing state of your Island peremptorily requires there are others which we consider may be effected on a revision of all the Charges of the Island in what are called the contingent expenses of the different Offices and Departments as well as in repairs and erection of Buildings issues of Stores etc., etc. These can only be accomplished on the spot by the exercise on the part of the Government of a vigilant and scrupulous attention to economy in every Department of the Service.

You will not fail upon the receipt of this Letter to take into your immediate consideration the best mode of carrying these our orders into effect, not confining yourselves to the letter only but acting up to the spirit of them in all cases wherein any doubt (should any such arise) may be entertained as to the literal interpretation of our directions.

(26) Below, pp. 62-3.

Appendix No. 1**Profit and Loss upon Imports from Prince of Wales Island
since 1806⁽²⁷⁾**

Cost of lbs. 7444 Pepper imported) in 1806 S. Drs. 5130/5)	£143.	Sale amount £225
Customs	6	Loss 50
Freights & Demurrage	115	
Charges Merchandize in England	11	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£275	£275
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The above Pepper constituted the whole of the Imports into England from Prince of Wales Island—excepting a small sample of Spices, of which no Invoice Value has been transmitted.

**47. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 8th JULY 1816.**

Affairs of Acheen.

Your Hon. Court will observe that the King who has visited this Port, having refitted his Vessels, proceeded to the Pedir Coast, where he has since remained, and that the rival Interests of the two Princes, and the hostile operations they are carrying on against each other, prevent all Commercial Intercourse from hence with that portion of Sumatra, to the great Detriment of the Mercantile Interests of this Settlement, and to the ruin of an extensive and profitable Trade with those parts.

(B4/251-252).

**48. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
SATURDAY, 6th JULY 1816.**

Read the following Letter from Messrs. Brown & Co. applying for a Port Clearance to the Ports on the Pedir Coast.

The following Minutes by the Governor and Members of Council written on the Circulation of the above letter, are recorded (Enter).

(27) This statement, of course, embraces only goods imported by the Company, and not any which may have been imported by the Captains of East Indiamen making use of their privilege tonnage, or by others after the loss of the Company's Indian Shipping monopoly in 1813.

C2, 386-388
To Our Governor and Council
London, 7th Feby. 1816

Appendix No. 2

An Account of the Revenue and Charges

of

Prince of Wales Island

from

1805/6 to 1813/14

	1805/6	1806/7	1807/8	1808/9	1809/10	1810/11	1811/12	1812/13	1813/14
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Civil Charges	..	370,551	347,979	232,229	397,975	353,195	307,895	336,206	366,209
Military Charges	..	48,104	54,059	60,072	63,580	65,580	53,312	67,781	69,058
Buildings and Fortifications	..	13,337	12,305	75,345	65,712	73,789	43,263	50,960	30,151
Total Charges Drs.	..	431,992	414,343	387,646	527,267	492,080	404,470	454,945	465,418
Deduct Revenues and Customs	..	227,306	228,192	355,346	281,487	321,760	274,229	195,564	228,300
Net Charges Drs.	..	204,686	186,151	72,300	245,780	170,320	130,241	259,381	237,118
Expense of Detachments not included above	..	108,321	119,391	153,894	178,035	131,290	124,847	129,658	146,416
Dollars	..	313,007	305,542	226,194	423,815	301,610	255,088	389,039	383,534

Total Nine Years Drs.

2,932,137

Average Drs

323,793 or £81,448

(C2/354-388)

Minute by Mr. Phillips.

It is well known to this Government and to the Mercantile Community of this Presidency that the Sovereignty of Acheen is contested, and that pending the result of the struggle, there can scarcely be said to be any Government whatsoever, Consequently no Security for Person or Property. It is also known that the Ex-King has signified his determination to *seize* such Vessels as he may find trading in the Ports occupied by these he terms Rebels, and this determination he *has long since communicated* to us; under which Circumstances, and the State of misrule in which the whole of that Country is stated to be, I am of Opinion Port Clearance should *not* be granted, and that if the Merchants of this Settlement *knowing these facts*, still feel disposed to expose the Vessels and Property to the uncertainty that may attend resorting to the Achinese Ports, they should do so at their own risk, and uncoun tenanced by this Government.

Minute by W. Erskine.

It is very true the Government and the Public generally here, are sufficiently acquainted with the distracted State of the Affairs on the Pedier Coast, yet I believe myself right in Stating, that no prohibitory injunctions have been promulgated or published here against resorting thither. The Revenues must suffer materially, if we are deprived of the usual intercourse carried on during the present season with that Coast, and the advantages and benefits reaped by American, and other ships. I am therefore induced to propose (with respectful deference to Mr. Phillip's Opinion) to *grant Port Clearances* to such Vessels as have hitherto been employed in this Trade; *cautioning the applicants* of the responsibility *they bring upon themselves throughout the whole of their transactions with either party* issuing at the same time here the most peremptory Orders, that they do not upon any pretence *Ship* or *Cache* any *Ammunition*, or *Warlike Stores* of any description, during the time they may be employed in this traffic. I should consider that any of our Ships of War, visiting that Coast, and finding an English Vessel trading there *without a Port Clearance*, would be justified in at least detaining her.

Minute of the President.

I have read with the attention that is due to the Subject, and to the Opinions of my Colleagues in the Government, the Minutes which they have written on the Application of W. Brown for Port Clearance to a Vessel intending to Sail for the Coast of Pedier. I have given the Subject the best consideration I am capable of, in viewing it as it relates to the Government, and to the interest of the Individual, and under present Circumstances I am of opinion we should improvidently incur the risk of involving

the British Government in consequences desirable to be avoided, from the convulsed and perturbed State of the Government of Acheen, if we were to Sanction Vessels to resort to that Coast, after the formal Notification that has been given of the Conflict in which the Rival Princes are now engaged.

The Secretary will make a Communication to the effect of the above, to Mr. Brown.

Ordered that Messrs. Brown & Co. be informed according to the tenor of the above Minutes.

(A11/3-6).

49. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 8th JULY 1816.

The great Demand for Pepper, has occasioned a general Resort to Prince of Wales Island, for the purchase of that Commodity, and the utmost exertion of our Industrious Cultivators are in full employ, to encrease the Supply from our local means.—The great and progressive endeavours that have been made for this purpose since 1814, and the unremitted continuance of the same have led to great Improvement in the appearance of the Country, and from being in a very impoverished State, the Gardens are now rapidly resuming their former state of Cultivation.

We should be most happy to report that similar Prospects could be looked to, in respect to the Cultivation of Cotton—Various Experiments have been made from the seed obtained from the principal Cotton Districts in India, but hitherto without that success, which we did indulge the Hope might have been found to attend the endeavors to introduce its Culture.—The Seed from Madras and Bombay, after many Trials entirely failed; and that from Bengal, although it bloomed, yet from being continually in that State, and ripening at particular Seasons, requires great labor and trouble, independent of which there is great Difficulty in Separating the Cotton from the Seed itself.

Spices appear to thrive exceedingly well and the produce (particularly of Nutmegs) of a good Quality.—The cultivation of Cloves and Nutmegs is extending fast, and We trust in a few years that Prince of Wales Island will be able to export a Considerable quantity of the latter.—The Cultivators are Sanguine on this point, and are turning their full attention to the means of insuring it, in Consequence of the early Cession of the Molucca Islands to the Dutch Government.

(B4/233-235).

**50. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 18th SEPTEMBER 1816.**

We have duly considered the proposal of Mr. D. Brown a Resident at your Settlement for supplying the Company for a period of Ten Years or during the whole of the present Charter with the annual quantity of from five hundred tons of Pepper up to fifteen hundred tons at a price during the first three years of ten Dollars P. pecul or if the Pepper be garbled⁽²⁸⁾ at the price of eleven Dollars P. pecul and for the remainder of the term the price is proposed to be nine dollars and ten dollars P. pecul for ungarbled and garbled Pepper respectively.

In our Commercial letter of the 9th February 1814 para 54 we have directed that no Investments of any kind be provided but such as shall be specifically ordered by us and as we have not ordered any provision of Pepper from your Island no authority was vested in your Government by which you were justified in making the conditional bargain with Mr. D. Brown for delivery of the Pepper under consideration and in recommending the same to the ratification of the Supreme Government of India.

Our letter to your Government of the 18th Feby. 1807 para 29th informed you "that the price of eleven dollars P. Pecul is much too high to be the fixed standard price for the cultivation in Prince of Wales Island" on that occasion we furnished you with a calculation of the loss which would probably attend purchases of Pepper at that rate of price. we think it a great error in judgment that you have gone so far in an arrangement which if adopted fixes the cost price of your pepper to the Company for a series of Years to come at ten or eleven dollars P. Pecul a price which greatly exceeds the usual and what appears to be the natural cost of Pepper in all other parts of Asia where it is cultivated.

The result of such an Investment of Pepper for the year 1815 would be nearly as follows viz:

Dr. To—prime cost of 500 tons of Black Pepper at
20 Cwt to the ton at the price of eleven
dollars and 5 Sp. Dollars for the pecul is
£ Sterling

23,100

To—Freight upon an Extra Ship (29) at the
estimated price of £18 P. Ton of 16 Cwt.
the ton

11,250

(28) "Garbled"—Pepper which has been sieved and the impurities removed.

(29) i.e. a ship engaged by the Company from the East Indian shipping owners for one or more voyages to meet a special commitment without guarantee of further engagement as distinct from the 'Regular' ships, which were built on the understanding that the Company would make use of them, in effect, for the whole of their useful life. For a discussion of the way in which East Indianmen were obtained and operated by the Company see C.N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, Cambridge 1937.

Early Penang & the Rise of Singapore 1805-1832

67

To—Insurance 3 P. Cent on Prime cost	693
To—Charges and Duties in India say	Nil
(NOTE. there are duties and charges payable but the exact amount is not known in London.)	
To—Interest at 5 P. Cent P. Annum on Prime Cost freight and Insurance for nine months after arrival in England before sales can be realized	1,314
Total Cost and Charges of 500 tons Pepper £ Sterling	36,357
Cr. By Sale of 1,064,000 lbs of Pepper the original quantity less by 5 P. Cent for Wastage) at 7d¼ P. lbs being the price of Company Pepper in London the 20 August 1816.....£ Sterling	32,141
Deduct Charges Merchandize in London 2 P. Cent on Sale	£642
Ware house Rent for 39 weeks on 3367 bags at one penny P. bag p. week.....	£547
	1,189
By Balance being the loss on this transaction for the first year	£ 5,405

It appears from the Proceedings of our Governor General in Council that your letter of the 2nd May 1815 with its enclosures was laid before that Government on the 18th July 1815 and was referred to our Board of Trade for their consideration and report. We also find that the subject was discussed at a meeting of the Board of Trade on the 11th August 1815, in which the Board agree to report their opinion to the Supreme Government in a letter which concluded with noticing that Pepper being obtainable at so much cheaper a rate in Malabar than that tendered by Mr. Brown at Prince of Wales Island is one reason for discouraging the entering into a Contract with him for the provision of this article and that the great fall in the price of Pepper in London in 1815 compared with 1814 is another reason against speculating in the article at present.

(C2/445-455).

51. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM. 29th OCTOBER 1816.

With sentiments of the deepest regret we perform the painful duty of communicating to your Lordship in C. the decease of the Hon'ble W. Petrie Esquire late Governor of this Presidency, on the evening of the 27th instant.

In conformity to the Honble. Court's arrangements, as particularized in the Commission of Government for this Presidency, bearing date the 11th July, 1812, the charge of this Government and its dependencies has devolved on W.E. Phillips Esquire, the senior member of Council, until your pleasure shall be known, and Mr. Phillips has this day accordingly taken the usual oaths and his seat in Council as Governor of Prince of Wales Island.

(D5/201).

**52. FORT CORNWALLIS. AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
16th OCTOBER 1817.**

Minute by the Governor.

From the year 1781 to 1797 various attempts appear to have been made for establishing a connexion with Acheen, but either these were not prosecuted with any great zeal or earnestness, or the state of that Country may have been unfavourable to the attainment of the object.

In 1797 we find the Superintendent of this Island, again bringing the subject under the notice of the Bengal Government, and in a clear perspicuous Dispatch submitted a general view of the Policy of profiting by the Overtures then made by the Regency of the Kingdom (the King being a Minor)

At that particular period when Major MacDonalds reference was submitted it did not suit the view of the Supreme Government to authorize the prosecution of the Overtures then made by the Acheen Government, and the project was therefore for the time laid aside. (30)

From 1798 to 1805, intercourse with Acheen appears to have been carried on, on a very doubtful and uncertain footing, and the Government of that Kingdom, if a state of licentious misrule can be called a Government, to have been distracted by internal convulsion and trouble.

From this period to 1811, it does not appear that any measures were pursued to bring about those relations, which it seemed so desirable to establish; on the one hand, the change of Policy which by this time had taken place in regard to this Settlement, and the abandonment of those views which had heretofore been formed for making Penang, a grand Naval Depot, and on the

(30) Milburn states that Macdonald submitted propositions for a Treaty of Commerce in 1798, but that they were rejected by the Supreme Government. Oriental Commerce, vol. II, p. 328. Anderson in his 'Acheen' (1840) does not mention this, but commences his detailed narrative in 1805.

other, the very unsettled affairs at Acheen, most probably prevented the adoption of any very decided measures till the year 1811, in which, a short time preparatory to the Expedition against Java one of the Civil Servants of this Establishment was deputed on a Mission to the King of Acheen, charged with the delivery of a Letter from the Governor General, and instructed to profit by the occasion for ascertaining the actual state of the Government of Acheen, and the King's personal disposition and character, for frequent complaints had been made by the Merchants trading to the Ports of that country, of great interruption and embarrassment being experienced in their intercourse and trade, and that the King had wholly abandoned himself to the direction and influence of a Mons. L'Etoile, a Frenchman, who had contrived to insinuate himself into the Kings confidence, and guided all his measures.

It will not excite surprize that in such a state of things, in the absence of all fixed and steady rule, a Sovereign wandering about from Port to Port, levying Duties by means of an Armed force, and by this means compelling Traders to resort only to those Ports; expelled from his Capital, and living entirely at Sea; it will not be wondered at, that the Chiefs of the Country should profit by the opportunity to assume independence, and that every species of interruption and vexation should attend the Commerce, and the intercourse carried on with the Kingdom.

If we return to the series of Correspondence held between the King of Acheen and this Government in 1812, 13, 14 and 15, we shall see that the King, then actually an Outcast, and a Wanderer from Port to Port along his Coast, is made to hold a high haughty and insulting language to the local authorities here, loftily asserting his Sovereign rights; threatening vengeance for their infraction, arrogantly prohibiting Commerce with his Country, and as far as a bold, daring and inflated style could evince it, bidding defiance to the British Government.

The order of events now brings us to the period of Captain Cannings Mission,⁽³¹⁾ the result of which established beyond all doubt, the fact that the authority of the King had been formally and solemnly renounced.

(31) Captain Canning was deputed to Achin by the Supreme Government in 1814 to enquire into the affair of the Annapoorney (See Nos. 37-7). to make arrangements "for the prevention of similar proceedings in future", and to negotiate a "Commercial Arrangement" with Achin. He has not able to obtain an audience with the King, and returned to Calcutta without accomplishing anything. See Governor of Prince of Wales Island to Court of Directors, 21st September 1814, and 26th November 1814.

(B₃/314 & B₃/408-9).

The Ambassador nevertheless proceeded to the Kings residence at Tullosamoy where he experienced from this weak infatuated Prince every insult that madness, insolence and folly could suggest. Captain Canning made every effort but without success to open the eyes of this misguided Prince, and to awaken him to a true sense of his Situation, but finding him equally perverse and obstinate, Captain Canning took his departure without having had an interview, and returned to Bengal.

In the month of *August* (1816), a letter was received by the Governor from the Chiefs, bearing date in *July*, repeating the resolution that the Chiefs and people of the Kingdom had taken, never again to obey the orders, nor admit, the rule of the King whom they had dethroned, and entreating that Tunkoo Syed Hussain, (a highly respectable Resident of this Settlement) might be permitted to repair to Acheen, to accept the invitation they at the same time sent him to the Throne. He being, they affirmed the *Grandson* of their legitimate King.

Advice was soon received from Acheen that the Chiefs and Council of the State had welcomed Tunkoo Syed Hussain's arrival with every demonstration of cordiality and respect, and that they had solemnly elected his Son Syf Allum Sovereign of the Kingdom, placed him on the throne and sworn allegiance to him. It might perhaps have been expected that the flight of the late King from his Country, and the solemn inauguration of a new Sovereign—a choice of the Chiefs and the People, would have caused all existing difference to subside, and Peace and Order to take the place of Anarchy and Misrule, but this happy state of things could not suddenly be brought about, in a Country subject as Acheen has so long been to disorder and confusion, and among Chiefs reluctant to part with the power which the weakness of the Government had enabled them to assume.

The expelled and deposed King also taking advantage of the means attainable at a British Port for refitting his Vessels, etc. aided by the resources of his Mother the Queen Dowager, who had also been compelled to fly the Kingdom, and joined her Son here, contrived to put his Vessels in a state that enabled him to cope with the Naval force of his Rival, and instead of proceeding as he had professed his intention of doing, to Bengal returned to the Coasts of Acheen, and has since remained there, carrying on at times a struggle to recover his authority.

We have now traced the course of events to their actual condition at the present moment.

The Deposed King, without a shadow of power or authority is still found residing at one of the Smallest Ports, whilst the new King Syf Allum is yet but *insecurely* seated on the throne, or rather has not yet been able to bring under subjection some of the Chiefs of the Country who have profited, by the long existence of Misrule and Anarchy to consolidate and establish their own independence, free of any Superiors.

From the foregoing detail of events. the following conclusions, seem necessarily to result. First. That important and advantageous as the intercourse and Commerce with the Kingdom of Acheen has proved (and eminently beneficial as it would undoubtedly prove to our Subjects, as well as to the Subjects of Acheen, if regulated on fair and just principles) it has hitherto been carried on, on more than doubtful security, and has been attended with vexation, oppression and injustice, on the part of the Acheen Government towards our Subjects.

Second. That those consequences have been chiefly owing to the personal misrule and misconduct of the Sovereign himself, who resigning his Power into the hands of evil and designing Counsellors, low Europeans of broken Fortunes and abandoned principles, has at their instigation committed acts of plunder and Piracy upon Trading Vessels resorting to his Ports, and that no security can exist for the intercourse and Commerce of British Subjects, until a solemn Treaty be entered into, binding on each Government, and till an accredited Agent on the part of the British Government shall be admitted to reside at the Capital, for the regulation of the Trade.

Third. That if such a Treaty be entered into, on the principles of fair and reciprocal Duties, the Commerce of the two Countries holds out every expectation and promise of becoming a permanent source of advantage to each, and of improving prosperity to the Country of Acheen in particular.

Fourth. That the old King Joahur Allum Shah, has virtually ceased to reign,

Fifth. That Syf Allum Shah, has been formally invited and elected to the throne of Acheen and solemnly seated upon it, and recognized as the Sovereign, and is accordingly the ostensible Ruler of the Kingdom, although his Resources have proved insufficient and inadequate to establish his authority.

Sixth. That from a review of the state of affairs in Acheen, from the year 1781 to 1798 to the present moment, it is quite manifest that a fixed and settled Government, never will nor

can be established over the Country, until the British Government shall take a decided part in support of a legitimate Government, and afford its open countenance and protection.

Seventh. That no opportunity has ever existed more favorable to such an introduction of British Councils and influence than the present and that the *early* interposition of them, is essential to the restoration of the Monarchy of Acheen, and to the tranquility and prosperity of the Kingdom; and that there now exists every well founded belief, that such an arrangement may be effected as will secure to the British Government a permanent influence in the Council of the State, and due Security for its Subjects in their Commerce with Acheen.

(A12/308).

53. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE VICE PRESIDENT. FORT WILLIAM.
24th NOVEMBER 1817.

We have the honor to communicate for your information that John Alexander Bannerman, Esquire appointed by the Honorable the Court of Directors to the situation of Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its dependencies having arrived at this Presidency on board the ship Metcalfe, he has this day duly taken the prescribed oaths, and his seat in Council as Governor and President accordingly.

(D6/43).

54. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
28th DECEMBER 1817.

Minute by Mr. Phillips.

Honored by the call of the Honble the President to submit my sentiments on the subject of the Duties levied upon the Commerce of this Settlement, I now beg leave to offer the suggestions and reflections which have presented themselves to my mind upon a question which I feel to be one of great interest and importance.

At present a drawback is allowed in Calcutta upon the Duties payable on importation there, equal to the amount of the duty *previously paid here*, but the principle on which this arrangement is founded, is obviously not consistent with a fair regard to the Revenues of this Island, whilst it subjects the Mercantile community to considerable inconvenience and loss, which would be remedied by an equalization of Duties, and by the rule, that the rate of Import Duty on all Goods and Merchandize imported here, whether on British or Foreign Bottoms, should be precisely similar

to whatever the Supreme Government and the other Presidencies may determine as the rates of Duty on Importation of the same Articles at those Presidencies, and that Goods having paid the Duty here, should be admitted into the Territories of British India free of all further duty, in like manner as having paid Duties on Importation at other Presidencies.

The Duties levied here, have hitherto been chiefly on the Exports, in order that the Malays and other *Native* Importers might be subjected to as little importunity as possible and although perhaps this is now of less consequence, it may probably be considered preferable to levy the enlarged duty also on the Export, in order to continue as at present the same facilities to the Malays and Eastern Traders. In this mode the equalized Duty could be paid on Exportation for any of the Company's Ports, and Certificates of the payment given, and if for England, China or elsewhere only the present rate of Duty levied.

Although the Revenues of this Settlement have not hitherto been so considerable as they might certainly have been, nor equal to its Expenditure—it would nevertheless be unfair to estimate its importance and value simply by that standard. Excepting altogether at this time, the political importance of the Island, which has been so ably and substantially determined, if we confine our view to its Commercial consequence, it will appear of considerable magnitude and far greater, I apprehend, than has been usually estimated, forming as it does, a medium of Connexion between the Honble Companys Territories in India, the countries adjacent to us and the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago—and a mart through which the products and manufactures of India are vended and circulated to a very large extent, as well as many Articles, the produce and manufacture of Great Britain.

It might perhaps be contended, that even if this Establishment did not exist, this trade would have been carried on to an equal extent, by Vessels belonging to the different Ports of India, but such an opinion will on examination, be found not to be correct. Although those Vessels continue to carry on such trade, and with many advantages over the Vessels belonging to this Port, particularly by not being subject to the additional duties levied here, both of Import and Export, still the trade to and from this Port is very considerable, as will be seen by a reference to the annexed detailed Statement, and it may be fairly stated that nearly to the extent of this trade, the Sale and circulation of the produce and manufacture of India and England, is greater than what it would be, if the Establishment did not exist, since besides the trade carried on through the Shipping of the Port, and other

Native Vessels and Prows that resort here to purchase Commodities, the Capital and Agency employed here is consequently considerable, as will be understood when it is considered that of one Article alone from Bengal, viz Opium, not less than 1 seventh or Eighth of the whole quantity annually made and sold is purchased and brought down here. Besides the Bengal Piece Goods, Piece Goods from Coromandel Coast, to a very considerable extent are annually sold here.

The value of this Settlement ought not therefore to be considered solely by the amount of the *Revenues* collected—although those Revenues are susceptible of improvement, but with regard also to the wealth introduced through it to the Province of India, and the Spur consequently given to the industry of their Inhabitants, as well as with a consideration of the benefit resulting to our Manufactures at home, by the encreased Sale of English Staple. (A13/10-21).

55. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD
19th FEBRUARY 1818.

Minute by the President.

An attentive examination of the different Public Departments under this Government has fully convinced me that by measures of Economy and retrenchment only, we cannot hope to recover our Establishment from its present discreditable state of Bankruptcy. We must do more. We must endeavour to devise judicious and prudent means for augmenting our Receipts, by improving our existing Resources, and encreasing our sources of Public Revenue. There is always something odious in proposing systems of Taxation; but I am determined not to allow that consideration to divert me from fulfilling the Duty my regard for the prosperity of the Settlement, as well as for the interests of the Honble Company leads me to view as incumbent.

The Inhabitants of this Island possess valuable tracts of land under the most advantageous tenure, the same having originally not cost them any thing, and now, generally not charged with any quit Rent. Of the three descriptions of Tenure by which Lands are held on this Island only *one* of them pays the insignificant annual quit Rent of *one* Spanish Dollar. They enjoy the benefits of Peace and Security under the protection of a suitable military force, an Extensive Police Establishment, and a mild administration of Civil and Criminal Law, which are all supported by the Company at an enormous expence. They further derive every comfort and convenience from Excellent Public Roads and Bridges, likewise maintained by the Company at a considerable expence, and

they are not even subject to Export Duties for their valuable Colonial produce.

For these important advantages, they have never been called upon to make the smallest return. Now, however, that our Resources have proved for several years wholly inadequate to support our Expenditure, it surely cannot be impolitic or unjust to require every Man in our Community to contribute to the wants of the State, according to his circumstances.

But as the Act of Parliament⁽³²⁾ precludes the Board from levying any Taxes at this Presidency, without the previous sanction of the Honble Court and H.M. Commissioners, I beg to propose that a Committee, to be composed of the Collector, the Accountant and the Paymaster be nominated to review our Resources in possession, and the means of rendering them as productive as possible; and to suggest other means for encreasing our Revenue, by reporting whatever appears to its judgment fair and equitable objects of Taxation; whether appertaining to Luxury or to general consumption. This Committee should be particularly requested to consider and examine the following objects: on some of which I conceive, Imposts may be judiciously applied.

Stamps to be used.

1. On all Judicial Processes in the Recorder's Court, and Court of Requests.
2. On all Receipts or Payments of Money, exceeding a certain amount.
3. On all Transfers of Property.....
4. On all Sales of Goods, Wares or Merchandize, sold at more than one months credit, or which are not paid for within a month.
5. On all Donations of immoveable Property, as well as on all Marriage Contracts, when any of the Parties are benefited with any immoveable Property.
6. On all assignments of Bonds, Debts and Interests of all Kinds, if on Security of immoveable Property; as well as assignments of Effects, if immoveable; assignment of a Ship or Vessel or a part thereof.
7. On all Mortgages of Houses Lands and Ships.

Taxes.

1. On all Goods sold by Public Auction.

(32) 53 Geo III cap. 155, paras 98-100, the Act renewing the Company's Charter and putting an end to the Indian trading monopoly.

2. On all Horses, Carriages, Houses, Lands, Gardens, Plantations, Fruit Trees, Timber, Bricks etc. etc.
3. On all Passes to Chinese, Chooliahs or other Native Inhabitants quitting the Island with accumulated gains, and without certifying Sickness or Poverty.
4. On any other proper objects of general consumption.

Assessments.

1. For Roads, Bridges and other Public Works.
2. On Rents of Houses, Lands etc.

(A13/171).

56. SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.
26th JUNE, 1818.

Considering the probability of an early cession of Malacca to the Dutch Government and the propriety of obviating any disadvantages to the British trade which such an event might occasion, the Governor in Council has determined to employ the influence of this Government to form with the principal Chiefs in this neighbourhood, such commercial arrangements as may secure the unrestricted liberty of commerce, under any circumstances which may arise.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to transmit to you for the notice of the Supreme Government, the enclosed copy of instructions which have been furnished for the guidance of Mr. Cracroft, who is proceeding on this duty to the neighbouring states of Perak and Salengore, as likewise copies of the Letters addressed to the Chiefs of those States, and the Draft of a Commercial Treaty which is the object of his mission.⁽³³⁾

Similar instructions will be given to Major Farquhar,⁽³⁴⁾ who will personally undertake the mission to the Malay States further to the Eastward, and I am particularly directed to represent to the Supreme Government, that the early resumption of Malacca by the Dutch confirmed as it lately was by Mr. Commissioner Van Braam (when touching at this port on his passage to Java) appeared in the judgment of the Governor in Council to call on him for the immediate adoption of measures, whose objects might be frustrated by the smallest delay, but which bearing virtually a political tendency, he would under any other circumstances have previously

(33) See No. 59 below.

(34) Farquhar was British Resident at Malacca, which was handed back to the Dutch on 21st September, 1818.

submitted for the consideration of the Governor General. Whilst the Governor in Council however trusts that his Lordship in Council will perceive the motives which suggested an omission in this instance of that deference and high respect, which it is his anxious wish, as much his duty always to shew to the Supreme Government, he at the same time hopes that the extreme urgency of the case, will justify him in His Lordship's opinion, for the responsibility he has ventured to assume.

I am further desired to request you will draw the special notice of the Supreme Government to the 9th paragraph of the Governor's Minute enclosed, in which he has so clearly exhibited the propriety and necessity of entering into direct negotiations with the King of Siam. The Governor in Council is fully sensible of the great advantages which would be derived to the Eastern trade by the opening of a friendly intercourse with that powerful state, and the increase and encouragement which it would occasion to the Commerce of this Presidency, and.....the Governor in Council now begs earnestly to recommend to His Lordship's consideration, the measure of authorising this Government to despatch at an early period a Mission to the Court of Siam. The objects of this Mission may not only be commercial with a view to anticipate the American traders, and secure the greatest benefits to the British interests to the eastward, but they may embrace many important points, tending to strengthen our relations with the neighbouring Malay States, augment the British influence in this Quarter or promote such other political views as His Lordship in Council shall be pleased to confide to the discretion of this Government.

(D6/104).

**57. SULTAN JOHOR ULALAM SHAH, KING OF ACHEEN
TO THE GOVERNOR OF PENANG. 11th JULY 1818.**

I beg to acquaint my friend that my affairs and my country of Acheen are at present in a most disordered State any my losses have been extreme in consequence of Syed Hussein's son coming here about three years ago and ruining the country. For that long period of three years I have been unable to collect any duties in consequence of these difficulties. In former times I was in the habit of collecting a yearly revenue to the amount of sixty thousand dollars from my own country and I am now residing quietly at Pedir.

Should my friend be desirous of sending any of his ships here to trade I beg he will permit them to come and not be apprehensive of their safety. Should any accident happen to them or to any of my friend's people or should the people of this country

be guilty of any misconduct towards them I will inform him. Do not my friend be afraid but send ships here to trade.

Further all vessels sailing to and fro from West to East he (meaning Syed Hussein's son) stops them halfway and forces them to go to Tellasamoy. If these ships are not willing to proceed to that place he fires upon them and plunders them although under English colours. Such are his proceedings even against English vessels.

Moreover I have to inform my friend that when Syed Hussein's ships came to Acheen they had English colours but upon his arrival he substituted other colours and seized and plundered all my people who were seeking a livelihood at sea. He was guilty of every sort of excess and committed such depredation in my Kingdom that I was naturally anxious to check him and to punish him for his misconduct but I was fearful of doing so as he had English colours.....

(F1/76).

**58. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT.
FORT WILLIAM. 16th JULY 1818.**

By direction of the Honorable the Governor in Council, I have the honor to transmit via Madras, by His Majesty's Ship Fowey, the annual estimate of the receipts and disbursements of this Presidency for the current official year, and to request that in laying the same before the Vice President in Council, you will also communicate the following observations.

The Hon'ble the Governor in Council being of opinion, that it would prove more convenient, as well as highly important to the true interests of this settlement, if the expenses actually and bona fide appertaining to it should be always kept as distinct and unconnected as possible, from the charges incurred by this Government⁽³⁵⁾ on account of other Presidencies, he has therefore with this view instructed the Accountant to draw out the annual estimate of receipts and disbursements on two separate papers, numbered 1 and 2, in which shapes this document will in future be transmitted to the Supreme Government.

In the estimate No. 1. you will observe, a sum of (Dollars 160,000) One hundred and sixty thousand dollars is required to meet the expences of the Island for the current year.....

(D6/111).

(35) i.e. Charges to upkeep of convicts from Presidencies of India, and pay of troops from those Presidencies, plus other contingencies.

59. COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH PERAK.
30th JULY 1818.

TREATY of Commercial Alliance between the Honble English East India Company and His Majesty the Rajah of Perak settled by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracroft in virtue of power delegated to him by the Honble John Alexander Bannerman Governor of P. W. Island and its Dependencies—Done on the 2nd of Ram-la-an 1233, answering to the evening of the 30th July, 1818.

Article 1st:

The peace and friendship now subsisting between the Honble-English East India Company and His Majesty the Rajah of Perak shall be perpetual

Article 2nd:

The vessels and merchandize belonging to British subjects or persons being under the protection of the Honble East India Company shall enjoy in the ports and dominions subject to His Majesty the Rajah of Perak all the privileges and advantages which are now or may at any time hereafter be granted to the subjects of the most favored nations.

Article 3rd:

The vessels and merchandize belonging to the subjects of His Majesty the Rajah of Perak shall always receive similar advantages and privileges with those in the preceding Article as long as they are in the harbour of Fort Cornwallis and in all other places dependent on the British Government of Prince of Wales Island.

Article 4th:

His Majesty the Rajah of Perak agrees that he will not renew any absolute and interrupted Treaties with other Nations, Public Bodies or Individuals the Provisions of which may in any degree tend to exclude or obstruct the trade of British subjects who further shall not be burthened with any impositions or duties not levied on the subjects of other States.

Article 5th:

His Majesty the Rajah of Perak further engages that he will upon no pretence whatsoever grant a monopoly of any articles of trade or commodities the produce of his territories to any person or persons—European, American or natives of any other country, but

that he will allow British subjects to come and buy all sorts of merchandize the same as other people.

[Articles 6-8 omitted]

(F1/70).

(Maxwell & Gibson, Treaties & Engagements, 20-21).

**60. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT,
FORT WILLIAM. 19th SEPTEMBER 1818.**

With reference to my letter of the 26th June last,⁽³⁶⁾
I am now directed to request you will lay before His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copies of a Treaty of Commercial Alliance, concluded with the States of Perah and Salengore, by Mr. Cracroft of this establishment, and with the Rajahs of Rhio, Lingen and Siack, by Major Farquhar, Resident of Malacca.,

The Hon'ble the Governor in Council anticipates the satisfaction of the Supreme Government at the successful accomplishment of this measure, which was undertaken from no improper views of ambition, or unjust aggrandisement, but solely for the purpose of establishing and securing a freedom of commerce at the ports of the surrounding Malay States. He also trusts the Supreme Govt. will observe that the considerations which decided him not to delay these Missions by a previous reference to His Lordship in Council, have been fully verified in the instance of Pontiana⁽³⁷⁾, where the Dutch anticipated and completely frustrated our views.

The extraordinary assumption of the place by the Netherlands Government of Java, contrary to the will of its monarch, will no doubt prove to His Lordship in Council the necessity of the British Government in India, watching with some care and jealousy, the powerful efforts which the Dutch are now making in every part of the Eastern seas, to extend their influence and possessions, and supplant the credit and trade of every other European nation. To accomplish these ends, they are in possession of abundant means, by the arrival of a large reinforcement of troops from Europe, and as it appears by the last accounts from Java, that this Power has already interposed an European force of upwards of 12000 men between China and our Indian possessions, it need not be pointed out to His Lordship in Council, that the high road to our great

(36) See No. 56 above.

(37) Pontiana—Pontianak, West Coast of Borneo. The Dutch had had a factory and fort here from 1774 to 1791, when it was given up as unprofitable.

China trade will be soon effectually commanded by the Dutch, if they pursue their present system of conquests, and continue to multiply their establishments to the Eastward.

Apprized as the Honorable the Governor in Council now is of the ambitious schemes of the Dutch, he is fully prepared to expect that it will be one of the first objects of their policy upon taking possession of Malacca to extend their power over the greatest portion of the Malay Peninsula, and the adjoining Islands. The Commercial alliances lately formed with several of the neighbouring Malay Chiefs would under ordinary circumstances secure the commercial interests of this port, but if the Dutch determine to adopt against the States of these Princes measures of force and violence, similar to those they have lately executed at Pontiana, it will be a question of great importance and delicacy, how far this Government would be justified in interfering should its protection be solicited by the Chiefs, and to such a measure the Rajah of Salengore already appears by Mr. Cracroft's report to be prepared to have recourse. In order to prevent the Dutch from pleading ignorance hereafter of the state of our relations with these Chiefs, Major Farquhar has been directed to furnish a copy of the treaties above mentioned to the Commissioners now at Malacca, Admiral Wolterback, and Mr. Timmerman Thyssen, but the Honorable the Governor in Council is particularly solicitous to obtain His Lordship's instructions as to the line of conduct it would be most expedient for this Government to pursue, if the Dutch should notwithstanding manifest a disposition to annul our commercial engagements, by assailing the political rights of these Chiefs, and especially as there is reason to apprehend that under the pretext of certain obsolete treaties with the neighbouring Chiefs of Perah and Salengore, they will endeavour to seize other States as dependencies of Malacca.

I am further directed by the Honble the Governor in Council to enclose a copy of a letter addressed by Major Farquhar to the Governor, recommending upon various grounds the occupation of Carimon Island as a protection and balance against the growing influence and power of the Dutch in the Straits of Malacca.

Although the establishment of a station at this point would be highly advantageous for the reasons Major Farquhar has addressed and the possession of the Island would be obtained from the Rajah of Johore without much difficulty, yet as the expence of forming a Settlement on an uninhabited island would be enormous, and the insulated situation of Carimon and its remoteness from all support would require a considerable military force to guard it against the large fleet of piratical prowes, infesting that part of the Straits,

as well as against the natives of the adjoining countries, the Honorable the Governor in Council under these circumstances can only request permission to refer the subject entirely to the superior judgment of the Supreme Government.

He deems it however proper to express his decided conviction that some arrangements ought to be immediately made to prevent the Dutch at Malacca having recourse to their former system of compelling all prows, junks and other native craft to touch at that port on their passage to and from this island and as this power has now a larger naval force, in these seas, including two or three line of battle ships (one of which and two frigates are now lying at Malacca) the Hon'ble the Governor in Council further strongly recommends to the Supreme Government, that application be made to His Excellency the Naval Commander in Chief to station a ship of war at this port in order to give countenance and protection to British commerce, and offer security to all vessels navigating these straits under English colours.

The Honorable the Governor in Council also seizes this opportunity of forwarding the copy of a letter addressed to the Governor by His Netherlands Majesty's Commissioners at Malacca and his reply thereto. The letter of the Commissioners deserves peculiar notice, as dwelling with such frequency on the term dependencies of Malacca which there is little doubt they mean hereafter to apply to the neighbouring independent States of Perah and Salengore.

(D6/125).

61. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 14th OCTOBER 1818.

It was of course gratifying to us to be informed that a general improvement had taken place in Your Revenues in the Year 1815/16, and that you anticipated a further augmentation in the succeeding Year. We learn however from your subsequent Advices that instead of an encrease there has been a material defalcation from the usual amount. You state this deficiency to have been in a great degree occasioned by the operation of the Regulation passed at your Presidency in Consequence of the orders for the general reduction of the Duties throughout India.....

(C3/286-287).

62. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE RAJAH OF KEDAH. 21st OCTOBER 1818.

I must...acquaint my friend that Inche Mohamed Penghulu of Kroh sent me a letter some time ago making a voluntary offer

to supply this Government with a quantity of tin the produce of the Patani country; and that after much deliberation I accepted it agreeing to pay for the same when brought and received on the south side of the Qualla Mooda river partly in dollars partly in opium and piece goods. These things were therefore placed on board two boats under a guard of Company's sepoys. Before dispatching them however as I heard my friend had farmed the revenues of Qualla Mooda to a Chinese inhabitant of this place named Che Toak, I sent for him in order to pay him his duties and settled all his just dues, but an answer was brought to me from his house stating that he had gone to Kedah where my friend had summoned him.

As I was very anxious that no delay should take place in this affair I resolved to satisfy the just demands of the Chinese on his return from Kedah and ordered the boats to sail believing that the high character of the British Government would assure him and all his people that there was no intention to evade the payment of his duties at Qualla Mooda, which would be certain of being discharged the moment their amount was represented and therefore that none of them would dare to molest the boats when they saw a party of Company's sepoys in charge of the property they contained.

My friend will hear with great surprise that on the arrival of these boats at Qualla Mooda the servant of the Chinese stopped them and had the audacity to seize the whole of the goods including the dollars and to take them away from the sepoys on shore.

I now learn from Che Toak that he will suffer much loss if the Company trade with Patani as he makes an exclusive monopoly of the trade and navigation of the Mooda river imposing a duty of twenty per cent on all merchandise trading up and down.

My first object is to ask my friend for immediate redress against the Chinese Farmer who has dared to commit such an act of violence as to seize and detain, in my friend's territories, the property of servants belonging to the India Company.

I must further acquaint my friend that a duty to such an exorbitant amount as twenty per cent is equivalent to an actual prohibition of all trade in the Qualla Mooda. My friend I hope has only farmed to this Chinaman the retail of all commodities consumed in his own territories and has not conferred on him the right of imposing arbitrary duty to any amount on all goods proceeding beyond his kingdom and passing up and down the Mooda river, for my friend's own good sense and long acquaintance with the justice and moderation of this Government must teach him that I am representing only what is right and proper when I

tell him that it is not customary for one state being in friendship with another to shut it out by any means from trading or holding intercourse with a third state in mutual amity, as my friend seems to have done in regard to Penang and Patani, and further that it is not consistent with the relations of amity and particularly with such intimate relations as subsist between Kedah and Penang which are in fact one country for one state to exact more than a fair consistent and equal rate of duties on the merchandise of another friendly state as my friend has done by means of this Chinaman.

The British Government cannot wish to injure this Chinaman and is therefore ready to pay him any consistent duty at Qualla Moodah, but they cannot allow their own subjects to possess or exercise a right so prejudicial to their own interests and so inconsistent with that reciprocity which ought always to govern the relations of amity subsisting between the two states as the power of imposing arbitrary duties at Qualla Moodah and of excluding by this means trade and intercourse between the India Company and Patani and the other friendly states in the interior. My second object therefore is to request my friend will fix the rate of duties to be levied in his territories at Qualla Moodah in conformity to justice reason and the custom of nations; and if he has been led to transfer to this Chinaman the right before mentioned to the prejudice of the friendship and the reasonable claim of the India Company I request my friend will make some amicable arrangement by persuading the Chinaman to compromise so extraordinary and inconsistent a power for some pecuniary consideration, in which this Government will be most ready to afford any reasonable assistance as nothing is further from their intentions than to injure the property or just gains of any individuals. I hope my friend will have the goodness to comply with these my reasonable requests.

(G1/45-54).

**63. THE RAJAH OF KEDAH TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 29th NOVEMBER 1818.**

My friend's letter reached me on the 13th Mohursum and I understood its contents. To this end I sent a letter to Che Seong and Che Toak desiring them to restore my friend's goods forthwith so that my friend might send them to the place whither he wished to take them and I desired Che Seong and Che Toak to received the Duties upon them according to custom. The custom of imposing these duties on Tin is not newly imposed by me but has been so from formerly and have been levied on all persons exporting Tin. I acquainted my friend with this on his own enquiry but now my friend desires they may be decreased to five Dollars Pr Bhar and I really cannot do anything further for this business must rest with Che Seong and Che Toak only for

I have given them a Farm of the Qualla Mooda — I formerly acquainted my friend that I could not at all alter the farm till the expiration of its term of five years. I have given no further powers to them than what is written in the Farm agreement, this I cannot at all alter; if I was to attempt to re-purchase it, to my mind it would not be right and would be as if I wished to set aside the agreement and this would be a great disgrace to me and would be said always by all persons to be contrary to custom. If I incur disgrace it will be the same to my friend for my friend and I are on terms of amity. When the term of the Farm is expired however I may act and it will not signify; but it is not lately that I have given this Farm to Che Seong and Che Toak but some time since and all the Company's subjects in Penang know it and I have not heard anything against my so doing. Moreover as to my friends request that I should send an Agent to receive the Duties I am quite unable to take such a step at present for I cannot alter the agreement of the Farm. On this account I cannot send an Agent but hope for my friend's indulgence so that I may not be obliged to deviate from a custom established by an agreement from the first. Should I do so I should incur great disgrace which would never end but would last to future times in every man's Mouth.

(F1/145-152).

64. THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM TO MAJOR FARQUHAR, LATE RESIDENT OF MALACCA. 28th NOVEMBER 1818.

The Governor General in Council has perused with much satisfaction & approbation the Report of your Negotiations with the Chiefs of Rhio Lingin & Siack, under the instructions of the Governor in Council of Prince of Wales Island.⁽³⁸⁾

It is the wish of His Lordship in Council to secure the benefit of your experience & talents, in confirming and improving the relations thus established through your Agency. I am accordingly directed to request that you will accompany Sir Stamford Raffles on the Mission to which he is about to proceed to Rhio with a View to your remaining in the Local charge of the British Interests in that quarter under the general Superintendence of the Lieut. Governor of Fort Marlbro',⁽³⁹⁾ after the conclusion of the further arrangements which Sir Stamford Raffles has been instructed to endeavour to accomplish.

It is His Lordship's intention that you shall receive the same Allowances as were drawn by you at Malacca and it is the hope of

(38) The negotiations referred to are these leading up to the conclusion of the Commercial Treaty of 1818. See Nos. 56, 59 & 60 above.

(39) Bencoolen.

65. THE COLLECTOR TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 28th December 1818. (A14/341)

A Statement of the description and value of Goods, and Merchandise which have Annually passed the Custom House at P.W. Island for the last 9 Years.										
Articles	Value in 1809/10	Value in 1810/11	Value in 1811/12	Value in 1812/13	Value in 1813/14	Value in 1814/15	Value in 1815/16	Value in 1816/17	Value in 1817/18	Remarks
Pepper	- - - - - 115,592 "	110,704 10	80,229 20	105,190 "	134,420 40	121,802 70	147,011 50	53,800 60	106,869 60	This is exclusive of the
China Articles	- - - - - 126,229 "	99,356 "	81,765 34	98,065 20	129,155 67	136,373 17	135,687 25	60,420 34	70,459 90½	Pepper of the Island
Europe Articles	- - - - - 151,348 50	127,095 45	177,391 40	112,806 90	79,898 65	163,991 30	131,277 "	166,733 20	105,565 24¾	now little less than
India Articles	- - - - - 121,057 75	357,444 45	537,400 75	330,887 "	318,800 38	297,053 62½	333,104 28	315,434 94	531,811 25½	18,000 Peculs, which
Oil, Ghee, Hogshead	- - - - - 39,211 25	44,292 75	22,444 80	21,334 "	29,817 80	24,049 20	28,885 40	18,918 30	19,296 94	is Sp. D. 180,000 at
Tobacco	- - - - - 31,021 25	24,142 35	28,322 80	23,359 65	58,410 95	23,360 90	26,173 "	27,649 70	23,924 21	10 Dollars per pecul
Salt	- - - - - 16,668 75	66,166 "	9,985 "	9,293 75	11,039 06	10,423 43¾	12,712 50	6,625 "	13,980 "	also many Europe
Tin	- - - - - 293,679 50	360,060 90	425,342 40	277,177 75	288,880 28	213,203 10	374,367 10	336,356 30	241,845 27¾	Articles entirely
Opium	- - - - - 499,524 "	560,790 "	411,273 "	787,920 "	323,938 "	397,258 "	540,000 "	466,500 "	468,500 "	exempted from duties
Rattan	- - - - - 63,606 50	33,004 70	62,955 20	57,644 25	58,910 34	39,875 20	43,103 10	16,162 60	23,951 72	and of which no
Beclenut	- - - - - 67,660 75	127,750 10	52,115 60	102,259 25	158,144 50	186,152 80	125,389 20	72,300 60	50,145 46	account is taken at
										the Custom House.
Total Sp. Drs.	1,523,599 25	1,911,715 80	1,889,225 49	1,925,877 75	1,591,435 95	1,617,423 43¾	1,895,740 33	1,575,911 58	1,656,349 61½	

The result of the above Statement exhibits an average sum of One Million Seven hundred, and thirty thousand and Nine hundred and thirty one Dollars, and two pice,

His Lordship in Council that your arrangements will admit of your undertaking the charge proposed, at least during the infancy of the New Establishment.

(L14/85-86).

**66. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT,
FORT WILLIAM. 30th DECEMBER 1818.**

The Hon. the Governor in Council cannot but view the actual and (as it may seem) the forcible possession by the Dutch of the ports of Rhio, Lingen, Johore and Pahang and of their dependencies, without the deepest concern, sensible as this Government has reason to be of the preference which the British Government would under other circumstances have obtained at those ports respectively, if the employment of power by the Dutch had not rendered their resistance unavailing.⁽⁴⁰⁾

His Lordship in Council will no doubt perceive that to the Eastward of this Island at present, there is not a single port or place open to the British merchant that is not under the military control of the Netherlands Government, which has besides every means in a very superior military and naval armament of frustrating any attempts of the British Government to negotiate even a commercial alliance with any one of the States in the Eastern seas. To execute therefore among them any political arrangements as a counterpoise to the influence of that nation, it is needless to disguise, is now beyond the power of the British Government in India.

Since writing the foregoing paragraph, the Governor in Council has received intelligence from Malacca, which refers to an expedition, that has been fitting out at that Settlement, the object of which was of a secret nature. It appears however that the same had sailed from Malacca, and was then ostensibly bound to Rhio. The arrival at this Presidency of a Portuguese ship from Malacca, has conveyed to us the information that the same equipment had

(40) The Dutch did not in fact occupy Johore or Pahang. They had compelled the reigning sovereign at Rhio, through the Bugis "Underking", with whom the Commercial Treaty of 1818 had been negotiated, to take a Dutch Resident and garrison, and to acknowledge Dutch suzerainty. This suzerainty the Dutch claimed extended to all parts of the old Johore Empire. But Raffles, to obtain a valid right to Singapore, recognised the elder Brother of the Sultan of Rhio to be the lawful claimant to the Johore Empire. In effect the Empire was split in two parts; a ruler under Dutch control sat in Rhio, giving the Dutch effective jurisdiction over the Islands South of Singapore, and a ruler under Raffles' aegis controlled Johore. For a detailed exposition of the subject, not strictly relevant here, see Winstedt, *History of Malaya*, 168-172, and Mills, *British Malaya*, 1824-67, pp. 56-58.

been passed by that vessel of Cape Rachado, which is an assurance that the object of it was quite different, and it remains to be proved whether the River of Perah, or even the Coast of Acheen may be the destination of the vessels.

(D6/152).

67. CHOU PIA PAKLUNG, MINISTER OF THE RAJA OF SIAM TO THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. JANUARY 1819.

In the last year the Sheikh Mahomed Nakhoda of a Surat ship brought a letter and a few presents from your Honor the Governor of Penang. If your Honor is willing to send ships to trade here I shall be most happy to receive them. His Majesty the Emperor has ordered me to send this letter to your Honor and to say that he thankfully receives the letter and presents and has sent your Honor a Pecul of Ivory and a Bhar of Tin as a sign of his friendship, and that if your Honor likes to send ships to trade either at Siam or Ligor you are welcome; that Musquets will be good for merchandize as well as anything else, except Opium which is prohibited.

(F1/161-3).

68. THE SECRETARY OF PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM. 22nd JANUARY 1819.

Since the failure of Mr. Cracroft's Mission to the State of Perah⁽⁴¹⁾, the subsequent conquest of that country by the Quedah forces has been effected, and the Governor in Council has been induced by views of public advantage to the Honorable Company and the prosperity of this Island to establish an Agency in that country and the surrounding States for the purpose of bringing to this port the extensive produce of those countries, in the article of tin, which since the cession of Banca to the Dutch has become an article scarcely now to be procured by the merchants.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to acquaint you that in the prosecution of this arrangement the Agent for tin, Mr. Anderson of the Civil Establishment has pressed upon the attention of this Government, the importance in many views of our occupy-

(41) The mission of 1818 was a failure in that, although a Commercial Treaty was concluded, Cracroft failed to persuade the ruler of Perak to send formal tribute to Siam, and so avoid continuance of the war with Kedah (a vassal of Siam) which was disrupting the Malayan trade of Penang, particularly the tin trade. See Cowan, Governor Bannerman and the Penang Tin Scheme, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch*, 1950, Part I.

ing the Island of Pankour, which lies at the mouth of the great Perah River.

The late appearance at Perah of a Mission from the Dutch Government at Malacca, and the failure of that Mission in the objects for which it was dispatched, are no longer matters of speculation. They are officially brought to the notice of this Government, in a report from Mr. Anderson, which I have the honor to enclose, together with copies of the correspondence of the Dutch Agent with the Perah Government.

The Governor in Council would consider the dignity of the British Government to be materially lowered, if a Dutch establishment were formed on a spot which approaches so close to Prince of Wales Island, as to be almost within sight, and although the Governor in Council cannot recognise the existence of any right which the Dutch may set up to occupy the place certainly the recent conquest of the country by the forces of Quedah, places the question of claim entirely out of view.

The Hon. the Governor in Council directs me to add that the great importance of holding possession of this commanding spot, would have induced this Government to occupy it at once, but the positive instructions recently received from the Supreme Government, to avoid the possibility of a collision with the Dutch authorities, has urged the propriety of making a pause, and of referring the matter for the consideration of the Supreme Government in the first instance.

But I am instructed to notice the anxious wish of the Hon. the Governor in Council, that the decision of His Lordship in Council may be made known concerning this question at the earliest practicable period. The continual depredations and acts of piracy, which are now committed at sea between the Island of Pankour, and this Presidency, will be materially if not entirely prevented, by the establishment of a British post at Pankour, and by the constant communication which will necessarily be opened between the two places.

(D6/161).

**69. PROCLAMATION BY SIR THOMAS STAMFORD
RAFFLES, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF FORT
MARLBOROUGH; SINGAPORE. 6th FEBRUARY 1819.**

A Treaty having been this day concluded between the British Government and the Native Authorities and a British Establishment having been in consequence formed at Singapore, the Honble Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles Lieutenant Governor of Bencoolen &

its Dependencies, Agent to the Governor General, is pleased to certify the appointment, by the Supreme Government of Major William Farquhar, of the Madras Engineers, to be Resident, and to command the Troops at Singapore and its Dependencies; and all persons are hereby directed to obey Major Farquhar accordingly.

It is further notified that the Residency of Singapore has been placed under the Government of Fort Marlborough, and is to be considered a Dependency thereof; of which all persons concerned are desired to take notice.

(L10/1).

70. SIR T. S. RAFFLES, SINGAPORE, TO THE RESIDENT OF SINGAPORE. 6th FEBRUARY 1819.

As the object contemplated by the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, namely, the establishment of a Station beyond Malacca, and commanding the Southern entrance of the Straits has thus been substantially accomplished; I proceed to give you the following general instructions; for the regulation of your conduct in the execution of the duties you will have to perform as Resident and Commandant of the Station which has been established.

As you have been present at and assisted in the previous negotiations, and are fully apprized of the political relations existing between the States in the immediate vicinity of this Island, it is only necessary for me to direct your particular attention to the high importance of avoiding all measures which can be construed into an interference with any of the States where the authority of His Netherlands Majesty may be established. a Station having been obtained which is properly situated for the securing the free passage of the Straits, and for protecting and extending the commercial enterprizes both of the British and the Native Merchants, all questions of this nature will necessarily await the decision of the higher Authorities in Europe.

It is impossible however that the object of our Establishment at Singapore can be misunderstood or disregarded, either by the Dutch or the Native Authorities; and while the former may be expected to watch with jealousy the progress of a Settlement which must check the further extension of their influence throughout these Seas: the latter will hail with satisfaction the foundation and the rise of a British Establishment in the central and commanding Situation once occupied by the Capital of the most powerful Malayan Empire then existing in the East; and the prospect which it affords them of the continuance, improvement & Security of the Commercial relations by which their interests have been so long identified with those of the British Merchant. It is from the prevalence of this feeling among the Natives, and of the con-

sequences which possibly arise from it, that I am desirous of impressing on your mind the necessity of extreme caution & Delicacy not only in all communications which you may be obliged to have with the subjects of any power under the immediate influence of the Dutch, but also in your intercourse with the free and independant tribes who may resort to the Port of Singapore either for the purposes of Commerce or for protection & Alliance.

(L10/2-10).

**71. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE CHIEF
SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.
1st MARCH 1819.**

As the Honble Sir Thos. Stamford Raffles has no doubt transmitted thro' you to the Most Noble the Governor General in Council every requisite information relative to the Establishment recently formed by him on the Island of Singapore I have at present only the honour to state that in pursuance to the instructions contained in your letter to my address under date the 28th November last I assumed charge of the new Settlement of Singapore on the 6th Ult. since which period every thing has gone on in the most prosperous manner Inhabitants are flocking in from every quarter notwithstanding the very active and I may add oppressive measures which have been adopted by the Dutch Government of Malacca in order to put an entire stop to all intercourse with Singapore indeed had the two Nations been in a state of open warfare the restrictions imposed by the Dutch could scarcely have been more rigid than they are at present.

(L10/22-24).

**72. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 8th MARCH 1819.**

Your Honorable Court will observe from Captain Coomb's Report that he considered the King Elect Syf Ool Alleem to be in possession of the general wishes of the Chiefs and people of the Country in preference to the former King Iowhar Alleen Shah, who had been deposed long since by the Constitutional Authorities of the State.—With this information Captain Coombs proceeded to Bengal in conformity to his Instructions and there awaited the further orders of the Supreme Government.

In the mean time these reports induced the nomination of a Special Commission, under the direct authority of the Governor General in Council for ascertaining the then actual state of Affairs on the Coast of Acheen, and of establishing under specific orders

from the Supreme Government, the authority of the Successful Candidate.

At the period of Captain Coombs's arrival, it was uncertain when the other Commissioner Sir S. Raffles would leave Bengal, and as we could not but augur very unfavourably of the result of a Mission to Acheen, which consisted of two Gentlemen whose sentiments on the line of Policy to be adopted there were Known to be distinctly opposite, our President judged it to be advisable to endeavour by a Communication to the Most Noble the Governor General to offer a respectful exposition of the disadvantages which would probably result from a Mission so constituted and at the same time urging in support of his opinion, a Statement of the actual Condition of Affairs at Acheen, which the latest intelligence from that quarter, shewed had suffered no intermediate alteration whatever.⁽⁴²⁾

(B 5/7-21).

73. FROM THE SAGEES OF ACHEEN⁽⁴³⁾ TO SULTAN SYED OOLALLUM SHAH, RAJAH OF ACHEEN, DATED JAMADULAKHIR 1234. (APRIL 1819).

(after compliments)

The English have come to Acheen Captain Coombs and the Honble of Bencoolen and have held much lying consultation, and in many days have paid much money to the Achinese hypocrits. Your servants sent them a letter desiring them not to land until your servants came down to the capital, but the Honble allowed several Englishmen to land at the Qualla near the Fort of Shah Allum Semaia and that is the fort Muyat Lemgaya, and these persons went shooting birds. When your servants heard of it we ordered our men to go and plunder them and take them prisoners. They accordingly plundered and seized the men but did not wound them. Your servants then ordered their lives to be spared and they returned to their ship, but we would not return their guns. A letter then came from the Honorable to your servants, that the Englishmen who went shooting were without understanding, and had been guilty of a fault towards us but "let Pangleema Polem come hither because we wish to enquire of him whom he will have for Rajah whether Johr Oolallum or Seyf Oolallum." Your servants then sent for

(42) See note No. 78 below.

(43) Acheen, outside the limits of the Sultanate proper (the town and its environs), was divided into three more or less equal "circles", each of which, although administered by the heads of the Mukims, was nominally under one territorial leader, the Paglima Sagi. The Sultan was in theory 'primus inter pares', but in fact was reduced to a mere ward under the three Paglima Sagis even before the end of the 17th Century. See Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers* (1893), vol. I, passim.

answer that we had said a year ago to Captain Coombs that the Rajah whom we would obey was Seyf Ooalallum and what was the use of repeating enquiries but that because the English were come from the Company that we would come down and pay respect to the message of the Bengal Company. Your servants then collected a great number of men and came down to the capital that we might have an interview with them and when we had come we sent to them to come on shore but they delayed till tomorrow and so on for 7 days. On the seventh day your servants sent to them saying "If you mean to land, land otherwise if you delay we will positively not receive you," When they got this news two persons came on shore, Mr. Caunter Assistant to Captain Coombs and along with him one of the Company's servants of Bengal. The Honorable did not land but sent a letter saying they were sick and unable to do so, but had not broken off their friendship with the three Sagees. When your servants got this letter they replied to Caunter "but we have broken off friendship with them nor were they our friends formerly only that we wished to pay respect to the Bengal Company by the Assistance of the Almighty we will bring all the faults of the Honorable before the Company" Your servants then sent our people on board the Indiana to take your servants message to the Honorable which when he heard he sailed immediately.....Your servants have now quite finished with these Infidel kafirs and your servants now send our gooroo to go himself and bring back your Majesty. We present this respectfully to your Majesty.

(F2/97).

**74. THE RAJAH OF SALENGORE TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 15th MAY 1819.**

I acquaint my friend that I have sent Nakhoda Haran with this letter to my friend in a Prow to Penang. The subject is the Treaty I entered into with my friend by his Agent Mr. Cracroft. He told me that if an Embassy was sent from the Dutch Governor I should show them this Treaty. I have shewn it but they do not recognize it according to what is written in my friend's letter in Penang.⁽⁴⁴⁾

If my friend is kindly disposed towards me let him settle this business between the Dutch and me as well as he can, for I am like

(44) The Dutch mission which caused the Ruler of Selangor this worry was that referred to in No. 66 above, as having sailed from Malacca. It went first to Perak, in an attempt to renew there the old Treaty of 1765, and re-establish a Factory. Failing at Perak, the mission came to Selangor, and as appears below (No. 82) finally overawed the Raja, no British support being forthcoming, into renewing the Treaty of 1786, which made Selangor a nominal dependency of Malacca, and secured a monopoly of the tin mined there. The Treaty, was not however ratified in Batavia.

one divided and between iron on the righthand and iron on the left—cut in two. Moreover I said to the Dutch, the English were at Penang, and the English were at Malacca, and where else could I apply to, but the Dutch had nothing to do with this but said we cannot recognize it.

Let my friend send an Agent on his part with my messenger. When my friend has well considered the Dutch letter let him not fail to return it by Nakhoda Haran. I trust in my friend to do this. Furthermore the Dutch who are at Kalang are employed in drawing out a writing but not with my will. I do not at all know what they are putting in this writing for they have not yet shown it to me and it is for this cause I have not sent it to my friend.

(F2/124-121).

75. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE RAJAH OF SELANGOR. 29th MAY 1819.

I have received my friend's letters by Nakhoda Karan with that which they enclosed and have understood their contents. Relative to the whole of this business I have sent my agent Mr. W. J. Cracroft to my friend, who is acquainted with all my sentiments and will make them known to my friend whom I request to treat him with confidence.

In a letter from my friend he mentioned that he had 100 Bhar of tin ready and my friend's messenger says that there are 250 Bhar now ready. All this my agent will receive at the rate mentioned in the agreement vizt. 43 Dollars per Bhar.

(G1/84).

76. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD 29th JUNE 1819.

Minute by Mr. Phillips.

The suggestions submitted by me for equalizing some of the duties levied at this Port with those of the other Presidencies of India arose out of considerations of the importance of preserving the utmost uniformity that circumstances would permit in regard to the rules under which duties of Customs are levied at the several Presidencies, to which our attention was directed by Mr. Secretary McKenzie's letter to this Government of the 20th June 1817, calling for a report in view it was presumed to a general revision, of these duties by the Committee specially appointed in Calcutta.

My recommendation of the arrangement proposed was grounded on the two fold expediency of augmenting the public revenue of

this Island, and of affording to the Commercial Community the accommodation and convenience which they earnestly solicit from us.

With regard to the first of these objects, without pretending to discuss and far less to impeach the wisdom and general expediency of the principles brought forward in the report of the Special Committee recently received as fundamental maxims in the revenue system of a great Empire, I may be permitted to refer to the reiterated injunctions of the Honorable the Court of Directors, calling upon us to exert our endeavours to encrease our local Revenue, to the repeated Complaints of the inadequacy of our local resources to meet the heavy expences of the Establishment, and to the improved nature and extent of the Commerce now conducted through the means of this Settlement, as justifying the recommendation I advocated "that the full duty which may be levied on Goods imported at this Presidency on their transit to the *other Presidencies* should be retained here, and such Goods be entirely exempted from further duty on their importation at any Ports subordinate to Bengal, Madras or Bombay."

It is far from my purpose to question the policy which in the infancy of this Establishment prescribed the principle of exemption from duties as necessary to encourage, and draw to our Port, the Trade which has been gradually encreasing from the time this Establishment was first formed, until it has attained the present height, but as this Island has unquestionably been the means of creating and fostering a highly important and valuable Commerce unknown heretofore and of securing a demand and taste for India as well as British produce and Manufactures amongst the Eastern Nations, it seemed to me but fair, that the duties to be at all events levied upon the capital and Industry of the Merchants of this Colony should be retained here to diminish the burthen borne by the Honorable Company in the maintenance of this Establishment, in like maner as Merchandize of the continent of India is believed to be subjected to Inland imposts on its Transit through the Company's Provinces.....

The duties levied here on the Import trade direct from Great Britain are the same as authorized at the other Presidencies, and the Articles being either consumed here, or with little exception bartered with the Eastern Countries, the duties if not levied here, could no where else become tangible by the Servants of the Company.

On Malayan Articles, such as Tin, Pepper, Beetlenut, Rattans, and various other Articles forming the principle Commerce of this Port, the duties levied here have been scarcely more than one third of those levied on their entrance into the Port of Calcutta, and with exception of the small proportion carried hence to other

Presid. go direct to *China* or *Europe* it therefore is obvious that if this produce be exempted from duty in its transit through this Port, to China and Europe, the Amount hitherto derived to the Company's general revenue from the truly moderate impost upon this Commerce will be lost *altogether*, and this valuable Trade, conducted under the protection of our Government with the Capital of this Island and with all the facilities afforded by this Port, be indulged with immunities which no other Commerce enjoys.

With regard to Opium the duty hitherto levied here is so extremely moderate as Sixteen Dollars per Chest but being on upwards of Eight hundred, the loss of this impost, light as it is, will be a considerable injury to our revenues whilst it is not probable that the exemption from duties will have any effect upon the cost at which the consumer will obtain it, the Malayan Princes and Chiefs being themselves the Merchants and retailers at arbitrary rates, in relinquishing the duty therefore it would be merely transferring our fair revenue to the Malayan Chief or Prince, without benefiting the Consumer or encreasing the demand for this Drug.

I need not trespass upon the Board's patience by recapitulating facts or Arguments which I have already so fully stated and shall only therefore respectfully observe, that if it is considered to be an object of more expedient and paramount policy to pass over the encrease of local revenue here, and to look only to the importance of the general Revenue of the Empire, and be deemed more advisable that we should draw upon the General Treasury for our Expenditure in preference to raising Revenue by Duties made payable here, a measure which with every deference to the opinions of the Special Revenue Committee, I cannot help thinking would be productive of benefit rather than detriment to the Trade, at least it will be fair and just that the augmentation derived to the general Revenue of the state by the means of this Establishment should be distinctly credited against its charges in other words that the comparative increase in the extent and value of the Exports from the Continent of India, and the demand for manufactures and produce which this Port has created and extended, shall be set off against its expenditure.

It would be manifestly an unfair criterion of the importance and value of this Settlement to judge by the estimate of our receipt and expenditure, whilst the valuable Commerce which comes into it as an Entrepot is exempted from the payment of any duties here, but materially swells the Revenue at the ultimate Port.

Having adduced thus much in support & vindication of my original proposition that the full duty which may be levied on Goods and Merchandize imported at this Presidency on their transit

to the other *Presidencies*, should be retained here, and such Goods etc. be entirely exempted from further duty on their importation at any of the Ports subordinate to Bengal, Madras & Bombay," I.....proceed.....to offer such observation and opinions on the general revision of our Port duties as are suggested in the Minute now on the Table,

Complaints have not hitherto reached the Collectors's Department of excess of import duties and as these generally speaking are paid by the Resident Merchants on importation by Prows, they have not the effect of embarrassing the Native Trader, and are blended with the Market prices of the Articles when sold as Cargoes for Exportation whereas should these duties, or any portion of them be transferred to the Exports, the evident weight of the whole would fall on the Exporter to distant Countries, the amount of which might operate to decrease the preference which has been hitherto given to this Island, as an Entrepot, compared with the risks and delays of collecting produce at the places of Growth added to which consideration, whatever proportion of such Imports is consumed on the Island escapes by the change, that taxation so fairly realisable from the Colonist and as the duties of import are now paid on an indulgent credit of seldom less than two Months and the trading capital of this Presidency may be estimated as reinvested twice or thrice within the twelve months, it can scarcely be said that Import duties are demanded prior to the sale of the Articles liable — the bias of my opinion is therefore in favor of an adherence to the present import rates, in preference to their reduction with an encrease of the Export duties, with some few exceptions hereafter noticed.

(A14/330-331/356-358).

**'77. THE RAJAH OF KEDAH TO THE GOVERNOR,
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 20th JULY 1819.**

My friend's letter enquiring concerning Perak, the Dindings, & Pulo Pankor reached me on the 1st Shawal or the 24th inst. in safety, and its contents I fully comprehend.

The Rajah Mooda though not bearing the title exercises all the functions of a tributary Sovereign over the Country of Perak, Pulo Pankor and the circumjacent shore appertaining to that Kingdom. Now Perak being subject to my dominion these places therefore are equally comprised within my Jurisdiction. Moreover I have been repeatedly informed that the Dindings is a favorite Resort of the Pirates who concert with the evil disposed inhabitants of that place to commit numerous Acts of Piracy: and I am certainly of opinion that had the English Company a port there, it would be

the means of preventing the Pirates resorting there and proceeding on this side of Pankor which would be of great benefit; and I should be exceedingly happy, as it would afford protection to the numerous servants of the Almighty who sail to and fro in these seas and increase the prosperity of all the neighbouring States and Countries.

But I feel a difficulty how to act because I attacked the Perak country at the desire of the King of Siam, and the Boonga Mas which was commanded has been sent from the former to the latter state; for this reason, were I ever so much disposed this way, I should hesitate, as I am apprehensive of giving offence to the King of Siam, for I recollect he formerly acquainted me in regard to his late Majesty of Quedah's grant to the Company of Pry and along the North side of ⁽⁴⁵⁾ and the southern bank of the Qualla Mooda, which extends 600 Orlongs by the sea side, that he was by no means pleased, as the Quedah country is tributary to Siam.

I am therefore of opinion that were I to agree to my friend's wishes and transfer the above mentioned places of Pankor & the Dindings to the Company I should perhaps incur his displeasure, otherwise I should be very happy to comply and thereby extend and improve the Bond of friendship and Amity which has so long subsisted between the English Company and me, and as it would prevent my being involved in any difficulties in the event of the Dutch coming to Perak and creating differences, but if my friend will send an Agent to Quedah—We can consult together on the subject and come to some final settlement.

(F2/155-159).

78. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 1st JULY 1819.

Shortly after the departure of the Commissioners to Acheen we received through the medium of Tunkoo Syed Hussain of this place, a letter which his Son Syful Allum had recently received from the Head Sagis at Acheen, who are the Representatives of the Sovereign Authority, during an interrugnum, such as that which has of late years prevailed in the Country of Acheen.—The tenor of this Document, which we immediately transmitted to Bengal, confirmed all our previous impressions that the Public choice rested on Syful Allum, whose pretensions being recognized by the Sagis, and confirmed by the allegiance of half the Country, were to us indisputable testimonies of his superior claims.

(45) Illegible in the Ms. Probably Qualla Kreen. Orlong $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or as a linear measure 241 feet.

In the sentiments we expressed on this occasion, we were more confirmed by receiving from the Supreme Government a Dispatch, to which we have the honor to refer your Hon. Court, in which will be observed the caution so strongly urged on the Commissioners to avoid the appearance of a bias to either side, but above all to avoid exhibiting such by proceeding directly to Pedir, the residence of the Ex-King, or holding a Communication with that place, until the requisite preliminaries had been adjusted with the Sagis at Acheen.

Considering it important that this cautious Policy should not be departed from, we thought it advisable to send a copy of that Dispatch to the Commissioners without delay as we had learnt that they had left Acheen, after having remained there nineteen days without effecting any arrangements and without even having seen the Sagis, and that they were at this time actually at Pedir, holding negociations with the Ex-King.

The result of such a course of Proceedings could not long be doubtful and the return of the Commissioners to this Presidency on the 29th April placed us in possession of the Treaty which they had concluded on the 22nd of that month, with Jowaher Allum Shah, therein formally recognised as the King of Acheen.⁽⁴⁶⁾

(46) The following passage from the Journal of the Indian Archipelago (1851) forms an interesting commentary on the proceedings here recorded.

"On the deposition of Johore Shah and the invitation to Saiful Alum, son of Syed Hussain, the Pinang Government interested themselves strongly in the matter, permitting Syed Hussain to fit out his expedition in their harbour, and supporting his son's claim by every means in their power. Captain Coombs was sent to Bengal as Agent to enforce their view of the case, and to press for the assistance requested to aid in establishing Saiful Alum. Most probably the Pinang Government were actuated by a desire to settle trade on a firm and secure basis, and to rescue Acheen from the bad effects of a weak and vicious government, and in their opinion the best and shortest way to effect these subjects would be by setting up as King a man over whom they would have some degree of influence, and who, from his father's great wealth, would be supported by a great majority of the Achinese themselves. However expedient such a policy as this may appear, it was not consonant to the ideas of the Governor General after it had been explained and laid clear from the gloss and mystery by Sir S. Raffles. . . . Sir Stamford was appointed Commissioner in conjunction with Captain Coombs, to go to Acheen for the purpose of settling matters. . . . Sir Stamford wrote a minute extending over 1,000 pages of foolscap, for the purpose of proving to his colleague that the claims of Saiful Alum were unjust. . . . Saiful Alum was driven out and Johore Shah reinstated on the throne in consequence of the measures taken by the English Government."

(T. Braddel, On the History of Acheen, JIAEA, 1851, 15-25). The text of Raffles Treaty with Achin is given in Anderson, Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra (1840), 218-221.

The authority of the Pageant so set up, must be as transitory and inefficient as ever, without we effectually interfere to support his authority, by means of an adequate Military force.—This Appears to be objected to by the King as well as by the Commissioners.—We are not satisfied of any reason to weigh against it if the Political and Commercial advantages of a permanent connection with Acheen be admitted, and we are sure that without a British Military Guard neither his Person or his Authority can be secured, nor his just rights and pretensions to the Kingdom maintained effectually.—Neither, we are also sure, can any British Resident be stationed in that Country, without such Security for his Person, and for the dignity of the Government he represents.

The point has not been sufficiently established in the Commissioners Treaty, and without it we consider our Affairs with Acheen, to be precisely (with one solitary difference) in the same state as they have laboured under during many preceding years. We are now only apprehensive in particular that the Proceedings of the Commissioners have by no means secured the exclusion of the Dutch or other Foreign influence from that State.—The great body of the Chiefs have been much exasperated, and the discomfited Rival, Syful Allum has every cause of fear for his personal safety, if he quits that Country.

As however the Treaty has been formally and solemnly concluded, we are in obedience to the high Authority under which they acted, bound to support its Provisions in the fullest measure, and we have no hesitation in assuring your Hon. Court that we have, and shall continue to do so, and as far as in us lays, caution and advise the King for the benefit of his Country, and render the Treaty a bond of Union and Advantage for the Subjects of both Countries.

The nature however, of the Treaty with the King, has not appeared to us to admit of the Establishment of a Resident Agent at the King's Court at present, and we therefore intimated to Captain Coombs that his duty in that capacity would not be further required, but on the proposition of our President, Mr. Sartorius has been appointed our Agent for the Affairs of Acheen, to conduct all Correspondence connected with that Country, and occasionally to proceed there when the personal presence of an Agent might be required.—For this duty we have assigned Mr. Sartorius a Salary of 200 Drs. per month.

(B5/143-155).

**79. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.
11th AUGUST 1819.**

Under the most severe and afflicting feelings, we perform the duty of communicating to your Lordship in Council the decease of the Honorable Colonel Bannerman, late Governor of this Presidency, which melancholy event occurred on the evening of Sunday the 8 instant.

Agreeably to the Honorable Courts arrangements particularised in the last Commission for this Government the charge of the public interests at this Presidency has accordingly now devolved on William Edward Phillips Esquire, the senior member of Council who has this day taken the Oaths of Governor, and his seat at the Board accordingly.

(D6/222).

**80. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE, TO THE LIEUT.
GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO'. 28th OCTOBER 1819.**

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 18th August covering a List of Clove & Nutmeg Plants Shipped on the Indiana under charge of Mr. Dunn and have much pleasure in informing you that the whole have been landed safe and in good order.

The Larger Plants have been regularly planted out where it is intended they should remain and the seed & smaller ones put in Nursery Beds for the present the whole are in a thriving State. You may depend on every possible attention being paid to the cultivation of the Spices, & I consider myself fortunate in having Mr. Brooks a European Gardener here whose services will be very useful in superintending generally the spice Plantations & I propose to allow him a monthly salary of 40 Sp. Dollars until your pleasure is known on the Subject.

(L10/182-183).

**81. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE LIEUT.
GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO'. 3rd NOVEMBER 1819.**

It affords me the greatest satisfaction to be able to continue the most favourable reports of the rapid advancement the Settlement is making in every respect which has far surpassed my most sanguine expectations, the Population is every day encreasing and the Trade of the Port even in this early Stage of its Infancy is rising fast into importance. Native Trading Vessels with valuable

Cargoes continue to come in from the various Eastern Ports and bring the most friendly assurances from their respective Chiefs of their unalterable attachment to the British Govt. and how much they all feel gratified at the opening prospect of a free & advantageous Commerce our Establishment at Singapore has caused to all the surrounding Powers.

In noticing the various Native Ports with which Singapore has already commenced trade, I shall only here particularize those of the first importance viz Siam Cambogia, Calantang, Trangana, Pahang, Borneo proper, Sambass, Pontiana, The Island of Celebes, Lingin, Rhio, Siack, Indergerree & Jambia, with all of which this Place promises to carry on a brisk trade.⁽⁴⁷⁾

(L10/195-196).

82. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 6th JANUARY 1820.

In the 79th and following Paras of our letter of the 1st July last, we advised your Honble Court of the Mission of Mr. Cracroft of your Civil Service to Salengore and eventually to Perah.—That Gentleman having returned shortly after the Dispatch above alluded to, we have now the honor to refer your Hon. Court to the Report of his Proceedings, and the copies of the present and former Treaties, concluded by the Rajah with the Netherlands Government, which are annexed thereto.—

Under the circumstance of the Rajah having been prevailed on to ratify the above mentioned Treaty, we did not conceive ourselves at liberty to take any further steps for the emancipation of the Country of Salengore and its trade from the controul exercised over them by the Government of Malacca,

The uncertainty of the rightful Sovereignty of the Island of Pangkour, and the disorganized state of the Government of Perah, precluded the formation of any definitive arrangements for its cession, but on the Report of our Agent of these circumstances, our late President addressed letters to the Rajah of Quedah, and to the Chiefs into whose hands the Government of Perah appeared

(47) 'Borneo proper'—Brunei.

Sambas—port for the Chinese gold-producing region in N.W. Borneo, now inaccessible to sea-going ships.

Jambia—Jambi, about 60 miles inland on a river of the same name, E. Coast of Sumatra. In the 16th Century of great importance for the export of gold-dust (Duarte Barbosa, II, 186); both the English and Dutch Companies had Factories there in the 17th Century, but the gold was later exported from Padang on the West Coast, and Jambi declined in importance. See Milburn, Oriental commerce, II, 349 and No. 86 below.

Indergerree—River on E. coast of Sumatra, which like Jambi had declined in importance by the 19th Century.

to have fallen, on this subject, to which replies in a great measure favorable were received.⁽⁴⁸⁾ This Correspondence was laid before the Board by our President in a Minute on the Tin Trade, but as it appeared that there existed a risk of our being drawn into collision, not only with the Dutch Authorities, who had formerly a Settlement on that Island, but also with the State of Siam, under whose paramount Authority the conquest of Perah and its Dependencies had been effected by the Quedah Forces, we have refrained from taking any further steps towards its attainment at present.

Your Hon. Court will observe from our President's Minutes above noticed, and the Documents annexed thereto, the great advantages which the possession of Junkceylon would afford,⁽⁴⁹⁾ both from its advancing materially the Trade, and consequently the Revenues of this Settlement, and also from its own inherent Political and Commercial advantages.—In our reference to the Supreme Government, respecting the Affairs of Salengore, and Perah, we deemed it our duty to furnish that Authority with our Sentiments respecting this valuable Territory, in order that it might be taken into consideration, in the event of a Mission from the Most Noble the Governor General to the Rajah of Siam being contemplated.

(B5/178-189).

83. LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO' TO CAPTAIN TRAVERS. 24th MARCH 1820.

Major Farquhar having earnestly requested to be permitted to avail himself of his leave of absence from the Madras Government to proceed to Europe, I have thought it expedient to appoint you to succeed him provisionally as Resident & Commandant at Singapore, and you will accordingly be pleased to proceed to that Station without delay.⁽⁵⁰⁾

You will be particularly careful that no obstructions or restrictions exist in the way of the most perfect freedom of Trade convenience & facilities of the Port for Shipping and Native Prows

(48) The Rajah of Queda's reply is No. 77 above; it does not seem very favourable.

(49) Junk Ceylon—Island off the West coast of the Malayan Peninsula, in about 8°N with a good natural harbour and large tin deposits. The Burmese and Siamese were rivals for its possession, and it changed hands several times between 1785 and 1820. Captain Light, the founder of Penang, who had been settled there as a trader for some time, suggested the Island as a trading base for the East India Company, as did many others before 1820: It was one of Bannerman's projects. See Clodd, *Life of Francis Light* (1948), 24-32.

(50) Farquhar, however, changed his mind and did not go. He remained at Singapore until superceded by Crawford in 1823 (See No. 105), although owing to disagreements with Raffles he took no active part in the Government after 1822.

are points of the first importance and your constant attention is to be directed to them. Whatever Regulations may be necessary for restricting the indiscriminate vend of Opium & Spiritous Liquors for the consumption of the place, you are to be particularly careful that these in no way interfere with the most perfect freedom of Trade in the former Article. A Certain Number of Houses may be Licensed for the sale of prepared Opium, but Opium in its raw state is to be allowed to be purchased and sold in any quantities however small and to be retained and exported without being in any way subject to the check or License of any Authority.

It has been represented that contrary to the wishes of Government various small duties and exactions have been enforced on Native Prows; you will enquire into this, and in order that the intentions of Government may not be misunderstood or departed from, cause the Port Regulations to be affixed at the Wharf in the English & Native Languages.

It is not deemed at present advisable to levy any duties, & the Port Charges are to be as moderate and as simple as possible—with this view it is not deemed necessary to establish any fixed rates for Anchorage, but a small fee may be demanded on all Port Clearance.

You will cause it to be understood that all presents to the Public Officers of Government are prohibited & that it is perfectly optional with Individuals to make presents to the Sultan or Tum-mungong or not as they think proper Government not taking cognizance of or authorizing the exaction of any present or duty whatever beyond those stipulated in the Public Regulations.
(L10/303-).

**84. THE COMMITTEE ON THE TRADE OF SINGAPORE
TO THE RESIDENT. 19th APRIL 1820.**

We have the honor to Acknowledge the receipt of your Letter to us of Yesterday's date appointing us a Committee to enquire whether, as reported to the Lieut. Governor the trade of Singapore has suffered from restrictions or obstructions of any kind.

It appearing to us that the best mode of ascertaining the fact would be to assemble & examine all the Merchants & Traders of the place both European & Native, We are happy to acquaint you that we have done so and that they have all invariably & severally declared to us that they have no grievance to complain of and have never met with any obstacles or difficulties in the way of a free & unrestricted trade, either from the influence of Authority or an undue exercise of it, on the part of any one in power.

No duties on Exports or Imports are levied on account of Government and it does not appear that any have been exacted clandestinely. Bugis Prows and other Native Craft of One Coyan burthen pay a fanam and Eight doits for a Port Clearance those of 2 Coyans pay double that sum and so on to such as are of 5 Coyans & upwards, which pay 2 Dollars.

We find that the Sultan, Tummagong & some others about them, conformably to the invariable practice at all Malay Ports, have been in the habit of receiving Antar-Antaran, or Complimentary presents in Kind, from the Nakhodahs of Junks & Native Vessels, but that such a practice was put a stop to as soon as it was made known to the Resident who the Master Attendant informs us has repeatedly enjoined him to make known and explain to all Masters of such Vessels that any thing they give is to be entirely voluntary. (L10/336-337).

85. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO'. 27th JUNE 1820.

I have the honor to acquaint you that previous to the departure of the Junks which lately loaded at this Port for China, the Sultan and Tummongong represented to me that as a Number of Chinese had arrived here from Rhio, Lingin and other places within the limits of the Johore Dominions for the purpose of returning in the said Junks to China they proposed with my concurrence to demand the usual Fee or Tax paid to the Sovereigns of Malay Countries of Six and half Spanish Dollars on every Chinese Passenger returning to China with property acquired during their residence in such Countries. That the Sultan and Tummongong would not have proposed to do so, but under a full conviction that this act would not in any respect be considered as a Tax on the trade of this Port, or otherwise likely to occasion any distress to Individuals, being confined solely to those Chinese who are possessed of property to a certain amount the poorer classes the Sick and Lame, being totally exempt from any demand of the kind.

Adverting to the above circumstances and considering that it might at present, be impolitic for me to interfere so as to restrain the levying of the Fee in question⁽⁵¹⁾ I gave my concurrence to the measure under the following Stipulations, that the propriety of continuing the above Fee, should be submitted to the consideration of the British Government that none but such Chinese as have accumulated their property in the Johore States should be liable

(51) Impolitic because the Island had not yet been ceded to the Company. The Treaty of 1819 merely gave the right to establish a factory and to protect and administer the port. See Maxwell & Gibson, *Treaties & Engagements*, 116-125.

to the said Tax and that those belonging to this Colony should be exempted from the payment of the same.

(L10/414-416).

86. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 24th AUGUST 1820.

Our President's attention has recently been drawn to adopt some moderate and consistent Plan for improving our Relations with the East Coast of Sumatra, and for extending by that means, if possible, our Intercourse with the Countries in the interior, which are reported to be highly flourishing.

No Surveys have yet been taken of that Coast, although it abounds with Rivers, and there are several Ports from whence large Quantities of Pepper Produce are Exported to this Island. The Rivers of Siack, Jambi and Indrageri have been but partially explored, To ascertain therefore the actual State of these Countries, and their connection with Menangkabow the reputed Capital of Sumatra, as well as to obtain some accurate notions whether the Trade which formerly used to pass thro' these great Rivers might not again be diverted to them from the Dutch Factory of Padang on the West Coast, where it has now principally settled, appeared to us to embrace objects of such unquestionable Policy at the present moment, that we have readily adopted the Suggestions which our President has laid before us in a Minute, . . .

From that Document your Honorable Court will learn that we have dispatched a Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra, the object of which is mainly if not entirely Commercial. The advantages of the Mission will be great, considering that the whole Extent of the East Coast, reaching from Jambi River to Tamiang the Northern Boundary of Siack, will be embraced by it.

Our Agent has been particularly cautioned not to involve himself in any disputes which may Subsist between the different Native Chiefs, nor to pursue any measures of a Political Tendency, or calculated to interfere with the Netherlandish Authorities, particularly as far as concerns the Subjects and Dominions of the Sultan of Palembang. He has been further instructed, that the views of Government in deputing his Mission, are simply as follows.—

1st and Chiefly—To obtain from a responsible and accredited agent, an authentic exact, and unbiassed account of the Resources and Conditions of the different States on the Eastern Coast of Sumatra.

2nd. To prevent Malacca and Rhio from engrossing the Trade hitherto flowing from Siack and the Eastern Coast to this Port.

3rd. To ascertain, if it be practicable, as supposed by many to bring down again to the Eastern Side of Sumatra the trade of Menangkabow and the reported flourishing Countries to the interior, the course of which trade certainly flowed through the large Rivers of Siack, Indrageri etc. before it was diverted to the Dutch Settlements of Padang and the West Coast.

And latterly. To collect every information respecting the Productions of the interior Countries, which are said to abound with Gold Mines, and respecting the extent and nature of the Navigation of the three large Rivers of Siack, Indrageri and Jambi, which are believed by the Natives to communicate with each other in the centre of Sumatra.

Our relations with Acheen, have continued in the same state as they were detailed to you in our last Dispatch, with this exception, that the King has been rid of his troublesome Rival Syfool Allum, who has proceeded to Bengal, and we have since received the authority of the Supreme Government, to pay to that Person the monthly Sum of 500 Dollars, as the stipend prescribed by the Treaty. Syfool Allum has lately arrived at Prince of Wales Island, and we shall accordingly regularly discharge his monthly allowance.

Having lately received from the Governor General in Council the Rattified Treaty with Acheen, We have resolved on the recommendation of our President to nominate a Gentleman of your Civil Service to deliver the same personally to His Highness, with the expectation that such measure will have the best effect for the King's Interests, by convincing those of his Subjects who are inclined to dispute his Authority, that he has been formally recognized by the British Government, who are not only disposed to treat him with respect and deference, but to cultivate the most friendly Relations, and to maintain implicitly the Provisions of the Treaty.

We have derived great satisfaction from the Receipt of a Notification published under the authority of the Supreme Government, for allowing Spices of all descriptions the Produce of the British Territories in India, to be imported into Bengal free from Duty, We have only published this liberal and satisfactory Information in our Gazette, and contemplate from thence the most advantageous Prospects for those who are now cultivating Spices at this Presidency on a very extensive Scale.

In the Review which our President has taken of the Commerce of Prince of Wales Island, it will be observed with Satisfaction, that the Trade of this Port has considerably augmented, and your Customs and Revenues have encreased in a Correspondent Degree, since the restoration of the Dutch Possessions to the Eastward. When we reflect on this Circumstance, and observe the encreasing Energy of our Commercial Inhabitants, and the preserving Spirit with which the Agricultural part of our Community are labouring for their own and the public Benefit, We own that we can entertain little doubt as to the degree of substantial importance which this Possession must command after the interval of a few peaceful years, when its Resources will have gradually developed. As the War had absorbed all Energy, so this Island became of course liable to the same Disadvantages in that respect with neighbouring Settlements. With the present advantages however of its internal Resources from Agriculture, and the Command which its local situation possesses for securing the Resort of Shipping, it must still continue the Emporium of the NW. part of the Eastern Archipelago, and next to Batavia, the great Eastern mart of Commerce.

With the view of affording all possible facility to the free Transit of the Manufactures of India, which usually pass thro' this Port, and are exchanged and bartered for other Commodities in return, we have been induced on the recommendation of our President, and as a matter of experiment to discontinue for a temporary period, the levy of the usual Customs on Piece Goods and Cotton Wool, and on the Importation of Opium. We have adopted this arrangement in pursuance of the repeated Recommendations of the Supreme Government, We confess to your Honorable Court that we have only granted this partial reduction of Duties with a sincere hope that the general Trade of India will be thereby benefitted in a sufficient Degree to correspond with the Diminution which your Revenues will sustain at this Presidency.

With respect to Goods, the Produce or Manufacture of Siam, your Honorable Court will observe from our President's Minute, the great encrease of this valuable Trade of late years, to encourage which by every possible means has become in our judgment an object of essential Policy; and we have therefore readily adopted our President's recommendation to exempt the same for the present from the Import Duty heretofore levied.

We have the honor to enclose in the Packet, a copy of the Notification which we have published, on giving effect to the Revenue Exemptions above described, and as the same, with the exception of the last Article relating to Siamese Produce have been heretofore recommended to our adoption by the Supreme Government, in more than one Instance, we have principally been induced from

that consideration, to relieve the Trade from the very slight Duties which this Port has been accustomed to derive from the Merchants in return for the facility and advantages which it afforded. We entirely agree in opinion with our President, that the Commerce of this Port is not shackled by any severe or excessive Imposts.—The great facility of the place enables the Merchant to Import his Goods, and to carry them again to the Port of their destination without experiencing the slightest obstacle or inconvenience, except the Transit Duty now removed, and this opinion has been generally expressed by the Merchants on several occasions.—If a concession could be made in favor of the Foreign Trade, the advantages would be far greater to the Public at large; for at present the Foreign Merchants are precluded from a general resort to this Port on account of the Double Duties which are charged, and as the same restriction does not apply at the neighbouring Settlement of Malacca, we are unwisely granting an advantage to a rival Nation, to our own prejudice, and moreover even the Double Duties are liable to be evaded by means of the Native Ports in the neighbourhood, where Foreign Ships can receive their Cargoes purchased from our Merchants, without any Duties being paid whatever.—The present Regulation has also an evident tendency to drive the Foreign Merchant to the direct Ports of growth and Manufacture in our neighbourhood for the supplies they require, and to it may fully be attributed the great resort of American and other foreign Ships to the Coast of Acheen, whereas in our judgment it appears more advisable to hold out at once the Inducement to Foreigners to resort in preference to this Entrepot for their supplies by declaring it a Free Port, which course would give the Trade and Shipping of this Island all the benefit of supplying their wants, as well as enable us to obtain the just Dues and advantages of the Revenue.

(B5/290-297/300-305/337-).

**87. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT,
FORT WILLIAM. 14th OCTOBER 1820.**

I am directed by the Hon. the Governor in Council to transmit to you for the information of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, the enclosed copies of Mr. Ibbetson's letter dated the 30 ultimo, and of his report on his late Mission to the Eastward⁽⁵²⁾ and also a copy of Lieutenant Crooke's letter and report on the points described in his instructions on the same service, together with a chart of the Jambi river, executed by the latter.

(52) See the previous extract.

..... The Mission has sustained a failure from the cause of Mr. Ibbetson's severe and alarming indisposition, which precipitated his return to the Island.

The Hon. The Governor in Council cannot omit this opportunity of pointing out the encreasing numbers and depredations of the pirates, which have been lately exhibited to an unparalleled degree within the immediate vicinity of this Island, and in every part of the Straits. The means at the disposal of this Government, are not by any means adequate to check the progress of these depredations, and the Honble the Governor in Council therefore earnestly solicits the early consideration of His Excellency in Council, in view to adopt some means for affording protection, not only to the commerce of Singapore and of this port, but to the general trade of the empire, which is now seriously endangered in its passage through these Straits by the alarming and encreasing force of these Pirates. The appointment of a Cruizer or other armed vessel with directions to watch the Straits between Singapore and this Island, would perhaps accomplish this highly desirable object.

(D6/318).

88. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 30th NOVEMBER 1820.

..... we had deputed Mr. Sartorius of the Civil Service to undertake the duty of proceeding to Acheen for the purpose of delivering in a formal manner to the King the Commercial Treaty⁽⁵³⁾ with His Highness, which was ratified by the Governor General in Council, and afterwards to proceed on a general Survey and Inspection of the Country.

The State of Affairs at Acheen as detailed by Mr. Sartorius will exhibit in the most striking lights the wretched condition of the Country, and the abject and melancholy State to which the King's Authority has been reduced, it having been shewn since the conclusion of the Treaty to justify our apprehensions that no good can result either to the British or Achenese Government, or to the Subjects of either by a continuance of the misguided and disreputable Authorities which now agitate the Country and from which without our direct interference it is to be apprehended the King can never be able to extricate himself, many of the Arms which were delivered to the King by the Commissioners' Treaty have been either captured or stolen from him by those into whose hands he had confided them for his Protection and the Money which was

(53) The Treaty concluded by the Raffles-Coombs Mission in 1819 (See No. 78)

advanced to regain his Authority has been ignominiously squandered. In the mean time the King has the Nominal Possession of a small spot on the Territory of Acheen, he has not been able to proceed to the Town, and is daily addressing his Applications to us for further Supplies of Arms and Ammunition as well as for Troops and Cash.

Matters have now again arrived nearly at the same point to which they had reached in 1815 and as a Review of our Relations with Acheen only tends to shew the total inefficiency of their being longer continued in their present State.—We consider this Government to be quite justified in Submitting to the Superior Wisdom of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council our Opinion of the necessity for coming at once to a decision either to undertake an Active and direct interference in the Affairs of His Highness and effect the Restoration of Order to that distracted Country as well as to fix the Establishment of our Ally's Authority by means of an adequate Military force or at once to discontinue the further prosecution of Official Relations with Acheen on the limited basis marked out by the Present Treaty, the only end of which is to fill our Proceedings with frivolous matter, and to feed His Highness with delusive expectation.

(B6/31-39).

89. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO'. 26th MARCH 1821.

I have herewith the honour to transmit for your information Copies of Sundry Letters relative to the temporary confinement of a Chinese Noquedah by order of the Sultan an event which I could not have contemplated therefore had no means of preventing but you will perceive that the moment the circumstance was reported to me I adopted immediate measures for obtaining the release of the Noquedah and took such other steps as appeared to me most expedient to prevent any recurrence of a Similar nature in future.

With respect to their receiving complimentary Presents I have in consequence of your instructions made it optional with the Noquedahs to make them or not. But both the Sultan & Tum-mongong consider the dignity of their situations considerably lowered by this act and place a much higher importance on the presenting or withholding of presents than might be generally supposed. It is not the value of the Presents that they regard but the compliment of presenting *Something* in token of respect. It would therefore be very desirable if some definite arrangement could be made on this point as well as with respect to the head

money or Tax claimed by the Sultan & Tummongong on Chinese Passengers returning to China from Rhio, Lingen & other out Ports of the Johore Dominions in Junks sailing from hence. Which Subject has already been brought to your Notice in my Letter of the 27th June 1820.

It may be proper here to remark that the Noquedah who was confined by the Sultan on being particularly questioned whether he considered himself or would be viewed by his countrymen as being degraded in any way by the punishment he underwent answered in the Negative and seemed perfectly satisfied with assurances I made him that nothing of the Kind would occur in future.

(L4/303-304).

90. MASTER ATTENDANT, SINGAPORE, TO THE RESIDENT.

Abstract Statement of the Imports and Exports at Singapore by Junks, Native Prows and Vessels commencing from the 1st April 1820 up to the 30th April 1821.

IMPORTS.

Articles	Quantity	Value
Rice	39,559 Peculs	89007 20 2
Sugar	9,586 do	47930 " "
Gambier	10,790 do	32370 " "
Oil	2,133 do	16064 " "
Pepper	3,295 do	31212 " "
Birds Nests	38 do	106428 " "
Beach de Mar (54)	329 Peculs	8225 " "
Seaweed	2,087 do	3130 13 5
Salt	9,195 do	9195 " "
Tin	3,917 do	66546 13 5
Rattans	8,991 do	13486 13 5
Lacka Wood	112 do	168 2 1
Wax	64½ do	3106 " "
Java Tobacco	4,754 do	19016 " "
Opium	71 chests 7 balls	116438 19 8
Sago	4,810 Peculs	6720 " "
Tea in Chests	330 Chests	2887 13 5
Tea in small boxes	295 Boxes	73 20 2
Jaggery (55)	815 Peculs	1630 " "
Ghee	31 Pkts	620 " "
Benjamin (56)	791 "	7910 " "

(54) Beach de Mar—Beche de Mer, also called Trepang, sea-snails or sea-slugs a Chinese delicacy.

(55) Jaggery—Coarse brown sugar, the product of the Jagera tree.

(56) Benjamin—Benzion, a resin; used at this period chiefly for burning as incense.

Articles	Quantity	Value
Malay Silk Cloth	600 Pieces	3000 " "
Bengal Cloth	14,155 "	35378 13 2
Elephants Teeth	11 Peculs	825 " "
do do	10 pieces or 5 Pcls.	375 " "
Ebony	236 Peculs	590 " "
China Ware	4 Chests	40 " "
Ditto Do Loose	199,715 Pieces	43988 18 "
Paddy	402 Peculs	402 " "
Beetlenut	274,000	82 6 "
Tamarinds (57)	143 $\frac{1}{2}$ Peculs	574 " "
Camphor Oil	15 Peculs	70 " "
Dammer (58)	112 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	112 13 5
Coconuts	77,650 No.	1553 " "
Stic Lac (59)	204 Peculs	3672 " "
Bugis Cloth	27,830 Pieces	69575 " "
Java Cloth	1,543 "	1543 " "
Madras Cloth	1,580 "	3950 " "
Java Mats	2,180 No.	1308 " "
Krisses	800 No.	600 " "
Garros Wood (60)	108 Peculs	10800 " "
Tortoiseshell	5 " 94 Catties	3564 " "
Rattan Mats	2,580 No.	2064 " "
Dragons Blood (61)	46 Peculs	598 " "
Hogs Lard	92 "	920 " "
Cotton	20 Peculs	320 " "
Gunnies	5 Bales	150 " "
China Paper	275 Bundles	90 " "
Iron	56 Peculs	282 " "
Lead	9 Peculs	54 " "
Steel	48 Tubs	216 " "
Sugar Candy	225 Peculs	2,475 " "
White Cloth	320 Pieces	640 " "
Arrack	19 Casks	684 " "
Madras Chintz	16,228 Pieces	16,228 " "
Kachang (62)	487 Peculs	1,461 " "
Flooring Tiles	8,150 No.	448 6 7
Bally Cloth	19,760 Pieces	6,916 " "
Europe Chintz	78 Pieces	468 " "
Camphor	83 Catties	996 " "

(57) Tamarinds—The Tamarind tree's fruit was pulped & used in medicines & dyes, the bark chewed with betel, the seeds chewed or ground into flour.

(58) Dammar—Used collectively for tree resins (Malay 'damar'). Probably the non-fragrant types, as distinct from Benjamin; used for caulking seams and for torches. See Burkill, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 757-767.

(59) Sticlac—Secretion of insects obtained from the twigs & branches of trees; used either as a dye or a resin.

(60) Garros Wood—Possibly timber exported from the Garo Hills District of East Bengal & Assam.

(61) Dragons Blood—Red gum or resin from some of the Rattan Palms: used as an astringent and for colouring varnishes, lacquers etc.

(62) Kachang (Kajang)—A pulse, the Indian 'dhal', from the Cachang tree.

Articles	Quantity	Value
Pearls	3 Cattie, 1 White	360 " "
Sharks Fins	28 Peculs	420 " "
Cayoo Pootie Oil (63)	20 Bottles	60 " "
Brimstone	3 Peculs	18 " "
Cinnamon	38 "	304 " "
Nutmegs	8,040,000 No.	4,824 " "
Mace	16½ Peculs	1,485 " "
Sail Mats	4,786 No.	957 6 "
China Mats	320 "	56 " "
Sandlewood	10 Cattie	80 " "
Indigo	1½ Peculs	7 13 5 "
Bugis Handkfs.	6,400 Pieces	1,440 " "
Nankeen (64)	140 Pieces	118 " "
Salt Fish	246 Jars	12 13 5 "
Copper	40 Peculs	980 " "
Allum	10 "	15 " "
Fine Cloth	40 Pieces	100 " "
Glassware	4 Chests undetermined	" " "
Gurrahs (65)	7,010 Pieces	14,020 " "
Blue Cloth	429 "	9,065 6 7½ "
Madras Handkfs.	620 "	930 " "
Gadong (66)	25 Peculs	100 " "
Salt Petre	12 "	84 " "
Twine	45 "	1,125 " "
Vermicilli	283 "	2,264 " "
Preserved Oranges	10 "	150 " "
Garlick	20 "	60 " "
Raw Silk	21 Chests	7,560 " "
Fish Roes	96,600 No.	14,505 14 "
Globe Lamps	24 No.	480 " "
China Tobacco	162 Baskets	4,136 " "
Dried Fish	220 Peculs	1,100 " "
China Medicine	50 Peculs	1,000 " "
Claret	4 Casks	200 " "
Jumang Rattan	1,500 Bundles	255 " "
Coffee	2 Peculs	24 " "
Broad Cloth	28 Pieces	1,644 " "
Axes	200 No.	30 " "
Dried Fruits	40 Peculs	400 " "
Salt Pork	26 "	156 " "
Samsheu	25 Jars	25 " "
Umbrelloes	7,500 No.	2,250 " "
Sapan Wood	44 Peculs	132 " "
Gold Dust	7 Berneals	189 " "
Total Sp. Dollars.		885,811 20 4

(63) Cayoo Pootie Oil—Lit, white wood oil.

(64) Nankeen(s)—Corruption of Nanking; used for yellow cloth exported from China, and as an adjective generally of China produce.

(65) Gurrahs (Gerrahs)—A plain coarse Indian muslim (Oxd. Dict.) variously derived from the Hindi 'garha' or from Gerrha, the ancient Arabian sea-port on the Persian Gulf.

(66) Gadong—A climbing plant, the tubers of which yield a narcotic poison (Wilkinson's Malay Dict.). Used in medicines, charms and magic. See Burkill, under *Dioscorea hispida*.

EXPORTS.

Articles	Quantity		Value
Rice	22,570	Peculs	50,782 13 5
Sugar	6,752	do	37,760 " "
Gambier	10,187	do	30,561 " "
Oil	1,458	do	11,664 " "
Pepper	175	do	1,662 13 5
Birds Nest	23	do	64,400 " "
Seaweed	3,076	do	4,614 " "
Beach de Mar	304	do	7,600 " "
Salt	14,330	do	14,330 " "
Tin	1,331	do	24,292 13 5
Rattans	2,103	do	3,154 13 5
Lakawood	59	do	88 13 5
Wax	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	do	1,460 " "
Java Tobacco	2,753	Baskets	11,012 " "
Iron	1,822	Peculs	8,199 " "
Opium	206	Chests &	
	30	Balls	356,400 " "
Sago	1,974	Peculs	2,760 " "
Tea	491	Chests	3,068 20 2
Ditto	181	Boxes	45 6 7
Jaggery	194	Peculs	388 " "
Ghee	17	"	170 " "
Malay Silk Cloth	230	"	1,150 " "
Nankeen	1,075	"	913 20 2
China Ware	681,465	"	27,258 15 "
Bengal Cloth	1,162	"	2,905 " "
Tamarinds	89	Peculs	356 " "
Lead	68	"	408 " "
Sticklac	213 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	3,843 " "
Ebony	333	"	829 13 5
Hogs Lard	71	"	710 " "
Madras Chintz	20,576	Pieces	26,576 " "
Glass Ware (undetermined)	4	Chests	
Damner	130	Peculs	130 " "
Steel	119	Tubs	535 13 5
Camphor Oil	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Peculs	11 15 "
Benjamin	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	455 " "
Bugis Cloth	5,979	Pieces	14,947 13 5
do Handkfs	2,767	"	622 3 5
Java Cloth	1,900	"	1,900 " "
Madras Cloth	640	"	1,600 " "
Java Matts	5,490	"	3,294 " "
Bark	37	Peculs	37 " "
Paddy	18	"	18 " "
Gahumwood (67)	24	"	1,400 " "
Wheat	24	Bags	94 13 5

(67) Gahum Wood (Gaham Wood)—Perhaps 'Galam' wood. 'Galam' butter was obtained in India from the oils of *Bassia* trees, whose timber was much prized for building. See Oxf. Dict. under 'Galam butter' & Burkill under 'Madhuca'.

Articles	Quantity	Value
Do	4 Peculs	
Gurrahs	49,345 Pieces	98,690 " "
Europe Chintz	113 "	679 " "
Blue Cloth	3,832 "	8,622 13 5
Kachang	166 Peculs	498 " "
Chunam (68)	40 "	8 " "
Tortoiseshell	1 "	600 " "
Saltpetre	995 "	6,965 " "
Brimstone	28 "	168 " "
Madras Hankfs	2,140 Pieces	3,210 " "
Cinnnamon	4 Peculs	32 " "
Fish	246 Baskets	1,230 " "
Paint	30 Peculs	660 " "
China Paper	75 Bundles	26 6 7
Silk Thread	5 Chests	2,000 " "
Hides	80 Pieces	80 " "
Gunpowder	8½ Casks	1,562 13 5
Ditto	39 Peculs	
Dates	87 "	304 13 5
Gold Thread	60 Boxes	1,500 " "
Bally Cloth	2,780 Pieces	973 " "
Irish Linen	2 "	40 " "
Nails Small	30 Peculs	480 " "
Planks	2,680 Pieces	236 13 5
Artops (69)	5,200 "	26 " "
Raw Silk	80 Chests	20,800 " "
Ditto	25 Pls. 62 Cat.	6,500 " "
China Mats	160 Pieces	36 " "
Iron Pans	8,923 Nests	1,784 13 5
Coconuts	31,080	63 13 "
Globe Lamps	10 No.	240 " "
Copper	25 Peculs	675 " "
Nutmegs	500,000 No.	3,000 " "
Gadong	24 Peculs	96 " "
Flooring Tiles	200 No.	11 " "
Tutinague (70)	75 Peculs	1,265 " "
Sugar Candy	5 Tubs	3,113 " "
Ditto	278 "	
Gold Leaf	1 Box	100 " "
Salt Fish	156 Peculs	780 " "
Fine White Cloth	12 Pieces	48 " "
Bricks	1,000	3 " "
Tiles	2,000	4 13 5
Satin	295 Pieces	5,310 " "
China Silk	11 "	99 " "
China Jars	1,000	148 4 "

(68) Chunam—Lime used in betel-chewing (Wilkinson)

(69) Artops (Artabs)—Attaps. The palm leaves used in thatching and house-building.

(70) Tutinague—Whitish alloy of copper, zinc and nickel, originally imported from China. Said to have been used loosely of zinc (Oxf. Dict.).

Articles	Quantity	Value
Looking Glass	16 Chests	24 " "
do do	600 No.	
Vermicilli	690 Peculs	5,520 " "
Batak Handkfs.	1,060 Pieces	1,060 " "
Umbrelloes	300 "	90 " "
Sharks fins	9 Peculs	90 " "
Beetlenut	30 "	60 " "
Ditto	1,000 No.	2 " "
Earthen Pots	1,850 No.	55 13 5
Dried Fruits	42 Peculs	420 " "
Brass Wire	3 "	150 " "
Salt Pork	6 "	36 " "
Samshew	12 Jars	12 " "
Dragons blood	8½ Peculs	110 13 5
Gold Dust	7 Catties	3,500 " "

Total Spanish Dollars 914,638 26 1

(L7/25-28)

91. MASTER ATTENDANT, SINGAPORE, TO THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE.

Monthly Return of Departures and Arrivals of Ships and other Square Rigged Vessels from Singapore in August 1821.

ARRIVALS.

Date	Vessel's Name	Tonnage	How Rigged	Colours	From Whence	Where Bound	Cargo
8th	Happing	40	Sloop	Dutch	Samarang	Malacca	Tobacco
13	Fidrabamai	100	Brig.	English	Penang	Singapore	Piece Goods
"	H.C.S. Royal George	1388	Ship	English	Bombay	China	Cotton & Sundries
"	Inglis	1321	Ship	English	Bombay	China	Cotton
"	Charlotte	700	Ship	English	Bombay	China	Cotton
17	Fattal Ibarhim	190	Ship	Dutch	Java	Penang	Sundries
19	Caroline	540	Ship	English	Bombay	China	Cotton
20	Fattal Mahal	210	Ship	English	Pontiana	Penang	Sundries
21	Argyle	577	Ship	English	Calcutta	China	Cotton
"	Sri Tanjor	60	Ketch	Malay	Samarang	Tranganu	Tobacco
23	Mary Ann	550	Ship	English	Calcutta	China	Cotton & Sundries
"	Fleende Siam	120	Brig.	Siam	Colbogo(71)	Siam	Sundries

(71) Colbogo—Possibly Sibolga.

Date	Vessel's Name	Tonnage	How Rigged	Colours	From Whence	Where Bound	Cargo
"	H.C.S. Farquharson	1325	Ship	English	Bombay	China	Cotton & Sundries
28	H.C.S. Kent	1365	Ship	English	Bombay	China	Cotton etc.
"	Isabella	200	Ship	English	Penang	Eastward	Sundries
29	Ming Sorei	60	Brig.	Dutch	Pontiana	Singapore	Tobacco
"	Doreewat Mahaden	300	Ship	Siam	Telebang (72)	Siam	Ballast
30	Repulse	1334	Ship	English	Penang	China	Compy. Cargo
"	Dadaloy	100	Brig.	English	Penang	Eastward	Sundries

DEPARTURES.

Date	Vessel's Name	Tonnage	How Rigged	Colours	Where Bound	Cargo
5th	Carmo	600	Ship	Portuguese	China	Opium & Rattans
6th	Pugatton	60	Ketch	Dutch	Penang	Sago & Sundries
"	Minerva	180	Ship	English	Penang	Sundries
9	Happing	40	Sloop	Dutch	Malacca	Tobacco & Sundries
15	Charlotte	700	Ship	English	China	Sundries
"	H.C.S. Royal George	1366	Ship	English	China	Cotton & Sundries
"	H.C.S. Inglis	1321	Ship	English	China	Cotton & Sundries
20	F. Ibarhim	190	Ship	Dutch	Malacca	Sundries
"	Caroline	540	Ship	English	China	Cotton
23	Argyle	577	Ship	English	China	Cotton
24	May Ann	550	Ship	English	China	Sundries
25	Fleende Siam	120	Brig	Siam	Siam	Sundries
"	H.C.S. Farquharson	1326	Ship	English	China	Cotton & Sundries
27	Fattal Mahal	210	Ship	English	Penang	Sundries
28	Sri Tanjo	60	Ketch	Malay	Tranganu	Sundries
30	Isabella	200	Ship	English	Eastward	Sundries
"	Ming Sorei	60	Brig	Dutch	China	Tobacco

(L5/273-274).

(72) Telebang—Telebang, Anambas Islands.

**92. MASTER ATTENDANT, SINGAPORE, TO THE
RESIDENT, SINGAPORE, AUGUST 1821.**

Monthly Return of Arrivals and Departures of Junks, Native
Prows and Boats at Singapore in the Month of August 1821.

ARRIVALS.

From What Port	No. of Boats	Burthen in Tons	Description of Cargo
Penang	1	7	60 Piculs of Tin ½ Chest of Opium 140 pieces of Gerrahs.
Malacca	6	45	100 Peculs of Rice 40 Do Damar 28 Do Dates 50 Do Iron 20 Do dried fruit 1½ Do Nails ½ Chest Opium 130 pieces of Moorries ⁽⁷³⁾ 40 Do of Gerrahs 421 Do Bengal Chintz.
Rhio	16	100	30 Piculs of Tin 164 Do Pepper 434 Do Rattans 170 Do Gambia 3 Do Elephants Teeth 20 Do Tamarinds 35 Do Kachang 220 baskets Java Tobacco 900 Pandan Mats 50 pieces Gerrahs 380 Bugis Sarongs.
Lingin	4	45	42 Piculs of Tin 16 Do Pepper 84 Do Rattans 8 Do Gambia 4½ Do Gaham Wood 2 Do Wax 50 Do Kachang 1 Do Tortoise Shell 2420 pieces Bugis Sarongs 20 Boxes Tea.
Sinkip (74)	1	3	13 Piculs Tin 2 Do Dragons blood 4 Elephants Teeth.
Pahang	6	18	80 Piculs Rice 40 do tin 39 Do Rattans 25 Do Ghee 1 Do Gaham Wood 10 baskets Java Tobacco 2 Catties Gold Dust.
Siak	5	12	125 Peculs Rice 20 Do Paddy 6300 Fish Roes
Jambie	9	84	1110 Piculs Rattans 24 Do Benjamin 16 Do Flax 13 Do Dragons blood 3 Do Java Tobacco 1 Do Elephants Teeth.
Batavia	1	110	480 Piculs Salt 100 Casks of Arrak
Mintow (75)	2	32	9 Peculs Pepper 3 Do Wax 180 Caskets of Tobacco
Broonie (76)	4	70	502 Peculs Pepper 16 Do Wax 2 Peculs Birds Nest 5 Do Beach de Mar 15 Catties Tortoise Shell
Pegaltan (77)	2	31	278 Peculs Rattan 3½ Do Birds Nest 320 Rattan Mats 600 Bugis Sarongs
Campar (78)	1	7	10 Peculs de mar 1 Do Wax

(73) Moorries (Moory)—An Indian cloth, usually dark in colour (blue or brown).

(74) Sinkip—Sinkep, most important of the Lingga Archipelago.

(75) Mintow—Muntok, Banka Is., which during the British occupation of Java
was re-named Minto. See "Memoir of the Life & Services of Sir T. S. Raffles"
(1830), p. 122.

(76) Broonie—Brunei.

(77) Pegaltan—Probably Pegatan, West Coast of Borneo.

(78) Campar—Campar, perhaps Kampar, on the Kinta River was then accessible
to small sea-going vessels, or Kampa, N. Banka may be meant.

From What Port	No. of Boats	Burthen in Tons	Description of Cargo
Sebong (79)	8	28	400 Peculs Gambia 15 Do Pepper
Cotai (80)	4	54	184 Peculs Rattans 8 Do Tin 25 Do Beach de Mar 2 Do White & 15 Do black Birds Nests. 2½ Do Tortoise Shell
Cota Tingin	1	40	315 Peculs of Rattans 3 Do Gham Wood
Laut Poolo (81)	2	28	70 Peculs of Rattans 8 Do Black Birds Nest 2400 Rattan Mats 20 Bugis Sarongs
Bugis	2	30	43 Piculs of Tin 6000 Bugis Sarongs
Pontiana	2	12	6 Piculs Sugar 120 baskets Java Tobacco
Bally Beliling (82)	1	9	3600 Bugis Sarongs
Jaboos (83)	2	28	28 Piculs Rattans 2 Casks Arrack 8 Can boric (84). 3 do Gin
Booltit Batoo (85)	2	3	10 Peculs of Tin 1500 fish roes
Endau	1	2	21 Peculs of Rattan
Johore	1	2	10 Peculs Rattans
Pulo Auor (86)	1	2	1300 Cocoa Nuts
Penai (87)	1	30	80 Peculs Rattans
Rocho (88)	1	1	5 Peculs of Pepper
Muah	4	8	32 Peculs of Rattans 9 Do Damar 2000 Beetle-Nuts
Mokkah	1	17	320 Peculs of Sago
Lookat (89)	1	2	19 Peculs of Tin
Uyah (90)	1	60	1200 Peculs of Sago
Tanah Pootei (91)	1	3	20 Peculs of Rice
Total	95	923	

(79) Sebong—Sabon, Island just South of Carimon.

(80) Cotai—Perhaps Kota.

(81) Laut Poolo—Pula Laut, or North Natuna Island.

(82) Bally Beliling—Buleleng, North West Coast of Bali.

(83) Jaboos—Djeboes, North West Coast of Banka.

(84) 'Boric'—The Ms. here is almost illegible; 'brime' or 'resin' as possible alternative readings.

(85) Booltit Batoo—Clerk's error for Bukit Batu, Singapore Strait.

(86) Pulo Auor—nr Pulo Tinggi, East coast of Johore.

(87) Penai—Penau, 0° 37' N. 107° 02' E., capital of the Badas Is; centre of the Orang Laut.

(88) Rocho—Perhaps a misspelling or corruption of Rhio; it is barely possible that a boat from Rochore Suburb (Singapore) through some misadventure passed through the Master Attendant's books as a new arrival at the Port.

(89) Lookat—Lukut, Negri Sembilan.

(90) Uyah—Unknown.

(91) Tana Pootei—Possibly Tanah Puteh, nr. Kuantan, or Tanah Puteh nr. Siak, E. Coast of Sumatra. In the case of such Malay settlements, as with Kota, the possibility that the settlement may have been broken up or moved, and the number of places of the same name, make positive identification almost impossible.

DEPARTURES.

From What Port	No. of Boats	Burthen in Tons	Description of Cargo
Penang	2	64	720 Peculs of Sago 40 Do tin 2000 Bugis Sarongs.
Malacca	10	74	20 Peculs of Rice 326 Do Salt 6 Do Vermicelli 80 Do Gambia 5 Do Oil 10 Do Hogs Lard 20 Do Ghee 50 Do Kachang 7 Do Garlick 91 baskets Java Tobacco 200 Iron pots 500 Sarongs. 1 Chest of Raw Silks 500 pieces of Gambia 9000 Do China
Rhio	17	80	100 Peculs Rice 129 Do Sago 20 Do Dates. 90 Do Paddy 1½ Chests of Opium 370 pieces of Bengal Chintz 10 Do Europe Cloth 140 Do blue Moorries 240 Do Gerrahs 4 Do Europe Chintz 15,000 Rattans 200 planks 3000 Artabs.
Lingin	3	14	20 Peculs Rice 20 Do Salt Petre 40 pieces Gerrahs. 80 Do blue Moorries 40 Do Europe Chintz 100. Do Bengal Chintz 20 Muskets 15 balls of Opium.
Pahang	4	18	2 Peculs Sago 4 Do Gambia 40 Do Chunam. 5 Do Wax 6 baskets Java Tobacco 560 Bugis Sarongs 50 pieces Moorries.
Bangkok	1	120	1½ Chests of Opium 100 Pieces Gerrahs 80. Ditto Bengal Chintz
Pattanie	3	70	10 Peculs Wax 10 Do Dates 15 Do Benjamin 10 Muskets 120 baskets Java Tobacco 20 Bugis Sarongs 120 Do Gerrahs 20 Do White Moorries.
Trangganu	2	8	3 Peculs Wax 120 Bugis Sarongs 40 Bugis Handks.
Calantan	4	50	40 Peculs Damar 11 Do Iron 19 Do Gambia 109 baskets Java Tobacco.
Palembang	3	17	80 Peculs of Salt 2 Do Dates 1 Do Kachang 3 pieces Europe Chintz 600 pieces blue Moorries 10 Do Gerrahs 5000 fish Roes
Mokkah	1	30	1000 pieces blue Moorries
Siak	4	8	20 Peculs of Salt 2 Do Stick lac 20 pieces blue Moorries 120 Bugis Sarongs 5 pieces Europe Chintz
Broonie	2	109	90 Peculs of Iron 300 Iron Pans 10 baskets Java Tobacco 480 pieces blue Moorries 3620 pieces white & 1260 Do blue Gerrahs 45 Do Madras & 40 Europe Handks. 63 Do Europe Chintz 60 Do Nankins 7 Rolls of Satin
Sebong	3	11	35 Peculs of Tin 10 Do Sago 3 Do Soft Sugar 100 Planks
Batoo Pahat	1	2	7 Peculs of Salt
Muah	2	3	25 Peculs of Sago
Total	62	678	

(L5/275-276).

**93. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM.
28th NOVEMBER 1821.**

Having at various times reported to the Supremen Government the vexatious demands of the Siamese Government on the resources of the State of Kedah, and explained the nature of the relations between these two countries, as well as our Treaty with the latter it becomes our duty now to report to your Excellency in Council the termination of the misunderstandings and disputes which occurred between Siam and Kedah, by the actual invasion and subjugation of the Kedah territories, by a force equipped under the instructions of the Rajah of Ligor⁽⁹²⁾, who is immediately subordinate to the Emperor of Siam.

Having succeeded in capturing the chief town, and the person of the principal Minister, and putting to death several other persons of rank, the enemy proceeded to Pulo Tega in the Murbow, up which river the Rajah had fixed his residence, from which after a trifling resistance His Highness was obliged to fly into the Company's territories, leaving behind him the greater part of his Treasure, and losing the remainder, and several of his Adherents in his journey through the forests.

. . . On receiving the intelligence above noticed, we referred to the instructions which we have at different times received from the Supreme Authority in India, and which were obtained by representatives from this Government, in anticipation of the crisis which has now arrived.

By the latest of these, viz. Mr. Secretary Adam's letter of the 25th February, 1814, we found ourselves prohibited from any active interference, having for its tendency to release the Kedah country from its state of vassalage, but we considered ourselves nevertheless as called upon to secure if possible the restoration of the usual supplies which were now totally cut off, to obtain immunity for British vessels and property in the port of Kedah, and also to exert our influence to secure the life and personal safety of the Rajah our old friend and ally, with the immediate members of his family.

(D7/75).

(92) Ligor, a vassal state of Siam, on the East coast of the Malayan Peninsula, North of Patani and Singora. Since 1812 the Raja of Ligor had been the semi-independent Governor of the Siamese States of the Peninsula.

94. AT A COUNCIL HELD AT FORT CORNWALLIS.
27th DECEMBER 1821.

Minute by the President.

The arrival of Mr. Crawford, Agent from the Most Noble the Governor General to the Kings of Siam and Cochin China, has already been reported to the Board.

Since that Gentleman's arrival, I have been collecting from our Records every Document which can tend to throw any light on the interesting objects of his Mission, or which may enable him fully to comprehend the relative situation of this Establishment, and of Siam with her tributary Malayan States and I shall now endeavour to state the various objects for the attainment of which a Mission to Siam has long been recommended by this Government.

The first Commercial object is to obtain from the King of Siam, a continuation of that advantage which this Island has always derived from the territories of Kedah, and on which indeed the existence of this Establishment almost depends. A free importation of all kinds of Supplies and Provisions.

The second Commercial object is to establish as free and unrestricted a trade as possible, with all the Siamese Possessions and and Dependent States around us, and with this view to negotiate for a fixed and just rate of Duties to be levied at those places, particularly at Junkceylon to obtain a prohibition of the Farms which are now rented to Chinese and other foreign Merchants, and a Navigation of all the numerous Rivers between the Trang and Carian,⁽⁹³⁾ from their Mouths up to their Sources, and to open a fair and unimpeded intercourse overland and by means of those Rivers with Patani, and the Tin Countries in the interior, and with Ligor, Singora and the other Ports on the Eastern Coast of the Malay Peninsula.

The third Commercial object is in view to encourage the formation at this Island of an Emporium or Entrepot for the Tin Produce of Junkceylon Patani and Perah, to obtain some remission of the heavy Duty levied on the exportation of that Article to Junkceylon, where 500 Tons of Tin used formerly to be exported, to open a free intercourse with the Tin Mines in the neighbourhood of Patani, whence large supplies were offered to the late Governor by the Penghulu at Kroh, and whence there is reason to believe almost any quantity may be derived through the Merbow, Mooda and Prye Rivers—and lastly to preclude through negocia-

(93) Krian River.

tions at Siam, a renewal of the Dutch Monopoly of Tin at Perah. It must be however recollected that Tin is a Royal Metal, and one of those Articles the King of Siam has long monopolized, and it appears from Mr. James Scott's Account in 1785, that His Majesty then engrossed the Tin Trade of Junkceylon also, the produce of which he used formerly to leave free.

The annexed Statements of the nature and value of the Import and Export Trade that is conducted between Siam and this Island, exhibit Opium and Piece Goods with Gold Dust and Sugars, to form the most valuable objects of this Commerce, and it amounted during the last Official year to Four Lacks of Rupees.

It may be useful to turn the views of the Siamese Court to the great advantage and practicability of conducting an almost direct overland Trade between this Island and Their Territories, along the Gulph of Siam, by a route across the Malayan Peninsula, or more to the Northward across the Isthmus of Kraw, which is said by one Authority to be only 20 Leagues broad. Indeed between Ligor and Singora and Trang, and the Territories of Kedah a regular communication is at present maintained by means of Elephants but the Passage across, which now occupies 6 or 8 days may probably be rendered much more easy and expeditious if the Roads were improved.

I will now endeavour to recapitulate the various Political objects which this Government would desire to connect with a Mission to Siam.

The first is to obtain the permission of Siam to place a small British Establishment at the Island of Junkceylon, in view to the security and better encouragement of our Trade and intercourse with it.

The second Political object entertained by this *Government* is to obtain from Siam the cession of the small Island of Pankour near the Mouth of the Dinding River, and thence sometimes called Pulo Dinding,

The third Political object is one, concerning the propriety of which I entertain certain doubts, but as its policy and utility have been urged by some of my ablest Predecessors, I cannot decline to notice it. It is an accession of Territory on the Opposite Coast of

Kedah. My lamented relative Colonel Bannerman, proposed the extension only of the Northern boundaries of Province Wellesley from the South Bank of Qualla Mooda to ten Orlongs beyond the North bank of Qualla Murbow. I am inclined to go as far as this last proposition, and altho' I fear that all such accession may bring on us the burthen of having only to protect a greater extent of Territory, I think that consideration might be counterbalanced in the advantage of Commanding the Navigation of the Murbow and Mooda Rivers, and in the importance of preventing any interference with this Port, from the Roadsteads of Qualla Murbow and Mooda, where Vessels may proceed to receive Cargoes and evade the very trifling Duties levied here. There is another and perhaps the strongest argument in favor of obtaining this encrease, and that is in the probable event of the Siamese exercising a more immediate authority over Kedah, the natural advantages of the broad and deep Murbow River, might be made available, and our line of demarcation on the Opposite Coast, be rendered, in a Military point of view, much more complete and defensible than at present.

I cannot conclude this Minute however, without laying before the Board, certain other Papers, an account of a Communication which I opened with Siam early this year. I was induced to adopt means for sending to that Capital an Agent in a private Capacity reporting the measure of course immediately to the Most Noble the Governor General.

That Agent proceeded from Singapore in April, and returned thither in October last—and he has represented to me that he had met with a very cordial reception at Bankok, that he had held much discourse with the Burcalon⁽⁹⁴⁾ and other Ministers there, who seemed anxious to cultivate a more intimate intercourse with the British Government that the trade of that place was prodigious, that the Portuguese Factory altho' they have succeeded in rendering themselves the Channel of all written Communications between the Court and Europeans there, have not much Commercial influence—that the American trade is encreasing rapidly, and that the Government of the United States had lately opened a Communication with Siam—and contemplated fixing a Consul there next year—and lastly that there was no doubt that the Siamese Court would receive with the utmost consideration any Mission which might be deputed from this Settlement. Indeed the Minister asked why this Government had not sent the Agent they had

(94) Burcalon—the Siamese Minister in charge of commerce. "This is the officer whose proper title, meaning Lord of the Warehouses, is corrupted by Europeans into 'Barcalon', and the person best known to all strangers visiting Siam, as with him alone their chief intercourse is conducted." Crawford *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (1830) p. 106.

heard we proposed deputing last year. The annexed letter with suitable Presents, may now be entrusted to Mr. Crawford, to be by him delivered to the Minister in the Name of the Government. (A15/603-).

95. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 23rd JANUARY 1822.

In these Paragraphs⁽⁹⁵⁾ certain propositions are submitted to Us for increasing very considerably the taxation of the Island. "The general subject" you say, "of the resources of the Island has long been a matter of serious consideration as connected with the expenditure and the heavy charge to which the East India Company have been liable in maintaining Establishment of this Presidency." We are extremely happy to perceive that the greatness of this charge has so justly turned your attention to the important consideration of rendering the income of the Island as nearly as possible equal to its expenditure. We have already had occasion to express Our approbation of your endeavours to limit the disbursements and you now propose to increase the receipts by increasing the taxes.

An increase of taxation to so great an amount as that which is here proposed, is a subject requiring mature deliberation and, notwithstanding the information contained in the Reports of the Committee, a more complete acquaintance with the resources of the Island and its population than we yet possess, is necessary to enable us to form a satisfactory opinion.

With respect to one important source of the proposed increase namely, the Sea duties, we learn by a subsequent Letter⁽⁹⁶⁾ of yours not at present under reply, that you have materially changed your opinions and instead of increasing those duties, have abolished a considerable portion of them. We observe, indeed, that the Committee suggested, in their Report, in a passage quoted above their opinion of the impolicy of high duties in a place which is to be considered as an entrepot.

When we consider the very limited population of Prince of Wales Island, of which too, a great proportion consists of casual residents, who only remain because their situation is advantageous, and would remove if it ceased to be so, we cannot help doubting the propriety of adding anything considerable to the present burthens; being persuaded that, in such a Situation more than in most others, too great an increase of duties is liable to be followed by a diminution of receipt.

(95) Of the Governor of Prince of Wales Island letter to the Court of Directors, of February 1818, of which No. 55 above gives the substance.

(96) Dated 24th August 1820. (No. 86.)

To these observations we can only add a general exhortation to be very cautious and prudent in recommending the augmentation of taxes, and especially not to attempt too much at a time. We are of course desirous that the expense incurred by retaining the Settlement should be defrayed from its own resources. But we may do more to defeat than accomplish our object by a precipitate accumulation of burthens.

(C5/133-).

**96. THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO' TO THE
SECRETARY TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.
6th FEBRUARY 1822.**

I have much satisfaction in transmitting for the information of the Honble Court of Directors an abstract Statement of the arrivals and departures of Shipping etc. at Singapore from the date of its first Establishment to the 31st August last, being a period of two years and a half, during which the Port has been progressively advancing in importance.

From this Statement the Court will perceive that during the same period no less than 2889 Vessels have entered at the port, of which 383 were owned and commanded by Europeans and 2506 by natives, and their united tonnage has amounted to (Tons 1,161,038.

From the returns in the Master Attendant's office, it further appears that the value of Merchandize in Native Vessels, such as Junks, Prows etc. which have entered and Sailed from the port during the same period has amounted to about five millions of dollars and that the imports and Exports by Ships have not been less than three millions more, making in all a gross amount of eight millions of dollars, or two millions Sterling.

(L2/3).

**97. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON 1st
AUGUST 1822.**

Minute by the President.

The Honorable Court have in the 63rd Paragraph⁽⁹⁷⁾ decided that "more complete acquaintance with the Resources of the Island and its Population is necessary to enable them to form a satisfactory opinion on the subjects submitted to their Consideration." In the 70th a latitude is allowed this Government for selecting with prudence and caution such out of the numerous Imposts then projected, as may unite relief to the Expenditure of the Island, with

(97) See No. 95 above.

a due regard to the ease and prosperity of its Inhabitants, and 69. Para directs a communication to be made with the Supreme Government, relative to that part of our Revenues, which is derived from Sea Customs.

I shall therefore proceed to state to the Board my sentiments on a few of the different Taxes, one or two of which may form the subject of Regulations to be drawn up and transmitted for the sanction of the Home Authorities.

A Shop Tax may be devised for the purpose of defraying a part of the Expenses attendant on the Police of George Town; and I therefore propose that the Acting Collector be called upon to frame for the consideration for the Board a Regulation for levying and Collecting a suitable Tax on all Shops and Boutiques throughout the Island.

A small Tax on the Exports of all Island Produce would serve as the best and most simple taxation on the "Land" which the Honble Court in the Para noted in the margin point out as "the fittest subject of an encreased Taxation", and at a future period can be taken into the consideration of Government with view to a Regulation being framed for the purpose.

The Establishment of a Rival Entrepot in Singapore has rendered the proposed encrease in our Sea Duties quite nugatory, as such must prove prejudicial to the general Commerce and Interests of the Island, and the Customs here have not long since been modified according to the wishes of the Supreme Government. I however suggest that Copies of those parts of the Letter with reference to Sea Customs and Duties be sent to the Acting Collector with a request that he will submit to the Board a Report on the present state of the Commerce, and on the measures best calculated in his opinion to improve simplify, and otherwise modify the existing Rates of Duties in order that the same may be transmitted to the Supreme Government (to which I propose in obedience to the orders before us to refer) accompanied with suitable observations from this Board.

(A16/351-355).

98. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.
4th SEPTEMBER 1822.

By the last communication from the King Johore Ulallum, it appears His Highness had not in the smallest degree improved his

actual condition from what is has been for the last two years, viz. merely that of a petty Chief holding a very weak and limited authority over a few dependents at the mouth of the river of Acheen, where he manages to collect some trifling duties from ships which touch there, and carries on a correspondence with the Chiefs of Annalaboo, Burong, Pedir and some other ports, who continue to acknowledge his right to the throne, but refrain from engaging more effectually in his support, and pay him only such small part of the revenues they collect as is perfectly convenient to themselves, and affords a slender subsistence to their sovereign.

..... it is by no means unlikely, should interference on our part be deemed inexpedient, that the King may be deprived ere long of the semblance of power he possesses, and again driven out an exile from the country, as in the end of the year 1815.

(D7/171).

99. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND. 4th SEPTEMBER 1822.

We cannot withhold our surprize at your observation as to the detention of the Ships being limited to the shortest possible periods the London appears to have had about 50 Packets of the Company's consignments to land at your Island and some of the remaing Ship's Despatches and a few Convicts the time necessary for which purpose we consider need not have exceeded two days.

[The ships have not in any case remained a less period than a week and the Thames and Warren Hastings stayed a considerable length of time employed exclusively in receiving Private Trade.

We therefore desire that when Ships are consigned from any of the other Presidencies to Prince of Wales Island in their passage to China that you will restrict the Commanders from staying beyond the time actually required for accomplishing the purpose for which they may be sent there; and we trust that we shall find these Orders strictly adhered to as it is our determination to hold you responsible for any breach of them.

(C4/337-340).

100. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON 9th SEPTEMBER 1822.

Revenue.

[The Honorable the President lay before the Board the following Minute on the Report by the Acting Collector, recorded on the Proceedings of last Council.

The principle with which Mr. Maingy sets out is the same as that which the Committee appointed to revise the Custom House Regulations of Fort William propounded in 1818, and which was recommended to our observance by the Most Noble the Governor General in Council This principle proposes to leave our Transit Commerce, that is all articles imported solely for re-Exportation as free as possible, charging on such at most a moderate Port Duty, equivalent only with the Convenience afforded by the use of the Port; to levy a considerable Consumption Duty on All Articles Imported for internal use, such as Oil, Ghee, Hogslard, Tobacco, Salt, Wood and Artaps: and with regard to Europe, India and China Goods, which are Imported both for Consumption and Exportation, either to allow such as are designed for re-Exportation to be imported under Bond, or to levy indiscriminately in the first instance a Duty equivalent to that which it may be thought necessary to impose upon the Consumers of the Island, allowing on re-exportation a Drawback, if not of the whole Duty, yet to such an extent as to leave with the Government of Penang an amount equivalent only to a moderate Port Duty.

In applying this principle, Mr. Maingy proposes to introduce at this Port, the system of Bonding Goods, and of allowing Drawbacks on re-exportation, and although I have always entertained, and still entertain some apprehension that such a system will be productive of much trouble and delay to our Custom House Officers, and to Traders in general, yet as Mr. Maingy expresses himself so confidently that the advantages of the system would preponderate over all such evils, I can have no objection to give my consent to the measure.

Mr. Maingy's propositions also to reduce the general Port Duty from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per Cent, and to encrease the existing Duty on Wines and Spirituous Liquors, and on other Articles designed for internal Consumption from 5 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent to the same general rate of 10 per Cent as is charged at Fort William, appears to me just and unobjectionable,

The Statements which accompany Mr. Maingy's Report are drawn up with admirable judgment, and are highly interesting. No. 1. exhibits two important facts namely, that our Imports and Exports during the two last years, far exceed what they have ever been before, and that they have progressively encreased, notwithstanding the occupation of Singapore.

From this Statement we may observe.

First. The average of our Imports and Exports for five years from 1806/7 to 1810/11, both inclusive, being the period of the British Exclusion from the principal Eastern Ports, was
Drs. 3,362,110 64

2ndly. The average of the same for the five following years from 1811/12 to 1815/16 both inclusive, being the period of the British Dominion over the Eastern Archipelago, was

Drs. 2,899,246 44

3rdly. The average of the same from 1816/17 to 1818/19, both inclusive, being the three years immediately preceding the occupation of Singapore was

Drs. 2,920,742 10

Lastly. The average of the same from 1819/20 to 1821/22, both inclusive, being the 3 years subsequent to the Occupation of Singapore was

Drs. 4,138,507 53

From this Statement No. 1 it further appears that the principal increase in our Trade has been in the Imports of India Articles, and the Imports and Exports of Pepper. That the Exports of India Articles, under which head are included all Straits Produce imported free, are not greater than what they were from 1806/7 to 1810/11. That the Imports of China Articles have increased in some measure, while the Exports are the same as they were in 1806/7, and that the Imports of Tin have diminished very much. The price of Opium having been much enhanced during the last three or four years, I conceive that Article, though appearing to exceed in amount, is not in fact imported now to the same extent it was in the early years. The statement exhibits an increase in Europe Goods of only 50,000 Drs. between the Imports of the early years and of the last year, but it must be recollected that most Europe Goods are now imported free, and the Statement returns that small portion only which has been subjected to Import duties since the date of the Company's last Charter. Mr. Maingy however informs us in a Note, that the amount of Europe Goods imported during the last Official year was Drs. 351,450. 80.

(A16/440/442-444/453-457).

101. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE RAJAH OF KEDAH. 13th DECEMBER 1822.

If however my friend is desirous of leaving Penang to go to any other country than Siam, I must advise him, that it will be more agreeable to myself, as well as more consonant with the long established relations between himself and the British Government for him not to think of quitting this Island, until the Most Noble the Governor General has been apprized of such his intention. My friend must understand that if he goes away to any other country, with the view of embarking in hostilities against Siam, and the Rajah of Ligoré, the effect of all such hostilities will certainly be productive of much inconvenience to Penang and

its native trade, and may thence ultimately lead to my friend being entirely renounced by the British Government.

(G2/9).

102. THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR, FORT MARLBRO' TO THE SECRETARY TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

15th JANUARY 1823.

..... it will appear that the Tonnage employed in the Trade of Singapore during the Year 1822 was not less than 130,629 Tons, and that the value of the imports and exports by the Same amounted to Sp. Drs. 8,568,172.

It will also appear that the Port of Singapore has during the same period afforded a vent of no less than 359 Chests of Opium, that the quantity of pepper exported during the year was 17,431 piculs or upwards of 1400 Tons, being 200 Tons in excess of the largest quantity ever produced in any one year in the districts subordinate to Bencoolen, that the quantity of Tin was 13,526 piculs, being equal to the average produce of the island of Banca, during the period it was held by the British Government, and that the Sugar exported fell but little short of 1000 Tons.

It will further appear that the value of India Piece Goods imported into Singapore during the Same period was 498,729 Spanish dollars, or nearly half a million of dollars, and that of British Piece Goods Drs. 265,054.

(L2/49-51).

103. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 31st MARCH 1823.

Authentic information having been received by our President that the Netherlands Government of Malacca had deputed Agents to the several Malay Ports with a view to induce their Chiefs to turn the Channels of their Commerce more immediately to the Settlements under their Government we considered it advisable for the Commercial Interests of this Island and with a view to obviate the injury to the Honble Company's Revenues which would result from so restricted a system, to depute an Agent to visit the Several Ports on the East Coast of Sumatra as far as Siack for the following purposes, viz.

To assure the Chiefs of all the States between Diamond Point and Siack inclusive, of the anxious and Sincere Disposition of this Government to Cultivate the most Cordial relations with them. To point out to them fairly, the different Course of Action which has always been pursued toward them by the British and

Netherland Authorities.—To promise them and their Commerce, on all Occasions, every consistent protection, encouragement and facility at this Port.—To instruct them as to the precise Nature and demands of the Market here.—To hold out to them every inducement to encrease their industry and extend their Agricultural, as well as their Exports to this Island.—To obtain if possible, the same privileges and easy access in their States to our Manufactures and objects of Trade, as we have always given to them, and with this view it would be highly beneficial if they could be prevailed on to forego their Strong prejudices in favor of the Spanish Dollar, and receive our Sicca Rupee and Smaller Coins.—Lastly, to employ every Argument and persuation to prevent them from entering into any Monopolies or exclusive Contracts, or into any Political engagements with the Dutch.

For this purpose We selected Mr. Anderson of your Civil Service and allotted to him the period of three Months for the performance of the Service required.⁽⁹⁸⁾

At the Date of our last Dispatch we were in daily expectation of the Arrival of Mr. Crawford the Agent to the Most Noble the Governor General on his return from his Embassy.—This occurred in December last and we received from that Gentleman an Account of the Proceedings which in Compliance with our solicitation he held with the Ministers of the Siamese Government on the affairs of Kedah and the Connection of this Island therewith, but it does not appear that he was enabled to affect more than recognition of the presumptive right which long and undisturbed possession has conferred on the British Government to the Dominion of the Territory Subordinate to this Presidency.

It is highly gratifying to us to have it in our power to draw your Honble Courts' particular attention to the encreased and progressively encreasing Amount of our Population which exceeds 51,000 Souls, having during the last year received an accession of 8,451—on the Island, and 4,699 in Wellesly Province.⁽⁹⁹⁾
(B7/27-29/30-31/38).

104. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON 1st MAY 1823.

Read the following letter from the Master Attendant on the Port Duties charged on Foreign Vessels. Enter.

(98) This mission led to the publication of Anderson's "Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823 (1826), but earned for the Government of Penang a severe reprimand for trespassing on what under the Treaty of 1824 was to be the Dutch Government's sphere of influence.

(99) This increase of population was largely due to the Siamese invasion of Kedah, which was followed by an exodus of Malays into British territory.

As it appears the Revenue derived from the Double Pilotage to Foreigners has not realized 90 Dollars per Annum, and that in Calcutta the Charge is equal to British and Foreigners, the Board resolves that it be so made for the future at this Presidency.

(A17/190).

105. SINGAPORE, PROCLAMATION BY THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR OF FORT MARLBRO'. 9th JUNE 1823.

It being my intention to embark this day on the Ship Hero of Malown for Bencoolen, I do hereby resign the further Charge of the Settlement of Singapore, transferring the same to J. Crawford Esq. who has been appointed Resident hereof.

The accounts of Singapore as a Dependency on Fort Marlbro' will be closed up to the 31st May inclusive, and the Settlement is no longer to be considered as a Dependency on Fort Marlbro'.

From this date the Resident of Singapore is placed in direct communication with the Supreme Government and the Settlement is to be considered as an immediate dependancy on Fort William.
(L17/475).

106. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON THE 24th JULY 1823.

Revenue.

Read the following letter from the Several Merchants of this Island, comparing the Duties levied here with the freedom from them at Singapore, and soliciting their abolition at Prince of Wales Island.

President's Minute.

The Amount value of our Imports and Exports, not including Treasure, nor the portion exempted from all Duty, nor that large portion which only sailed through the Port, but such Articles alone as actually paid Custom Duties was for the last seven years as follows.

				Amount Duties	
1816/17	Sp. Drs.	2,298,044.	90	Drs.	62,364. 63¾
1817/18		2,521,699.	55¼		70,367. 22¼
1818/19		3,059,796.	79½		91,049. 19¾
1819/20		3,321,005.	54¾		103,694. ¾
1820/21		2,623,782.	43¾		

Add value of Piece Goods, Siam Trade and Opium which is included in the former years, but the Duties on which have been remitted since July 1820.

	1,234,550.		
Total	3,868,291.	43¼	87,216. 44½
1821/22	2,837,855.	22¾	
Add as above	1,246,870.	68	
Total	4,084,725.	90¾	78,390. 55¼
1822/23	2,306,472.	35	
Add as above	1,243,219		
Total	3,549,691.	35	79,609. 08

The diminution which here appears in the Amount of the last year Trade I shall hereafter notice more particularly, but at present let me observe that this Statement affords the best and most authentic proof that the general Trade of the Island now greatly exceeds what it was in the two years preceding the occupation of Singapore, and that if the 24,909 Dollars of Duties which were taken off in July 20th, on the Import of India Piece Goods, Exports of Opium and the Siam Trade, had been collected during the past Official year, our Revenue from Customs would probably have been much *greater* than what it was *ever* known to be.

I must differ from the Merchants where they state the locality of Singapore does *not* give it an advantage over this Port. Its closer neighbourhood to Rhio, Siam, China, Borneo, Java etc. *must* always enable it to obtain a preference with the Native Traders from those Countries, and to secure to itself from that circumstance, as well as by its present exemption from all Duties, the larger portion of the trade of the Eastern Archipelago. On this subject it is curious to notice the fulfilment of the predictions, which I ventured to record *three years* ago. In my Minute of the 30 June 20, I stated "Whether the occupation of Singapore will lead to an increase in the Eastern Trade, will be best decided by time: Were this Island rich in natural productions, which formed the objects of its Trade, the occupation of another Island in its vicinity would scarcely affect it; but as it has always derived its wealth and importance from the circumstances of being only an Emporium, at which the Trade of other Countries is exchanged, the Establishment of another Emporium, within a few days sail, offering larger Profits as a Port nearer the Eastern Market, and exempt from all Duties, must inevitably divert to the latter all the Capital employed in the objects of that Market, unless the levying of Custom House Duties be discontinued here." "If the consequence of a diversion of the Trade with the Eastern Islands from this Port to Singapore will be attended with any improvement in that, or in the general

Commerce of British India, the Interests of *this* Establishment have of course, no right to interfere with the question of its occupation."

Our Custom House Returns as seen above, confirm the accuracy of what I then further stated. "I own I feel satisfied that the transfer of the Commerce with the Eastern Archipelago will *not* operate to the prejudice of the wealth or importance of *this Island* in an *very Material* degree. Whilst this Port can from its more convenient local position, collect the Pepper and Beetlenut of Acheen and the West Coast of Sumatra, the Rattans of Siack (those valuable Staples of the China Market, and which are objects of barter with European Goods chiefly) as well as the produce of the Pegue Country.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ a very lucrative and extensive Trade must still centre and flourish *here*, independent of our share of the Eastern Trade."

Much might be said on the policy of maintaining a large Establishment at this Island as a frontier Station, and particularly now that a Foreign State has acquired a very powerful influence and authority over these Seas. If the political advantages of continuing such an Establishment preponderate over the question of Expendence, the India Company must bear, as they have hitherto done, the chief burthen of supporting it. Without some Duty on Trade, or other means of internal taxation, more oppressive and more difficult to be raised from Land and Labour, the expence of no Government, not even of one under as reduced a form as might be practicable, could be here supported, and it is absurd to suppose that the Honorable East India Company are to be at the whole charge of maintaining a British Court of Judicature, and an adequate Military force and the Establishments necessary for Administering the Affairs of the Island properly, merely that certain Private Merchants may conduct a lucrative Trade here at their cost.

The diminution which has lately taken place in the Trade of this Port, is in that branch which the Rhio boats, the Bugguese Prows, and the Junks formerly carried on, none of which, I believe, visited us during the last year. This Trade from the singular aversion to Custom House forms entertained by that Class of Traders as well as from the closer neighbourhood of Singapore, has been almost entirely engrossed by the latter place, whence the Prows have supplied themselves with the Opium, Piece Goods and China Articles with which this Island formerly supplied them, and the Junks have taken Europe and India Goods in return for their Cargoes of Oil, Sugar etc. Watchful as I have ever endeavored to be over the Commercial interests of this Island, it was but last

(100) Burma. The 'foreign state' alluded to in the next paragraph is of course Holland.

month that I noticed this circumstance to our Acting Collector, and requested him to consider, whether the altered state of our relations with the Eastern Archipelago, did not call for some corresponding change in such of our Custom House Regulations as were established so far back as 1806. Mr. Maingy did in consequence prepare, a Report on the subject and it was only because my mind was not quite satisfied as to the correctness of some of his propositions, that I delayed until the present moment laying his letter before the Board. I entirely acquiesce removing the Export Duties on Europe and India Piece Goods and Chinese Articles, and am prepared to go further and to recommend the remission of those Duties on the whole of the different Articles, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, China and British India, that are subjected to them by the existing Regulations. These Duties are collected principally from the Native Traders, who have now by the Establishment of Singapore, the means of evading them, and who from the abhorrence of Custom House forms evade them altogether, rather than come here to profit from other branches of our Commerce.

I acquiesce also in Mr. Maingy's proposition for removing the Export Duties on Salt and Tobacco, they pay heavy Imports and the amount, as collected on re-exportation is scarcely equivalent to the trouble of Collecting it from the poorer class of our Native Traders.

But there are two powerful reasons which influence me to propose the suspension of the above described Export Duties until the pleasure of our Honble Masters is known. 1st. Such a measure will be a great relief to those of our Traders who were in the habit of trafficking with the Bugguese Prows and Siam Junks, and who require some aid to enable them to set free that Capital which they had invested under an expectation of being visited as usual by those Vessels. 2. Such a measure will deprive the Native Traders to the Eastward of all pretext for not coming on to this Port to complete their Cargoes, whenever they cannot suit themselves entirely to their satisfaction at Singapore. By the abolition of these Export Duties also, greater freedom will be given to the Manufactures of Great Britain, and the remaining Staple of India, namely, Piece Goods, with the same exemption from all *Customs* as the other Articles of Opium and Rice at present receive. It having come to my knowledge also that the Trade with Rangoon is much impeded by the Duty levied on the importation of Timber from that Country, which furnishes no other means of return than in that Article, I further propose that all Timber and Planks, the produce of the Pegu Country, be allowed to be imported free.

The Secretary reports that the letter from the Merchants was replied to as proposed by the Honble the President and the Acting

Collector was directed to transmit a form of Notification for suspending the Export Duties on the Articles enumerated, and the Import Duty on Timber and Planks from Rangoon.

(A17/260-276).

**107. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.
2nd AUGUST 1823.**

The commercial Intercourse between Singapore & Siam continues to encrease in value & amount. Within the last six months twenty one Junks have arrived at this place from the port of Bang-kok & a large Ship of the King, which was in the habit of formerly proceeding to Calcutta or Bombay, stopped this year at Singapore where she disposed of a Cargo of considerable value, consisting of Tin Pepper and Sugar. No European vessel however has during the last year visited Siam, and the Americans also appear for a time to have abandoned their Intercourse with it.

The Enterprizes which the Siamese seemed at one period to have been meditating for the complete subjugation of the Malayan States on the Gulph of Siam, have been for the present abandoned.

Within the last two years a commercial Intercourse of a limited nature has commenced between this Port and the Kingdom of Camboja, a Country of great natural resources but at present much depressed by its two more powerful neighbours the Siamese and Cochín Chinese, who have wrested from it its principal Provinces, and retain the rest in a state of political dependance.

The Trade with Cochín China has been nearly doubled within this half year, no less than twenty one Junks having arrived from it. Rice represented in the public edicts of the Govt. as a prohibited article has formed the principal Article of their Cargoes, and opium also prescribed by the Cochín Chinese laws has constituted the principal Export from this place.

This Year for the first time two Junks came from Hue, the Capital of Cochín China, These vessels were well manned & armed, and had on board a Deputation from the Court consisting of Mandarines who though they were obviously of inferior Rank, were persons of much more consequence & respectability than we are accustomed to see amongst the Eastern traders frequenting this port.

They stated that their Object was entirely commercial, and that they were commissioned to purchase European Manufactures & other Foreign Commodities for the King. This statement agreed with the nature of the cargoes they imported, which consisted of

Sugar with some Copper & lead & with the returns which were composed of Woollens & Glassware.

In My Opinion, however their Mission was not unconnected with political views, & the interpreter a person whom I had met in Cochin China did not scruple to inform me confidentially that they were directed to look about & to report on the conditions & views of the European settlements in the Straits of Malacca.

The External Policy recently pursued by the Dutch Govt. of Batavia, appears as far as it is discoverable to be marked by a considerable share of activity. In the course of the last Month Commissioners arrived at Malacca, having in view, as it is alleged restoration of the Dutch commercial & Political Interests in the Straits of Malacca; The Persons composing this Commission are the Dutch Admiral, & a Gentleman of the name of Mellis, who is considered the ablest of the financial & revenue Officers of the Batavian Govt.

The objects of their arrangements are to bring round from Tringanoo the brother of the Sultan with whom *we* have a Treaty,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and to raise him with much formality, assisted by the Regalia already in their possession, to the throne of Jehore; to make Malacca; by forcing tin and other produce into it, a Depot for the produce of this portion of the Eastern Islands, and finally to take measures for depriving the merchants of British India of a large share of the carrying trade between British and Dutch Settlements which is now in their hands.

With respect to the last of these objects all character of ambiguity is removed from it by the Publication of the Dutch Edict The 24 per Cent levied on British goods by this Edict really amounts on calculation to thirty two per Cent, the duties being in fact levied on a valuation estimated at thirty per Cent advance upon the original Invoice.

(L19/185-190).

**108. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON THE
21st AUGUST 1823.**

Mr. Clubley.

Agreeably to the Honorable the President's request I have taken some pains to ascertain the extent of the Pepper Trade of this Port and I have now the pleasure to submit the following as an accurate Report of the Imports and Exports of that valuable Article of Commerce for the last 8 years.

(101) i.e. the Sultan of Johore.

IMPORTS.

Year	From the East Coast of Sumatra		From Acheen the West Coast of Sumatra and all other Places.		Total Quantity		Total Value	
	Piculs	Catties	Piculs	Catties	Piculs	Catties	Sp. Drs.	Pice.
1814-15	2846	99	18798	49	21,645	48	118,163	" "
1815-16	2404	3	19723	71	22,127	74	151,284	" "
1816-17	1748	—	9534	87	11,272	87	88,800	" 60.
1817-18	1861	35	11564	77	13,426	12	106,869	" 60.
1818-19	5514	39	2957	72	9,362	22 (102)	79,640	" 15
1919-20	8205	62	13433	95	21,639	57	180,825	" —
1820-21	15667	14	15988	72	31,655	86	290,486	" 55
1821-22	21790	40	14670	2	36,213	42	278,539	" 60.
1822-23	30277	51	8373	48	38,650	99	303,290	" 56

EXPORTS.

Year	To Great Britain	Foreign Europe & America	To China	Bengal Ind. Ports and Mauritius	Total Quantity and Value	Average value per Pecul	
	Peculs	Peculs	Peculs	Peculs	Peculs	Sp. Drs.	Sp. Drs.
1814-15	4,500	3,178	None	18,103	25,871	180,476 -	7 -
1815-16	4,788	9,004	27,532	8,428	49,702	497,020 -	10 -
1816-17	None	16,280	7,901	13,725	49752 (102)	547,272 -	11 -
1817-18	None	8,031	21,760	2,114	31,905	382,860 -	12 -
1818-19	2,186	6,579	13,026	3,413	25,204	277,244 -	11 -
1919-20	5,220	4,001	18,605	1,718	29,544	324,984	11 -
1920-21	None	4,080	40,892	14,604	59,576	714,910 -	12 -
1921-22	10,500	2,950	18,470	13,800	45,720	457,200 -	10 -
1922-23	8,086	4,625	30,674	12,304	55,715	584,691 -	10½

"The Exports of Pepper fluctuate of course according to the state of Markets, and hence the difference apparent in this Statement in the quantity exported each year may be explained by reference to the greater or smaller demand for the Article. The mode of subtracting the Imports from the Exports in order to discover the actual Amount of the Produce of the Island cannot be relied on as a criterion. The Exports of Pepper being free from all Duty, and not weighed by the Custom House Officers—the real quantity cannot be ascertained so satisfactorily as in the case of Importations, putting aside the Consumption of the Island. The whole sum of the difference between Exports and Imports, during the above 9 years being Peculs 166,905 — the average Annual Produce of the Island would appear during that time to have been

(102) The arithmetic seems to be slightly at fault here.

Peculs 18,545; but from the best information I can collect, I should not conceive that amount to exceed the real quantity of 3 or 4,000 Peculs."

The Produce of Pepper on this Island which previous to the year 1806 had been fully equal to 30,000 Peculs, gradually decreased during the long War which ensued, and the Gardens were allowed to become waste. The Peace however again gave encouragement to the Planters and revived their Energies. Since the year 1814 the Pepper Cultivation of Prince of Wales Island has been expanding gradually; and although the Planters have had many difficulties to contend with, it may be estimated that the Produce of Pepper from the Island may be from 12 to 15000 Peculs in the year, and this quantity is on the Encrease.

But it will be seen from the Return of Imports how much indebted we have been, especially during the last two years and are likely to hereafter from the neighbouring Coast of Sumatra, where the Natives are industriously employed in this profitable Cultivation. It appears that in the year 1821-22 there was imported from thence 21790 Peculs and the past year 30277 Peculs, shewing a progressive encrease. This quantity is entirely brought here by the Native Traders in their own Boats.

With regard to the Export of Pepper it will be seen by the foregoing Return that the Markets of China afford the principal Outlet. No less a quantity in the last year was sent to that Country from Penang than 30,674 Peculs, which was nearly double the quantity exported the previous year: although not equalling by 10,000 Peculs that exported to the same Market from hence in 1820/21. It must however be apparent to all who have had any Dealings with the Chinese, that their Markets are very liable to fluctuate. With every allowance however which may be reasonably made in the conduct of a Nation so jealous in every respect, it is evident that it presents to the Merchants a fine field for Enterprise in the amazing extent of the Commerce which it feeds and supports: and China will always be the principal Market to which the Pepper grown, as well as that collected here will be annually exported. It will be seen that in last year there was Exported to Great Britain 8086 Peculs of Pepper, and nearly 5000 Peculs to Foreign Europe and America collectively while to Bengal the quantity exported was upwards of 12000 Peculs.

Agreed that the especial attention of the Honorable Court of Directors be called to the subject of the above Minute in the next Dispatch, and the very great advantage which would result to the Honble Company's Interests from Stationing a Ship for

this Island and China with a view to receiving a Cargo of Pepper for the latter place.

(A17/248-).

109. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF SUPERCARGOES, CANTON. 13th SEPTEMBER 1823.

I have the honor herewith to enclose a bill of lading for three thousand three hundred and eighty peculs & sixty seven cattiees of Pepper belonging to the Honble Company, and Shipped on board the H.C. Ship Repulse.⁽¹⁰³⁾

I beg leave to forward for your information, copy of the original agreement for the pepper in question, as well as of Sir Stamford Raffles instructions to me on the subject; and of my correspondence with Capt. Paterson of the Repulse. It will appear from these that the Repulse having already received the principal part of her Company's cargo at Tappanooly⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, and being unable to take in more, three thousand six hundred & nineteen peculs, and thirty three cattiees remain on hand, and that the responsibility of Messrs. Johnston & Co. ceases at the end of the present month. As there is not the least probability of any of the Honble Company's ships taking the pepper on, nor any likelihood of procuring freight, the disposal of the balance of Pepper by public sale at this place to save further loss will become a matter of expediency should no favourable opportunity offer of forwarding it to China before the end of the month.

(L19/229-231).

110. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 18th SEPTEMBER 1823.

If there are no paramount objections in the Opinion of your Honble Court to procuring here a part of your Annual Consignment of Pepper to China, we will again venture to hope for the extension of your patronage to this important and flourishing branch of our Commerce and that we may yet see one of your Ships Consigned here yearly for this purpose.

Whilst on this Subject we hope your Honble Court will allow us to entreat of you to reconsider the orders which we understand have lately been sent out by you to the other Presidencies, prohibiting any of your Indiamen consigned to those places and China

(103) The reference is to a consignment of pepper for which there was no demand at Bencoolen. It was shipped to Singapore with instructions that it should be sent on to China for sale.

(104) Tampanooly—The Bay of Tampanooly, West Coast of Sumatra, where there was a small British settlement, near the present day Sibolga.

touching at this Port on their voyage to Canton. The continuance of such an Arrangement will be a death blow to the Commercial prosperity of this Settlement, and if your Honble Court will not yourselves take any share in the very valuable and indeed most important trade which is Annually conducted between this Port and China, and as your Ships visiting us on their rout to Canton can still always reach China in sufficient time, and so not expose you to additional expence, we beseech your Honble Court not to forbid your Commanders and Officers coming in here to benefit the Settlements by what they bring and take away.

We have often advised your Honble Court to dispatch to us some of your direct Ships, and to take a part in the Commerce of this Island, by sending out to us small and Select Consignments of European Commodities and allowing us to send to Canton, either on your own Account, or on Freight for our Merchants, some portion of the large supplies of Malay Produce which are Annually sent from hence to Canton. And if your Honble Court is still indisposed to Attend to our Recommendation we only hope that you will not be so harsh and severe to this Settlement, as to put a stop at once to the Valuable trade which our Merchants have Conducted by means of your Ships with Europe and China during the *last Five and thirty years*. Indeed we feel justified in stating that the Island but for this Trade, would never have reached to the flourishing and respectable situation in which we now have the happiness of seeing it.

We perform a very pleasing part of our duty in drawing your Honble Court's attention to a letter noticed in the Margin from Mr. David Brown, the most extensive Landholder, and certainly one of the most intelligent and public spirited Europeans on this Island, reporting to us that he has planted upwards of 100,000 Coffee Trees and Cleared Forests to enable him to complete the number to 300,000 and requesting our sanction to his extending the Cultivation, as the progress of the Coffee Plants hitherto planted by himself and others engaged in this speculation, holds out every prospect of the successful production of this Article on the island and no doubt on the adjacent Continent.

Hitherto, the want of adequate Capital and the paucity of enterprizing individuals have restricted our Objects of Cultivation, to Pepper, which has never received any encouragement from your Honble Court and which is one of the most expensive Articles of Culture, and to Cloves and Nutmegs which private Individuals have continued to Cultivate notwithstanding all public encouragement was withdrawn in the Year 1805 and which now at last promise to be beneficial to them, a very favorable report of some samples lately sent to Europe having been just received.

(B7/173-186).

**111. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM,
25th FEBRUARY 1824.**

A report having been received some weeks ago at this Presidency of the death of Johor Allum Shah King of Acheen, the Governor deemed it necessary to dispatch the brig Jessy to Acheen with instructions to her Commander to ascertain the truth of such report,

Johor Allum Shah died it appears on the 1st December 1823 leaving two children, the eldest of whom a boy of six years, named Sultan Abdul Mahomed, he has nominated his successor in his will. Besides these children he has left four illegitimate sons. The three Sagis of Acheen, and the late King's turbulent mother, not only refuse to recognise the legitimate son of Johor Allum Shah, but appear by their letter to have arrogated themselves the right of wielding the sovereign power; the widow queen and her two children, without money and without friends, and stripped of almost all her property by the second illegitimate son of the late King, has been obliged to take refuge on board of a brig, and informs this Government it is her intention to remain at sea pending the reply to her request for protection and pecuniary assistance.

The Honorable the Governor in Council would submit therefore that the present state of Acheen is misrule and instability in its authorities, and that if disposed to recur to those measures of positive interference contemplated in 1819, the occasion now offers to the British for establishing the legitimate heir, and for giving a tone an efficiency to the Government of this fine country, which was at that time contemplated.

The Honorable the Governor in Council, in conclusion, would propose for the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, whether such a line of conduct should be adopted, or whether all future interference in the Acheen concerns should be relinquished, it is almost unnecessary to observe in a political view how prejudicial to the British interests might be the alliance of the Dutch with the Achinese, and that any such offer would possibly be accepted with avidity by the ejected party, and the Honorable the Governor in Council therefore submits the whole subject to the wisdom and decision of the Supreme Government, respectfully observing that the period has now arrived when our relations with Acheen should be distinctly determined.

(D7/300).

**112. TREATY BETWEEN HIS BRITANNICK MAJESTY
AND THE KING OF THE NETHERLANDS, RESPECTING
TERRITORY AND COMMERCE IN THE EAST INDIES,
LONDON. 17th MARCH 1824.**

His Majesty, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, desiring to place upon a footing mutually beneficial, Their respective Possessions and the Commerce of Their subjects in the East Indies, so that the welfare and prosperity of both Nations may be promoted, in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have in former times interrupted the harmony which ought always to subsist between them; and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstandings between Their respective Agents may be as much as possible prevented; and in order to determine certain questions which have occurred in the execution of the Convention made at London on the 13th August 1814, in so far as respects the possessions of His Netherlands Majesty in the East, have nominated Their Plenipotentiaries,

..... Who, after having mutually communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article 1.

The High Contracting Parties engage to admit the subjects of each other to trade with Their respective Possessions in the Eastern Archipelago, and on the Continent of India, and in Ceylon, upon the footing of the most favored Nation: Their respective Subjects conforming themselves to the local Regulations of each Settlement.

Article 2.

The Subjects and Vessels of one Nation, shall not pay, upon Importation or Exportation, at the ports of the other in the Eastern Seas, any Duty beyond the double of that at which the Subjects and Vessels of the Nation to which the ports belong are charged....

In regard to any article on which no duty is imposed, when imported or exported by the Subjects or upon the Vessels of the Nation to which the port belongs, the duty charged upon the Subjects or Vessels of the other shall in no case exceed six per cent.

Article 3.

The High Contracting Parties engage, that no Treaty hereafter made by Either, with any Native Power in the Eastern Seas, shall contain any Article tending, either expressly, or by the imposition of unequal Duties, to exclude the Trade of the other Party from the Ports of such Native Power; and that if in any Treaty now existing on either Part any Article to that effect has been admitted,

such Treaty shall be abrogated upon the conclusion of the present Treaty.

It is understood that before the conclusion of the present Treaty, communication has been made by each of the Contracting Parties to the other, of all Treaties and Engagements subsisting between each of them respectively and any Native Power in the Eastern Seas; and that the like communication shall be made of all such Treaties concluded by Them, respectively hereafter.

Article 4.

Their Britannick and Netherland Majesties engage to give strict orders as well to their Civil and Military Authorities, as to Their Ships of War, to respect the freedom of Trade established by Articles 1, 2, and 3; and in no case to impede a free communication of the Natives in the Archipelago with the Ports of the Two Governments, respectively, or of the Subjects of the Two Governments with the Ports belonging to Native Powers.

Article 7.

The Molucca Islands, and especially Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, and their immediate dependencies, are excepted from the operation of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Articles, until the Netherlands Government shall think fit to abandon the monopoly of spices; but if the said Government shall, at any time previous to such abandonment of the monopoly, allow the subjects of any Power, other than a Native Asiatic Power, to carry on any commercial intercourse with the said Islands, the Subjects of His Britannick Majesty shall be admitted to such intercourse upon a footing precisely similar.

Article 9.

The Factory of Fort Marborough, and all the British possessions on the Island of Sumatra, are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty: and His Britannick Majesty further engages that no British Settlement shall be formed on that Island, nor any Treaty concluded by British Authority, with any Native Chief, Prince nor State therein.

Article 10.

The Town and Fort of Malacca, and its Dependencies, are hereby ceded to His Britannick Majesty; and His Netherland Majesty engages, for Himself and His Subjects, never to form any Establishment on any part of the Peninsula of Malacca, or to conclude any Treaty with any Native Prince, Chief or State therein.

Article 12.

His Netherland Majesty withdraws the objections which have been made to the occupation of the Island of Singapore, by the

Subjects of His Britannick Majesty. His Britannick Majesty, however, engages that no British Establishment shall be made on the Carimon Islands, or on the Islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or any of the other Islands South of the Straits of Singapore, nor any Treaty concluded by British Authority with the Chiefs of these Islands.

Note addressed by the British Plenipotentiaries to the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands.

..... The British Plenipotentiaries understand the term Moluccas as applicable to that cluster of Islands which has Celebes to the Westward, New Guinea to the Eastward, and Timor to the Southward; but these three Islands are not comprehended in the exception; now would it have included Ceram if the situation of that Island in reference to the two principal Spice Isles, Amboyna and Banda, had not required a prohibition of intercourse with it, so long as the monopoly of spices shall be maintained.

..... A Treaty concluded in the Year 1819, by British Agents with the King of Acheen, is incompatible with the Third Article of the present Treaty. The British Plenipotentiaries therefore undertake that the Treaty with Acheen shall, as soon as possible, be modified into a simple arrangement for the hospitable reception of British Vessels and Subjects in the Port of Acheen. But as some of the provisions of that Treaty will be conducive to the general interest of Europeans established in the Eastern Seas, they trust that the Netherland Government will take measures to securing the benefit of those provisions. And they express their confidence that no measures hostile to the King of Acheen, will be adopted by the new possessor of Fort Marlborough.

(Maxwell & Gibson, *Treaties & Engagements*. 7-12. H11/591-600).

113. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.
11th JUNE 1824.

Mr. Gibson⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ whilst here described in very strong terms the riches and advantageous position of the territory and ports in the Southern provinces of the Burma Empire, but the Right Honorable

(105) Mr. Gibson a European or Eurasian in Burmese service. He was returning from a mission to Cochin China when was caught in Penang by the outbreak of the Anglo-Burmese War of 1823-6. Mergui and Tavoy, occupied during the war, were eventually retained under British Residents. See below, Nos. 116, 118, 122. They were coveted by Siam, who had fought an intermittent war with Burma for their possession throughout most of the 18th Century. Cf. W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam* (1933 Ed).

the Governor General in Council must already be well apprized of the immediate value which the Siamese Court place on these provinces, and particularly on the ports of Mergui and Tavoy, and this Government is convinced His Lordship in Council will not restore them to Siam without requiring in return the concession to us of a freedom of trade with those places, and indeed a general removal of all those vexations and restraints with which commerce is at present fettered at the capital as well as at all the other ports of Siam. The renovation of the little kingdom of Kedah, however desirable to the immediate interests of this Settlement, cannot for one moment be considered of such importance to the British Empire at large, as the establishment of an unrestricted trade with the whole Siamese Empire and with the interior and Eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula by means of those overland routes, and of those rivers flowing into the sea in the immediate neighbourhood of this Island. This valuable object, in addition to the restoration of the King of Kedah, this Government could undoubtedly obtain without difficulty, were it only authorized by His Lordship in Council to open a negotiation for such purposes with the Court of Siam and the Rajah of Ligore, founded on the contemplated transfer to Siam of Mergui and Tavoy. (D7/341).

114. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.

4th AUGUST 1824.

We transmit herewith Copies of a Treaty for adjusting the relations of the British and Dutch Nations in the East which was signed on the 17th March last⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and the ratifications of which have been subsequently exchanged.

The first Article of the Treaty stipulates for a reciprocal admission of British and Dutch Subjects into the Ports of the other Power upon the footing of the most favoured Nation. We are not aware that this stipulation will require any new measure on your part in favor of the Dutch or that it will entitle British Subjects to any privilege at Dutch Ports of which they are not already in possession. You will take care that the reserve which the article contains as to the local regulations of each Settlement is not abused. With this view you will inform yourselves of the nature of all existing regulations whereby the British trade is effected, either as to the facility of importation and exportation or as to the Ports to which traffic may be limited and you will compare these regulations with those to which the Dutch trade is subjected

(106) See above, No. 112.

in British India. This instruction is especially applicable to the Ports of Java.

The second article as to Duties is conformable to the general principle which has been established for many years in British India though in some degree contravened since the last year. The reduction of duty which it will be necessary for you to make in pursuance of the first part of this article will necessarily be extended to those Nations which have acquired by Treaty the privilege of the most favored Nation in the East Indies. These are in fact all the principal Powers which have intercourse with India. We are, therefore desirous that the new regulation of Duties should be applicable generally to all Foreign Vessels.

Care must be taken that the Duties payable by British Subjects or Vessels in Dutch Ports shall not be raised above the stipulated proportion by any arbitrary or unequal mode of valuing Merchandize previously to charging duties ad valorem.

The Third Article is especially directed against a practice which according to the Statements of various persons who have been concerned in the Trade with the Eastern Islands has been carried to considerable extent by the Dutch of inducing the Native States to make Treaties whereby all Europeans but the Dutch are excluded from Trade. These Statements have been denied by the Dutch, and we have certainly had no specific Evidence of the Fact; but however this may have been, the evil cannot exist in future since all engagements having the effect of excluding British Traders from the Native Ports are annulled by the present Treaty.

The fourth Article provides generally for the freedom of Trade with the Natives of the Archipelago which is in no way to be impeded by the Dutch or English respectively.

The Seventh Article excepts the Moluccas from the preceding Stipulations as to freedom of Trade this exception you will respect, but you will be careful to observe whether any attempt is made to extend the restriction beyond the limits within which it is confined by the Note which accompanied the Treaty. You will inform us of any indications which may be perceived of an intention to relinquish the Monopoly of the Spice Islands.

These Seven Articles contain all the Stipulations which it has been though necessary to make with respect to Commerce. It is clear that if carried into execution with good faith they will remove all the impediments which have been said to obstruct our Commerce in the Eastern Seas.

(C5/553-).

**115. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM.
20th AUGUST 1824.**

We have the honor to acquaint you that Robert Fullerton, Esquire, appointed by the Honorable the Court of Directors to the situation of Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies, having arrived at this Presidency on board the H.C. ship William Fairlie, he has this day taken the prescribed oaths and his seat in Council as Governor and President accordingly.

(D7/350).

**116. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM TO
THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
19th NOVEMBER 1824.**

As a general maxim, We are satisfied, that all extensions of our Territorial Possessions and political Relations on the side of the Indo-Chinese Nations, is, with reference to the peculiar Character of those States, to their decided jealousy of our power and ambition, and to their proximity to China, earnestly to be deprecated, and declined, as far as the course of events and the force of circumstances will permit. In the case of Siam, an actual feudatory of the Chinese Empire, it should be more especially our Policy to avoid contiguity of dominion, or intricacy of relations, with that State, and the consequent and necessary hazard of collision and rupture. Viewing the matter in this light, even the negotiation of Treaties and positive Engagements with the Siamese Government, (supposing it willing to enter into them) may be regarded as open to serious objection, lest any future violation of their conditions should impose upon us the necessity of resenting such breach of Contract.

Our Situation, however, at Prince of Wales Island, since the expulsion from his Kingdom of the Rajah of Kedah *has* brought us, spite of all our precautions and reluctance, into immediate Contact with the Siamese at one point of our Possessions; and the natural desire of the British Government to secure its Subjects some share of the valuable Commerce of Siam, and to improve its Commercial relations with that Country, has already led to attempts at opening a more direct and friendly intercourse between the two States, than subsisted at any previous period. To alleviate the inconvenience attendant upon the former circumstance to the utmost extent practicable, and to pursue the latter object in a moderate and reasonable degree, seems to us all that we can now, consistently with prudence, sound policy, or the presumable views of the Home Authorities, propose to ourselves, even in the comparatively favorable situation in which we have been placed, by the Occurrence of the Burmah War. The expediency of aiming at the

above Objects is farther recommended And Justified by former proceedings of the Supreme Govt., which, at One time Contemplated a Mission to Siam to mediate a favorable Settlement of the Claims of that Court on the Raja of Kedah, in Anticipation of the embarrassment which must result from the Subjugation of his Country by the Siamese, And which actually deputed Mr. Crawford to Bangkok in 1821 to Obtain concessions advantageous to the British Commerce with Siam.

On the whole we are disposed to think, that sooner or later we must withdraw from Tavoy as well as Mergui; that if we relinquish them in any other mode than restoring them to Ava as an Article in a future treaty of peace, it is desirable that we shall endeavour to transfer possession to the Siamese, making at the same time the best bargain which Circumstances will admit of; & lastly, that the Conditions to be asked should be chiefly those above adverted to, to which might be fairly added, as the benefit would be mutual, a stipulation for permission to trade with the ports in question unfettered by vexatious restraints, And, generally, an unrestricted trade with the interior and Eastern Coast of the Malay Peninsula, by means of those overland routes of rivers flowing into the Sea in the neighbourhood of Penang, which are explained in your Dispatch, Number 689.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

(M3/No. 11 Enclosure).

**117. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 10th DECEMBER 1824.**

The enclosed Memorial⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ from the principal Merchants of this Island, on a subject of daily encreasing importance to the Commercial Interests and prosperity of your Territories under this Government, has been laid before us, We have the honor to transmit a Copy thereof with an especial recommendation of its contents to your Honble Courts favorable consideration.

The Provisions however of the Treaty referred to by the Merchants⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ (which though not Officially promulgated has appeared in the News Papers of the different Presidencies) will have the effect of confirming the Monopoly of Spices the growth of the Molucca Islands to the Netherland Authorities and the Cession of Bencoolen and its Dependencies may probably cause a check to the Cultivation of the Article on the Island of Sumatra and

(107) No. 94 above gives the substance of this.

(108) An address requesting that application be made to the Home Authorities for a remission of the duty on spices, the growth of Prince of Wales Island, on importation into the United Kingdom; presented to the Penang authorities 9th December 1824, (A20/80-81).

(109) No. 112 above.

lead to its being confined as formerly to the Islands where its Monopoly is guaranteed.

The encouragement by every possible means of so valuable a branch of Commerce from those Eastern Possessions to which the British influence is about to be confined seems to us to be the only means whereby the entire Monopoly can be obviated, and should your Honble Court obtain the advantage and privilege solicited for Spices the growth of the British Possessions imported into the United Kingdom the Concession will probably in the course of a few years cause such an encrease to the Cultivation of the Plant as will counteract by successful competition the main object of the Monopoly and by so doing hasten the period of an entire freedom of trade throughout the Eastern Archipelago, which seems to have been contemplated as the basis of the late Treaty.
(B8/4-6).

**118. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL FORT WILLIAM.
18th JANUARY 1825.**

Fully sensible as we are of the moderate and liberal policy which leads to the contemplation of the cession of the late acquisitions on the coast of Tenasserim to the Siamese, and aware of the general objections that have been urged against the extension of our territories, we cannot but express our conviction that the motive, actuating the British Government, in the relinquishment of any part of those acquisitions at present, will not be fairly appreciated or even understood by the Siamese. Their cession without some equivalent, or at least without some communication and urgent solicitation on their part, will, we fear, be attributed to a wrong cause, and rather tend to encourage pretensions which might not otherwise be entertained. The Siamese Govt. appear not to have had political connection with any European power, and are therefore quite ignorant of those forms and rules which civilised nations observe in respect to each other: misled by an idea of their own power, and erroneously ascribing the too easy cession of those countries to our inability to keep them, they might be induced even to take a hostile part against us; for we believe that no idea of future, though certain consequences, would prevent their giving way to the temptation of taking immediate advantage of any opening that might offer for their own aggrandizement, while our troops were otherwise engaged.

Their permanent retention in the manner suggested by Mr. Crawford, and their occupation by British troops would by establishing a secure footing, and opening an entrance into their territory in case of need overawe both Burmans and Siamese, and

thus oppose a check against future aggression of either of those States.

..... So long as Mergui and adjacent islands remain in the possession of a native power, our trade must be subjected to the same risk in case of war with a foreign European or American power: on the other hand if in our possession, a secure harbour is afforded to our shipping in the most convenient position for the navigation of the Bay, whenever the danger of the seas, or an enemy, may render shelter advisable. However convenient this Island may be for concentrating the trade of the Northern ports of the Island of Sumatra, of the Malay Peninsula, and the adjacent Islands, it is too far to the S. E. to be used as a place of resort for any ships except such as may be bound through this Strait. Those considerations therefore mainly induced the recommendation of this Govt. for obtaining possession of Junkceylon, the object of which would be fully attained by the retention of Mergui and its islands as British possessions. In a commercial point of view much may be said in favor of the retention of Mergui. The river is understood to be navigable to a considerable distance up the country, and through that channel a great portion of the productions of Siam once found their outlet on the Bay of Bengal. Looking forward to the additional security that will be afforded to our shipping, and the probable encrease of the general trade that will result, we trust we shall stand excused for dwelling thus far on the importance of the acquisition.

(D8/29).

**119. MINUTE BY THE MALAY TRANSLATOR ON THE
TRADE OF ACHEEN, FORT CORNWALLIS.
15th MARCH 1825.**

The present seems to be a fit occasion for offering a few cursory observations upon the extent of the commerce carried on at Acheen and its dependencies on the West Coast, and some of the more northerly ports on the East Coast of Sumatra.

Besides that portion of the general Trade of the West Coast which Prince of Wales Island has enjoyed for many years, there has long been a direct commercial intercourse between the several ports and Bengal, Madras and Bombay and latterly to a small extent, with Singapore some free Traders have also taken in Cargoes during the last few years on that Coast, but the direct American Trade has been the most important branch.

In the pepper Season of 1823 it has been stated that 27 American Ships, 6 Country Traders, and 4 large French Ships besides the Vessels belonging to the Honble Company and many

large junks and native Vessels from Penang obtained full Cargoes on the West Coast of Sumatra, at the several ports comprehended under the designation of the Acheen Empire.

Of the very extensive nature of this Trade the following estimates of exports during the Official year 1821/22 partly formed from authentic records in the Custom House and partly from other sources of correct information, will tend to Convey a pretty accurate Conception.

The Americans exported produce in exchange for Turkey Opium & Spanish Dollars chiefly to the value upwards of	- - - - -	1,000,000
The exports of Calcutta to provide investments appear to have been Sicca' Rupees	- - - - -	421,645
The exports from Prince of Wales Island in Merchandize to Acheen	- - - - -	454,875
Do. from Do in Merchandize and Bullion for produce, principally pepper imported from the East and West Coast	- - - - -	400,000
The exports of Cloth and Cotton from the Coromandel Coast has been estimated by a late Writer at 25 lacs of Rupees or Sp. Drs. 1,250,000 but we will call it	- - - - -	1,000,000
Amount of exports by Free Traders by French Ships, Arab Ships from Mocka & Judda, Parsee, do. from Surat & Bombay from the Maldives, Rangoon, the strait of Malacca & English Ships loading nut ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ for China Portugese etc.	- - - - -	473,480
Total Spanish Dollars		<u>3,750,000</u>

A very considerable portion of the produce exported was paid for in Opium of Bengal & Malwer, and the manufactures of Western India and Great Britain principally Cotton Goods, together with China Goods previously imported into Penang.

The produce of pepper has had an astonishing increase of late years in that part of Sumatra. In 1814 Captain Canning the Envoy from the Supreme Government of Bengal estimated the Total produce of the West Coast at only 47,800 Peculs, Benjamin at 2,310 Peculs & Camphor 16½.

Captains Coombs, who visited Acheen in the Early part of the year 1818 estimated the Imports and exports as follows in the event of affairs being settled viz—

Imports	Sp. Dollars
2,500 Bales of Cotton 80 Drs. per Bale - - - - -	200,000
500 Chests of Opium at 1300 Drs. per Chest - - - - -	780,000

(110) i.e. betel-nut.

Piece goods from Coromandel & Malabar	- - - - -	1,000,000
Stick Lac in value	- - - - -	40,000
China Goods	- - - - -	200,000
150 Coyans of Salt at 25 Drs. per Coyan	- - - - -	3,750
Coast Earthen ware	- - - - -	500
Salt Fish from the Maldives	- - - - -	10,000
Total Spanish Dollars		<u>2,234,250</u>

Besides Tobacco, British Manufactures of a vast variety, whose demand could not (be) estimated with precision. These may be stated to consist Chiefly of Broad Cloth, Chintzes & White Cloth, Carpeting, Iron, Steel, Cutlery, Brasswire, arms and ammunition—

Exports	Sp. Dollars
100,000 Laxas (111) or 125000 Peculs of Beetlenut at 1½ per Laxa	- - - - - 150,000
100,000 Peculs of Pepper at 8 per Pecul	- - - - - 800,000
3000 Peculs of Benjamin at 30 per Pecul	- - - - - 90,000
30 Peculs of Camphor at 1000 ^l per Pecul	- - - - - 30,000
Gold dust to the Amount of	- - - - - 100,000
1000 Peculs of Kayu (112) Seppan at 2 a Pecul	- - - - - 2,000
1500 Peculs of Kayu Sallah at 1/75 a Pecul	- - - - - 2,000
Rattan to the value of	- - - - - 15,000
1500 Coyans of Rice at 40 per Coyan	- - - - - 60,000
700 " of Paddy at 20 per Coyan	- - - - - 14,000
Total Spanish Dollars	<u>1,263,000</u>

The present produce may be estimated as follows.

Pepper produce of the S.W. Coast Peculs	- - - - - 150,000
do " of the N.E. Coast "	- - - - - 30,000
do " of the East Coast "	- - - - - 80,000
Beetlenut of Pedir Coast	- - - - - 200,000
Camphor	- - - - - 70
Benjamin	- - - - - 3,000
Gold dust from all the places mentioned	- - - - - 15
Rattan any quantity say yearly	- - - - - 30,000

besides Ivory, Dammer, Pulses, Silk and Cotton cloths, Sago, Syce Rope, Dragons' Blood, Gambier, Ghee, Oil and Hogslard, Wax,

(111) Laxas—"A loxa of beetle-nut is 10,000 nuts, and when good should weigh 168 lbs." Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, II, 329.

(112) Kayu Seppan & Kayu Sallah—native woods, probably bought for their oil content.

Timber and a great variety of other articles of which it would be almost impossible to form an estimate of the quantity procurable.

The principal trade of Penang is drawn from the Northern part of the Island of Sumatra, principally, though not entirely the East side of it Pepper being exported from Delli, Lankat, and the ports on the North East Coast as far as Acheen to the extent of 7000 Tons annually. The whole produce of Pepper on the Island at this time, may fairly be estimated at 20,000 Tons. Beetlenut another article of great trade, may be procured to a nearly Similar extent from Acheen and dependencies and very large quantities have annually been imported into Penang, for the China Market, besides extensive Shipments, every year direct to the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, Bengal and the Burmah Country.

We can hardly reckon the annul export of Beetlenut at less than from 15 to 20,000 Tons. The coast vessels about 8 or 10 in number, still continue to touch there every year in their progress to and return from Penang, they bring piece goods of all kinds white and blue long cloth and Chintzes Chiefly, Salt etc. of late years, there has been a considerable direct trade between Penang and the several ports of Acheen during the nutting season in June, July, and August there are seldom less than twelve or fifteen Ships and Brigs which proceed to the Pedir Coast for Cargoes, and many Achenese prows arrived during these Months at Penang. By these vessels the country is supplied with a variety of Europe, China and India Manufactures Opium is an article of great consumption Europe Woolens and piece goods of many descriptions, gold thread, fire arms and ammunition are always in great demand, Sticklac for dyeing, which is imported from Ava and Siam, forms another principal article of export for the Acheen Coast from Penang.

The very high and unexpected price of Bengal Opium of late years seems to have had the effect of reducing the consumption of that article at Acheen. It must be observed however, that the Achenese have been largely supplied with Turkey Opium by the Americans and Malwa by the native vessels from Bombay. During the present official year however, in consequence of fewer Americans having come to trade on the coast than in former years, the export of Bengal Opium to Acheen has been much increased and the trade of this year may perhaps bear a comparison in extent with the best of the preceding if it does not exceed the highest.

The Chinese in their junks from Penang, carry on a pretty extensive trade with Acheen and are the principal importers of grain (Rice and Paddy) from the coast. Four or Five large Arab Vessels from Judda Surat⁽¹¹³⁾ and other ports touch annually at

(113) Judda—Jidda

Acheen, landing pilgrims on their return & carrying others to the extent of a thousand a year to Mecca. These vessels also import Salt, Dates and Surat piece goods. The trade of Acheen and the consequent resort of Shipping which it has drawn to Penang has been one of the principal supports of the Island, and under a fixed and settled Government, there is every probability of a continued and rapid increase.

During the few years that Syful Allum attempted to usurp the Government of Acheen, the general commerce of the country very much decreased with what it was prior to his engaging in hostilities with Johor Allum, and since he quitted the country the value of exports to Acheen from Prince of Wales Island which were in

1810/11	Sp. Drs.	461,117
1811/12	" "	388,676
1812/13	" "	355,355
declined in		
1813/14	to	165,579

In 1814, the Old King Johor Allum was deposed by the Chiefs of the Country and in the end of the 1815 Syful Allum began to contend for the Sovereignty, he continued till the latter part of 1819 we find the trade continued very inconsiderable during that period the

Exports to Acheen in 1814/14	being Sp. Drs.	154,801
1815/16	"	245,471
1816/17	"	147,924
1817/18	"	84,568
1818/19	"	142,973
1819/20	"	171,884

Since the Ex King Syful Alum quitted the country, the trade has annually augmented, the value of Exports from Penang to Acheen being in

1820/21	200,381
1821/22	454,375
1822/23	319,444
1823/24	445,053

The Imports are in the same rates.

The above information is abstracted from the very clear and comprehensive statements of the general commerce of this Island lately compiled in the Collector's Office.

It would be quite superfluous to make any further observations upon the value of Acheen and the independent ports on the East and West coast of Sumatra. The preceding details satisfactorily testify their importance if this great branch of trade is withdrawn or materially interrupted by any interference on the part of the Dutch, Prince of Wales Island will suffer considerably by the abstraction of a very principal and most valuable branch of its trade.

(V1/20-28).

120. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM. 6th APRIL 1825.

We have been much gratified by the information afforded of the flourishing condition of the Commerce of Singapore, the value of which in Imports and Exports amounted in the year 1822, to Spanish Dollars 8,568,172 and we are happy to perceive that the Establishments of this Settlement have been revised with a view to greater efficiency without any additional expence being entailed on Government.

(M4/Enclosure No. 64).

121. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON 7th APRIL 1825.

Minute by the President.

The question which now remains for consideration is whether any benefit would result from entering into a Commercial arrangement with the Ruling Power of Acheen and that question can properly be decided only by reference to the existing state of Acheen, the effect produced on our Trade by that State, and the probability of any amelioration in the latter by an agreement of the nature contemplated:

From the Memorandum annexed⁽¹¹⁴⁾ it will be seen that the trade much reduced from the year 1815 to 1819, a period of unceasing contention between the rival Kings and the subordinate Chiefs, has again recovered itself since the latter year, after which it appears the principal Chiefs completely established their independence. A reference to the past transactions at Acheen will shew that the right of levying Duties at the subordinate Ports was one of the main sources of contention. The Chiefs refused to pay the quota claimed by the King. The contending Kings interdicted all trade except with their own Ports, and all those Captures of Trading Vessels termed Piracies on one side, seizures for breach of Revenue Rules by the other, were the immediate and inducing

(114) No. 119.

causes of the reduction of the Trade. The interruption ceased with the contention but there can be little doubt that the manner in which it terminated, has been particularly favorable to our Trade:—the success of the Chiefs opened all the Ports on the Coast, that of the King might have confined it to one only Acheen, and at least admitted of the facility of keeping up prices, and levying on the general Trade higher contributions; to the free and open intercourse allowed at the different Ports along the Coast is to be ascribed the encouragement to encrease of produce, and of course of trade. The more Ports are open the greater competition amongst the sellers, and it certainly is the obvious policy of this Government to encourage that freedom; and any arrangement of the more powerful of the neighbouring States, European or Native, having a tendency to overawe and subjugate the numerous petty States with whom our trade is conducted, and there establish a monopoly for themselves, would be an event much to be deplored; but while the Trade as the Statement shews is now in a most prosperous condition, it follows that no specific Commercial arrangement is at the present required, should unfavorable changes hereafter take place, and certainly permanency cannot be presumed in such a Country as Acheen, it will be our duty to report the change to the Supreme Government, with our opinion as to the measures most advisable to be pursued.

With respect to the future Establishment of European influence over Acheen, it may be observed that such an arrangement on our part was long considered a desirable object; but it has been found utterly impracticable without employing a large Military force to overawe the Inhabitants, in plain terms without completely subjugating the Country,—an alternative which it never suited British Policy to resort to!! Whether the Netherlands Government will pursue the same course of moderation remains to be ascertained; but if we are to judge of the future from the past, it may be inferred that a more direct interference will be excited.

By Article 3rd⁽¹¹⁵⁾ they can make no treaty having for its object the exclusion, or the establishment of higher duties on the general trade with the State they treat with, but it is feared they may produce the effect more completely by using their Political influence and Military power in establishing a Post or Commercial station at the principal Sea-ports, hoisting their own Colours, and by imposing the Duty provided by Article 2nd. put an end to the Trade

(A20/311-319).

(115) Of the Treaty of 1824, No. 112 above.

**122. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM TO
THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
13th MAY 1825.**

Abstaining from a detailed exposition of all the considerations by which our Council have been influenced, we deem it sufficient to state briefly in this place, that the length to which the War has been protracted by the infatuated obstinacy of the Court of Ava, and the heavy sacrifice both of lives & treasure which it has involved, have naturally induced a considerable alteration in our views regarding the terms which shall be allowed to the Burman Government, on the eventual conclusion of a Peace. We now contemplate the final separation, from the Burman Empire of the Province of Aracan on the one side and, the conquered Districts on the Tenasserim Coast on the other. A Commissioner has already been appointed to administer the Affairs of the Aracan Territory & as we do not contemplate, at all events the early transfer of Tavoy Mergui etc. to any Power, it becomes in our judgment indispensibly necessary, on grounds no less of humanity, than obvious policy, to provide without further delay a Civil government for the temporary & provisional management of those districts also. It is farther indispensable, to enable us to form an ultimate decision as to what portion of the territory in question shall be annexed permanently to the British possessions, and what may be expediently relinquished, that full and accurate information should be obtained regarding its real value, extent, resources and population, and the claims which its inhabitants may have established to our protection, on all which points the Supreme Government continues to be nearly as ignorant as it was at the date of the conquest.

After due reflection, we are satisfied that the above important objects may be best accomplished by placing the acquired Territory in Tavoy and on the Tenasserim Coast under the direction and management of the President of your Honble Board, and we have now therefore to request that Mr. Fullerton will as early as practicable assume charge of the Districts of Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim, and consider them as annexed to this Government....

Your President will of course exercise his own discretion in selecting and appointing an Officer to the local Civil Charge of the several Districts, under the designation of Commissioner, with appropriate allowances.

After duly weighing the sentiments and suggestions of your Board, and the additional facts and information brought to light by Captain Burney's able and interesting reports, we have determined to furnish that Officer with credentials as an Envoy on the part of the Right Honorable the Governor General to the Court of

of Siam, to be made use of eventually, or not, at the discretion of the Governor in Council of Prince of Wales Island. We have not any objection ourselves to try the experiment of a Mission to the King of Siam, but the character of the Mission must, we apprehend, be in the first instance entirely complimentary and conciliatory, as we are not prepared to hold out to the Siamese any distinct expectation of our ceding to them the Province of Tavoy or Mergui, more especially until we shall have acquired some clear and correct notion of their value, and of the degree of Moral obligation attaching to us to protect their inhabitants from a Power which they dread equally with the Burmahs. The Envoy therefore, if eventually deputed, must appear at Bangkok to offer the compliments of the Right Honorable the Governor General on the accession of the new King; to assure His Majesty of our friendly disposition, and desire to cultivate a good understanding with the State of Siam, and to afford the fullest explanation on every point Connected with the Burmah War. Should circumstances prove favorable, the Envoy will of course be empowered to combine, with the above objects, an endeavour to effect the desired improvement in our Commercial relations with Siam, and to secure every practicable degree of freedom and facility to our trade both in Upper and lower Siam; as also the restoration of the King of Kedah to his Territories on the terms and footing already discussed.

(M4/Enclosure No. 38).

**123. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM TO
THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT, TERRI-
TORIAL DEPARTMENT. 7th JULY 1825.**

The statement in the Margin exhibits the result of the receipts and Disbursements of Prince of Wales Island for the Years 1820/21 and 1823/24 inclusive and the amount of Bills drawn on Bengal in each year.

Statement of the Local Receipts & Disbursements of P.W. Island also of the Bills drawn on Bengal in the Years

	Ordinary Local Receipts	Ord. local disbursts. exclusive of Military	Military Disburse- ments	Total of Dis- bursts.	Excess of Disbursts.	Bills drawn on Bengal
1820/21	219,070	267,981	136,723	404,704	185,634	203,463
1821/22	176,413	242,271	169,877	392,148	215,735	237,395
1822/23	188,144	246,292	151,768	398,060	209,646	311,171
1823/24	159,764	271,460	156,826	428,286	268,522	313,113
Sp. Drs.	743,661	1,028,004	595,194	1,623,198	879,537	1,065,142
Average	188,915	257,001	148,798	405,799	219,884	266,285

N.B. The receipts & disbursements for 1824/25 not received.

(M4/Enclosure 83(3) & table).

**124. THE COLLECTOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE ACTING SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT.
16th JULY 1825.**

In accordance to the desire expressed by the Honble the Governor I have to forward to you a series of Statements of the Trade of this Island from the Year 1810/11 to the conclusion of the last Official Year by which the Board will perceive that a gradual Yearly increase had taken place from the Year 17/18 till 21/22 when it attained the Amount of 6 Million of Dollars since it has experienced a slight decline and the last Statement exhibits a Nett Amount of only 565,902. The diminution is to be ascribed to the operation of a free Port at the other extremity of the Straits intercepting our trade with Siam Java and other Native states to the Eastward and it would have been much greater had not our Western Trade viz. with Acheen the East & West Coast of Sumatra and Pegue proportionally increased. In former Years a number of Arab Vessels under Dutch Colours were in the habit bringing Treasure to this place and purchasing large Investments of Piece Goods for the Java Market, but to elude the Duties to which they were liable from sailing under Foreign Colors, these Goods are now carried down in British Vessels to Singapore there to be transhipped; Singapore has also deprived us of the duties leviable on the Transshipment of large and valuable investments of Chinese Articles from Country ships into homeward bound Free traders, and if that Settlement remains much longer a Free Port the Chinese here will ship their Birds nests Camphor Beach de Mar and other Articles of Straits Produce destined for the China Market into British Vessels for Singapore instead of putting them at once on board the Portuguese Ships which proves at present one of the most fruitful sources of our Sea Customs. They have this Year begun the practice and will no doubt enlarge on it in succeeding Years—the first and last instances I have here brought to the Notice of the Board regarding the operation of Singapore on our trade is indeed only hurtful to our Revenue as Penang will always be the principal emporium both for Piece Goods and the above mentioned Articles of Straits Produce.

On a comparison of the Several Statements, I have to offer the following observations.

1st. Piece Goods—It will be seen that the quantity of India Piece Goods imported from the Coromandel Coast during the last official Year is considerably less than in the Year preceding and it is to be feared that the Statement for the present Year will shew a still further diminution as the Pulecat Merchants are nearly driven out of the Market by the vast quantities of Europe Piece Goods which have been brought out within these two Years to Singapore and

Batavia by which we are enabled to undersell them. The Exports in the Statement are larger than the Imports, but the latter must be considered as the most correct as they [the Exports] are carried away by the Native Traders in very small quantities which are not examined and no doubt in their valuation priced much too high. It will be seen that a large quantity has been carried down to Singapore for the purpose stated in the first part of my letter. 2nd. Opium—A gradual falling off of the number of the Chests of this Article is observable from the Year 1819/20 to 22/23 during which time indeed, the price was most unprecedently high being at one time 2400 Dollars a Chest. The quantity has since increased with the reduced prices and the number of Chests imported during the last Year is equal to that of any proceeding Year, since 1811/12. The Exports also shew that it is gone off with spirit, and an encreased quantity sent to Acheen. There was formerly a Duty of 16 Dollars a Chest on the Export of this Article by the remission of which a loss of nearly Ten Thousand Dollars has been sustained during last Year.

3rd. Pepper—This Article has rapidly encreased in Amount since 1819/20 from 17,000 to 55,000 Peculs, the largest quantity ever imported during a Year. The annual produce of the Island may be now reckoned at about 8000 Peculs being more than a half less than formerly as the greatest portion of the Plants have been destroyed by insects attacking the roots most of the Pepper exported last Year was carried to Calcutta. The quantity for China was Something less no doubt owing to the Indiamen having been nearly filled with Cotton at the several Presidencies. The quantity for Europe was small.

4th. Tin—The Export Statement of this Article will be the best criterion to judge of the amount of the Imports, as there is a duty on the former and care is taken to ascertain the true quantity Shipped on board a Vessel. The trade in this Article has much fallen off since 1819/20 and from that Year or the succeeding to the present, We have not had a Pecul of Banca Tin, the whole quantity brought here being principally procured from Poongah⁽¹¹⁶⁾. There was an encrease last Year of 3000 Peculs and it is to be hoped that it will Continue encreasing especially if we can procure a free and uninterrupted communication with the Patani Country.

5th. Beetlenut & Rattans—The same observation as above respecting the Export of Tin equally applies here. . . . There seems to be a diminution in the quantities of both these Articles and the trade in them is not carried on with so much spirit as usual, the attention of the Merchants being more engrossed with Pepper and Opium.

6th. Straits Produce—The quantity Exported in 24/25 all sent

(116) Poongah—Town and River on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, opposite Junk Ceylon. See Anderson, *Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula*, 134-137.

to China, though less than the preceding Year is still much superior to that exported formerly and will in all probability continue to encrease and be productive of a large revenue, should Singapore no longer be declared a free Port otherwise, they will be taken to that place to escape duties.

In conclusion I beg to observe that since the Establishment of Singapore our trade has certainly experienced a slight decline but not to such a degree as was anticipated or might have been expected from the neighbourhood of a free Port. The accompanying Statements tend to point out, not a decrease of trade but the height it would have reached were there no rival Settlement in the Straits, and a rival possessed of the immense advantage of a free Port when duties shall have been imposed on the trade of that place and the two Establishments placed on an equal footing in that respect there can be little doubt that most of our former trade now lost to us, will revert into the old channel and in case this be not soon put into execution, it will be necessary for us to relieve our trade of a great portion of its present restrictions which though certainly very slight, must operate to our disadvantage when a free Port is so near us.

(A18/956-66).

**125. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
4th AUGUST 1825.**

..... The recall of the Siamese from Perak, the prevention of an attack on Salangore, and of their carrying their conquests down the Straits and the restoration of the King of Quedah it will be recollected were the principal objects in contemplation from any negotiations we might enter into, and the arrangements now made by Captain Burney are extremely satisfactory, in as far as they afford good grounds for believing that those objects will not be opposed by the Rajah of Ligore. The written Agreement is moreover satisfactory as it has brought us to some understanding with that Chief; our relations with whom have since the ejection of the King of Quedah been in a very uncertain and unsettled state, and has moreover paved the way for Political negotiation with the Court of Siam, for the introduction of questions which it has been hitherto found impracticable to bring into consideration and discussion with that Power.

In respect to the concession to be required from the Rajah of Salangore it may be presumed that the measures pursued by that Chief have been directed principally by the imperious motive of self defence. The occupation of Perak by the Siamese brought them in contact, it was natural enough that he should look upon his own Kingdom as the next object of conquest, and guard himself against attack by anticipating his expected Enemy, and destroy-

ing the Armament menacing his frontier. The state of things now complained of is ascribable to the same cause, he has heard of the preparations against him, has collected a fleet of Prows from different quarters acting under Rajah Hussein, the Crews of which are no doubt as usual on such occasion committing devastations in their neighbourhood. Indeed there can in my opinion be little doubt that the attack on the *Minerva*, and on several other Vessels off the Sambelongs⁽¹¹⁷⁾ have been made by the same fleet, collected for ultimate defence against the *Ligore* Government.

These disorders and annoyance to our Trade are the natural consequences the unavoidable result of contention between the neighbouring States, and afford us just and legitimate grounds for interfering in their adjustment. It is vain to suppose that a force of the description used on such occasions, will when once collected forego their natural habits and propensities, and abstain from a course of general plunder and piracy. The removal of the fleet of Piratical Prows now assembled in the Perak River would indeed have become an indispensable object, quite independent of the separate considerations which now induce a communication with the Rajah of Salangore: but as there seems every reason to believe that the proceedings of that Chief have been dictated by motives of self defence, it may be reasonably expected that they will be discontinued whenever the intervention of the British Government shall satisfy him that such are no longer required for his defence. (A22/17-20).

**126. TUANKO RAJAH MOODA SHAMSHO ALLY
BEBADIN OF ACHEEN TO THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE
OF WALES ISLAND. 12th AUGUST 1825.**

There are three districts, vizt. Teluksdinaway, Samulagan, Junka Coya, the people of which refuse to submit to the King and they have not come to pay their respects to His Majesty. They have, in fact, rebelled and wish to oppose the royal authority. For these reasons, I have to inform my friend that no British ships or vessels can have intercourse with the above 3 ports and British vessels proceeding to the Acheen country to trade must not go to these places, because the people are badly disposed and may possibly attack and plunder them, thereby rendering the name of the King infamous. The English are great friends with the Achenese and I therefore give notice of this to my friend, in order that he may

(117) The Sambelongs off the Perak River are here meant. The general impression in Penang and the Southern Malay States that the Siamese intended to extend their control Southwards led to the Ruler of Selangor mustering as many prows as possible against an expected attack through Perak and by sea. The effect of the resulting state of general piracy on the commerce of Penang led to that Government mediating between Perak and Selangor, and threatening strong measures against the Raja of Ligore, with, eventually, the desired effect.

proclaim the same and make it known to vessels wishing to proceed to Acheen.

When the above three Districts are fully under the King's authority, I shall send intelligence to my friend.

(F4/105).

127. CAPTAIN BURNEY'S TREATY WITH SIAM,
20th JUNE 1826⁽¹¹⁸⁾

The powerful Lord, who is in possession of very good and every dignity, the God Booddh, who dwells over every head in the City of the Sacred and Great Kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya, (Titles of the Second King of Siam), have bestowed their commands upon the heads of their Excellencies the Ministers of High Rank, belonging to the sacred and great Kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya, to assemble and frame a Treaty with Captain Henry Burney, the English Envoy. in view that the Siamese and English Nations may become great and true friends, connected in love and affection, with genuine candour and sincerity on both sides.

Article 5th.

The English and Siamese, having concluded a Treaty, established a sincere friendship between them, Merchants subject to the English, and their Ships, Junks and Boats, may have intercourse and trade with any Siamese Country which has much merchandize and the Siamese will aid and protect them, and permit them to buy and sell with facility. The Siamese desiring to go to an English country, Merchants subject to the Siamese, and their Boats, Junks and Ships, may have intercourse and trade with any English country, and the English will aid and protect them, and permit them to buy and sell with facility. The Siamese desiring to go to an English country, or the English desiring to go to a Siamese country, must conform to the customs of the place or country on either side.

Article 6th.

Merchants subject to the Siamese or English going to trade either in Bengal, or any country subject to the English, or at Bankok, or any country subject to the Siamese, must pay the duties on commerce according to the customs of the place or country on either side, and such merchants and the inhabitants of the country shall be allowed to buy and sell without the interference of other persons in such countries. Should a Siamese or English merchant have any Complaint or Suit, he must complain to the Officers and Governors on either side, and they will examine and settle the same according to the established laws of the place or country on either side. If a Siamese or English merchant buy or

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ For the comments of the Government of Penang on this Treaty see no. 131.

sell without enquiring or ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of good or bad character, and if he meets with a bad man who takes the property and absconds, the Rulers and Officers must make search and produce the person of the absconder and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property, he can be made to pay, but if he does not possess any, or if he cannot be apprehended, it will be the merchant's own fault.

Article 7th.

A merchant subject to the Siamese or English, going to trade in any English or Siamese country, and applying to build Godowns or Houses, or to buy or hire Ships or Houses, in which to place his merchandize, the English or Siamese Officers and Rulers shall be at liberty to deny him permission to stay. If they permit him to stay, he shall land and take up his residence according to such terms as shall be mutually agreed on; and the Siamese and English Officers and Rulers will assist and take proper care of him, preventing the inhabitants of the country from oppressing him, and preventing him from oppressing the inhabitants of the country. Whenever a Siamese or English Merchant or Subject, who has nothing to detain him requests permission to leave the country, and so embark with his property on board any vessel, he shall be allowed to do so with facility.

Article 8th.

..... Should any vessel belonging to the Siamese or English be wrecked in any place or country where the English or Siamese may collect any of the property belonging to such vessel, the English or Siamese officers shall make proper inquiry, and cause the property to be restored to its owner, or in case of death to his heir, and the owner or heir will give a proper remuneration to the persons who may have collected the property. If any English or Siamese subject die in an English or Siamese country, whatever property he may leave shall be delivered to his heir. If the heir appoint a person by letter to receive the property, the whole of it shall be delivered to such person.

Article 9th.

Merchants subject to the English desiring to come and trade in any Siamese country with which it has not been the custom to have trade and intercourse, must first go and enquire of the Governor of the Country. Should any Country have no merchandize the Governor shall inform the ship that has come to trade that there is none. Should any country have merchandize sufficient for a ship, the Governor shall allow him to come and trade.

Article 10th.

The English and Siamese mutually agree, that there shall be an unrestricted trade between them, in the English Countries of Prince of Wales Island, Malacca, and Singapore, and the Siamese

Countries of Ligore, Merdilow, Singora, Patani, Junkceylon, Quedda, and other Siamese provinces. Asiatics, not being Burmese, Peguers or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and trade with the Siamese dominions from the Countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenasserim and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with the proper certificates.

Article 12th. (119)

Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan. English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had, and the English shall not go and molest, attack or disturb these States upon any pretext whatever.

Article 13th.

The Siamese engage to the English that the Siamese shall remain in Queda, and take proper care of that country, and of its people: the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island and of Queda shall have trade and intercourse as heretofore; the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions, such as cattle, buffaloes, poultry, fish, paddy and rice, which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island or ships there may have occasion to purchase in Queda; and the Siamese shall not farm the mouths of rivers or any streams in Queda; but shall levy fair and proper import and export duties. The English engage to the Siamese that they will not attack or disturb it, nor permit the former Governor of Queda or any of his followers to attack, disturb or injure in any manner the territory of Queda, or any other territory subject to Siam. The English engage that they will make arrangements for the former Governor of Queda to go and live in some other country, and not Prince of Wales Island or Prye, or Perak Salengore, or any Burmese Country. If the English do not let the former Governor of Queda to go and live in some other country as here engaged, the Siamese may continue to levy an export duty upon paddy and rice in Queda. The English will not prevent any Siamese, Chinese or other Asiatics at P.W. Island from going to reside in Queda if they desire it.

Article 14th.

The English and Siamese mutually engage that the Rajah of Perak shall govern his country according to its own will. Should he desire to send the gold and silver flowers to Siam the English will not prevent him doing as he may desire. The Siamese or English shall not send any forces to go and molest attack or

(119) Wrongly numbered Article 11 in Maxwell & Gibson. Article 11 in the Ms copies is concerned with privacy of letters in transit.

disturb Perak. The English will not allow the State of Salengore to attack or disturb Perak, and the Siamese shall not go and attack or disturb Salengore.

(A27/432-452. Maxwell & Gibson, *Treaties & Engagements affecting the Malay States & Borneo*, (1924) 77-82.)

128. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 1st FEBRUARY 1826.

In the 188th and following paragraphs of our letter of the 24th August 1820⁽¹²⁰⁾, and in the 67th and following paragraphs of our letter of the 18th September 1823, we had the honor to report the suspension of certain Duties at that time rendered expedient by the entire exemption from Duties at Singapore.—From Official Statements forwarded to us, it appeared that the time had arrived when those Duties might without injury to the trade of the Port, be revived, and they have accordingly been re-imposed from the 1st Instant.

The European and Native Merchants memorialized against the reimposition of these Duties, but we did not consider the arguments urged by them sufficient to call upon us to rescind our resolution, and at all events not admissible if the other Settlements in the Straits have equal Duties imposed at them, which we expect may be the case, whenever your Honorable Court shall have finally regulated the Governments of Malacca and Singapore. We therefore informed the Merchants that in the event of such arrangements being made as afforded us an opportunity of so doing, we should not fail to recommend that this Port and those of Malacca and Singapore should be placed on an equal footing in respect of Custom Duties, of the expediency and justice of which measure we are fully convinced.

(B8/180-181).

129. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 21st JUNE 1826.

Your Honorable Court's letter of the 12th October last,⁽¹²¹⁾ being on a Separate subject, viz. that of the formation of a new Government for Prince of Wales Island Singapore & Malacca we shall take an early opportunity of addressing your Honorable Court thereon. we have not as yet assumed the entire con-

(120) No. 86 above.

(121) Missing from the Singapore Records. Its main provision was that Singapore be placed under the Control of the Government of Penang: since 1823 it had been administered from Calcutta. It came officially under the control of Penang on the 1st August 1826.

troul over Singapore and Malacca, which remain for the present under their Residents as appointed by the Right Hon: the Governor General in Council.

(B8/208).

**130. THE ACTING COLLECTOR TO THE SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT, FORT CORNWALLIS.**

31st JULY 1826.

The Import and Export for the year 1824/25 aggregated Sp. Dollars 5,265,902 and those for 26/26 Spanish Dollars 4,964,141 exhibiting a defalcation during the latter period of Dollars 301,761 this diminution, is principally to be ascribed to the deficit of Opium and Piece Goods Imported, in the first mentioned Article the quantity is less by 278 Chests estimated to value Drs. 138,450—a reduction of this extent, is no doubt attributable in some degree to the extended influence of Singapore, which in point of situation and other circumstances has a decided advantage over this Port. The deficiency of Funds available by the Mercantile Community of this ought not to be overlooked and which in my humble judgment has tended much to diminish materially the trade in the Article now under consideration, the death of an extensive Capitalist (the late Mr. Carnegie) has I am fearful left a blank which will not speedily be filled up.

The quantity of Pepper Imported is less by about 6,400 Peculs than during the year 1824/25—this is principally to be ascribed to the unparalled demand which existed for all description of Spices in Europe, and which operated as an inducement for numerous Americans and other vessels proceeding to the different Pepper Ports and purchasing the Article from the natives.

Tin has encreased in importation one sixth, the Exports are almost equally favorable, the ready Sale which this Article invariably meets with, holds out a prospect, that its importation will be much augmented provided the Ports of Pungah, Perak and Salengore remain in a state of tranquility and uninterrupted by the Siamese.

It is gratifying to be able to remark an encrease in the importation of the Articles denominated Straits Produce of upwards of 40,000 Dollars, notwithstanding they are subject to a heavy duty on Exportation in consequence of being forwarded to China by the Medium of Foreign Vessels.

It is no less pleasing and satisfactory to observe, the encreasing Commerce with the Mother Country on reference the excess of

Exports from hence will be found to amount to Drs. 67,185—which has no doubt been raised on the spot by private Bills on Calcutta and England.

(A28/65-76).

131. THE SECRETARY, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO THE ENVOY TO SIAM. 25th SEPTEMBER 1826.

I am directed by the Hon: the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th Instant, with Journal and Treaty.⁽¹²²⁾ The Sentiments of this Government will be detailed at length to the Right Hon: the Governor General in Council. In the mean time the Hon: the Governor in Council deems it right to convey to you the opinion entertained on the subject, as connected with the Interests of the Malay Peninsula.

The 12th Article respecting Tringano and Kalantan, appears to be worded with considerable ambiguity, so as to leave to each part the right of self construction. But the whole wording of the Article would seem to convey, by implication, the admission of complete Supremacy of Siam over these States, the express disavowal of which, was a main object of the Government. The Siamese are bound not to go and interrupt the Trade with Tringano, and the British Government are bound not to go to attack and molest that State; but whether the provision against the interruption of Trade is meant to preclude every sort of interference—on their part, or to leave them to exert it to the utmost, so long as Trade be not interrupted does not appear.....

All the Articles affecting Commercial relations appear satisfactory; but the Board entertain so very slight expectation of their being adressed to, that they scarcely consider it necessary to discuss them. Those applicable to Trade at Bangkok appear to place our Commercial relations there on a more favorable footing. This was an object of negotiation suggested by the Resident of Singapore, and one which never appeared to the Board to be of much importance or likely to be attained. So little faith can be placed on their provisions that the Board consider it would be infinitely better for the Merchants to receive the Produce of Siam and return their goods in exchange by the Native Junks frequenting Singapore, than to risk their person to insult, their property to Plunder, and the British Government to the necessity of resenting it, by going to War with Siam; the tendency to extortion on the part of the Siamese Officer at Bangkok—is more likely to be checked by the forfeiture of the advantages resulting from fair Commercial Inter-

(122) See No. 127 above.

course, and self Interest seems more likely to induce moderation—than any public negotiation.

..... While the Board therefore, gives you all due credit for the patience, perseverance and temper displayed by you, under all the trying circumstances inseparable from negotiation with such a vain, arrogant, ignorant and conceited Court Candor obliged them to confess, that in all matters connected with the Malay Peninsula, the Mission must be considered, in some degree, to have failed, and that the state of our relations with our neighbors is not materially improved by the result;

(I30/71-No. 1418).

132. PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION. 21st NOVEMBER 1826.

Notice is hereby given, that the Collection of the IMPORT and EXPORT DUTIES leviable at this Port under the Regulations of the 1st May 1812 and 29th June 1816, will be suspended from this date. In order however, to ensure the regular transmission of Statements of the extent and nature of the Commerce at this Presidency, required for the information of the Authorities in England, and at the same time to prevent the Import or Export of Articles prohibited by Law, it is hereby notified, that all the existing rules and forms relative to landing and shipping goods, entry of Manifest, etc. at the Custom-House will continue to be in force.

By Order of the Honorable the Governor In Council.

(I28/406B, 77B).

133. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD THE 19th JANUARY 1827.

Minute by the President.

The Act of Parliament 53 of George 3 Cap. 155 Sections 98, 99 & 100 vest in the Government of Prince of Wales Island the power of framing Rules and Regulations for imposing Duties and Taxes etc. subject to certain forms and restrictions, and the Act 54 of George 3rd Cap. 105 confirms the right of levying all such Taxes as had been established and in force previous to the first recited Act, all the Duties and Taxes now levied on this Island have been duly legalized as the above Act directs. Those now existing at Malacca and Singapore, are levied by virtue of the power vested in the Governor General over these Settlements as Dependencies, and these Duties in so far as sanctioned by the

Supreme Government remain in force and full effect until altered by this Government, under all the forms and Provisions of the above recited Act. It will moreover be a matter of consideration with the Resident Councillors of Malacca and Singapore how far it may be adviseable to establish any new source of Revenue, or to abolish any of those existing as being oppressive and destructive of the growing prosperity of the place, always keeping in mind that the payment of Revenue by the people composes the remuneration which they owe to the Government for the protection they enjoy, and that the financial expediency of maintaining establishments is to be tried only by the extent in which they are equal to the payment of their own proper expences, the relation between Receipt and Expenditure must never, therefore, be lost sight of.

(N1/121-123).

(17) Approving of the remonstrances to the Queen of Acheen relative to the plunder of a Junk, and directing application to be made to the Supreme Govt. on the recurrence of similar out-rages.

134. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO COURT OF DIRECTORS. 25th JANUARY 1827.

No complaints whatever have been received of late against the Authorities of Acheen, and we have reason to believe that a more established order of things now exists, and that the Government of the Country has become more settled since the accession of the present King, the Son of the late Sultan Johor Alum Shaw.

(22 to 25) Court hopes the trade in Tin with Patani by means of the Establishment at Province Wellesley will succeed and a beneficial arrangement in respect to Duties be made with the Kedah Authorities.

The report of the Acting Superintendent of Province Wellesley, whom we called upon to submit explanation on the subject of these paragraphs, will be found on our proceedings noted in the margin. We regret to add that the jealousy and aggrandizing spirit of the Siamese Authorities at Kedah has hitherto rendered ineffectual our endeavours to prosecute this branch of trade, which no doubt might be conducted to great advantage, could we persuade them to fix an equitable rate of Duties, and permit an unrestricted communication with the Patani Country, to which convenient access can only be obtained by the channel of the Muda River. (128)

(5) Court will be will pleased if the Revenues of Govt. can be made to afford material assistance towards defraying the charges and trust that keeping this object in view endeavours will be used to improve the Income and reduce the expences.

Unproductive as the Settlements under our charge have hitherto been in financial resources, and materially circumscribed as the Income of this Station in particular now is, in consequence of the suspension of the Import and Export Duties, we can only assure your Honorable Court of our unceasing exertions to improve the remaining resources arising from Excise Duties and Land Revenues, and to confine the expenditure of the Incorporated Settlements within the narrowest limits consistently with efficiency.

(B8/297. B8/300).

(128) See the correspondence with Kedah on this subject in Nos. 62 and 63 above.

**135. RESIDENT COUNCILLOR, SINGAPORE TO THE
SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PRINCE OF WALES
ISLAND. 15th FEBRUARY 1827.**

The raising of an Export Produce on this Island, being doubtless an important and highly desirable object as regards the interests of the Honble Company, I am happy to mark a growing disposition on the part of the European Inhabitants to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits. Many of the European Land holders are now preparing their Lands for the reception of spices, for which culture it appears the soil is not ill adapted. I have therefore the honor to request that if Prince of Wales Island possesses facilities for procuring Young Spice Plants, the Honorable the Governor in Council will be pleased to take into consideration the benefit that would accrue from supplies of Young Plants, both Nutmeg and Clove, being from time to time forwarded to Singapore should the Honble the Governor in Council concur with me in this view, I beg to request that a supply may be sent by an early convenient opportunity. Even seeds planted in Boxes of Earth, will be of use should the Plants themselves not be procurable.

If in the course of time, the collective Produce of the three Settlements in the Straits should enable us to compete with the Dutch in the spice Trade the almost entire monopoly of which since the Cession of Bencoolen, has reverted into their hands, a great national benefit would be derived from them independently of their immediate utility as Entre-Pots for our Eastern commerce.

The Secretary reports that he was informed a supply of Spice Plants would be sent as soon as they were prepared.

(A33/155-157/No. 26).

**136. THE ACTING MASTER ATTENDANT, SINGAPORE
TO THE RESIDENT COUNCILLOR, SINGAPORE.
21st FEBRUARY 1827.**

In compliance with your wish I have the honor to submit for your information the few observations which my short residence has enabled me to make upon the trade of this place.

Thus comparing the annual Statements of Imports and Exports for 1825 the total amount Spanish Dollars 12,126,766 with the same for the year 1826 " " 13,286,426 there is found an excess in favor of the year 1826 of Spanish Dollars 1,159,660.

In estimating the trade of Singapore, perhaps one Simple truth has been kept too much out of sight, that is, whatever be the produce and manufactures Imported, must have its equivalent in Export.

Proceeding on this principle, I have in Statement (A) given an enumeration of all articles of produce and manufactures which are imported from the surrounding countries, and relatively denominated Eastern produce introduced evidently for the purpose of supplying the wants of those Countries in exchange for the produce and Manufacture of Great Britain and India.

Statements B. and C. enumerate respectively Imports of the produce and Manufactures of India, and Great Britain, in exchange for Eastern produce, the extent of which upon an average of years must exist in proportion to the means of exchange or Amount of Eastern produce.

	Sp. Dollars
A Exhibits total amount of Eastern produce - - - - -	2,610,539
B Do of Indian Produce - - - - -	1,332,937
C Do of Europe do - - - - -	1,032,011
	2,414,948

shewing an excess of Malay Importations over Indian & Europe of 195,501.

D Exhibits Total amount of Merchandize from Great Britain, India and China Imported in Entrepot - - - - -	1,316,527
E Do total amount of Specie - - - - -	521,567

Total Imported in 1826 - - - - -	6,863,581
----------------------------------	-----------

F Exhibits the Increase over the preceding year of Statement A.B.C.D. amounting to - - - - -	653,917
and decrease as above of Statement E amounting to - - - - -	79,782

Total Increase of Imports for the year 1826 over the year 1825 - -	574,135
--	---------

A.

A Statement of the Produce & Manufactures of the Eastern Archipelago Imported into Singapore the year 1826 with a comparative Statement of 1825

Antimony	11,435	10,217
Beach de Mar	34,295	60,555
Bees Wax	57,034	26,213
Beetlenut	"	55,697

	1825	1826
Articles	Value Sp. Drs.	Value Sp. Drs.
Benjamin	12,210	2,915
Bird Nest 1st sort	63,618	29,481
Do 2nd & 3rd	65,484	15,344
Camphor Malay	10,447	16,202
Coffee	30,082	231,110
Copper Japan	"	35,460
Dragons blood	2,623	1,656
Elephants teeth	516	984
Gambier	19,313	28,057
Gold Dust	149,093	156,492
Mother o'pearl shell	20,080	7,710
Oil	12,634	22,657
Pepper	228,736	192,717
Rattans	42,923	47,934
Rice	249,094	163,647
Sago	57,307	21,732
Salt	23,320	28,000
Sarongs	124,599	44,075
Sapan Wood	12,224	8,428
Spices	66,965	27,800
Stick lac	11,824	5,621
Sugar	130,809	76,742
Sugar Candy	1,974	6,172
Tin	202,165	327,118
Tobacco Java	151,029	112,059
Do China	12,768	37,400
Tortoiseshell	130,696	60,849
Minor Articles	578,441	748,489
	2,513,672	2,610,539

B.

A Statement of the Produce and Manufactures of India Imported into Singapore for the year 1826 with a Comparative Statement for the year 1825.

	1825	1826
Articles	Value Sp. Drs.	Value Sp. Drs.
Gunnies	36,320	11,873
Opium Bengal	774,650	959,812
do Malwa	"	53,025
Piece Goods	356,033	359,799
Salt petre	12,732	12,428
	1,179,735	1,339,937

C.

A Statement of the Produce and Manufactures of Europe Imported into Singapore for the year 1826 with a Comparative Statement for the year 1825.

	1825	1826
Articles	Value Sp. Drs.	Value Sp. Drs.
Copper	35,015	500
Gun Powder	12,500	14,500
Iron	27,848	22,781
Muskets	54,904	6,650
Piece Gools	715,719	895,520
Quick Silver		40
Spelter (129)	13,800	86,430
Steel	3,030	"
Wines & Beer	44,881	55,590
Woollens	114,405	
	1,022,102	1,082,011

D.

A Statement of the Produce and Manufactures of Great Britain, India and China Imported in Entrepot at Singapore for the year 1826 with a comparative Statement for the year 1825.

	1825	1826
Articles	Value Sp. Drs.	Value Sp. Drs.
Camphor China	14,575	17,592
Cassia	49,895	67,532
Cassia Oil	900	6,000
Cassia buds	17,360	"
Cotton		11,150
Ebony	4,567	13,499
Nankeens	54,810	293,760
Opium Turkey	8,600	261,875
Raw Silk	786,952	428,094
Sandal Wood	560	12,317
Silk Satins etc.	23,450	160,292
Tea	10,863	44,416
	972,532	1,316,527

(129) Spelter—Zinc, or an alloy of zinc.

E.

A Statement of Specie Imported into Singapore for the year 1826 with a comparative Statement for the year 1825.

	1825	1826
	Value Sp. drs.	Value Sp. drs.
Specie	601,349	521,567

F.

An Abstract of the Proceeding Statements.

	1825	1826
Eastern Goods	2,513,678	2,610,539
Entrepot	972,532	1,316,527
Indian	1,179,735	1,332,937
Europe	1,022,102	1,082,011
Specie	601,349	521,567
	<u>6,289,396</u>	<u>6,863,581</u>

Statement of Importation into Singapore of Coffee in 1825.

Places	Square rigged Vessels	Native Vessels	Total P.culs
London	3	"	3
Malacca	136	40 $\frac{1}{2}$	176 $\frac{1}{2}$
Java	1048	"	1048
Bombay	26	"	26
Lingin	"	4	4
Tringano	"	115	115
Campar	"	1088	1,088
Palembang	"	25	25
Samarang	"	263	263
Rhio	"	30	30
Mandar(130)	"	20	20
Macassar	"	5	5
Banjar(131)	"	12	12
Siack	"	37	37
Sambas	"	2	2
Total	<u>1213</u>	<u>1641$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	<u>Pcs. 2854$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

(130) Mandar—Mandhar, at Northern end of the Bay of Macassar, is probably meant.

(131) Banjar—probably Banjermassin.

Statement of Coffee imported into Singapore in 1826.

Places	Square rigged Vessels	Native Vessels	Total
Malacca	59	"	59
Java	17,023	3447	20,470
Campar	"	4452	4,452
Tringano	"	155	155
Lingin	"	140	140
Pahang	"	76	76
Borneo	"	62	62
Bugis	"	143	143
Total Piculs	17,082	8,425	25,557

(N1/143-151).

137. SINGAPORE. 1st MARCH 1827.

Abstract of the Account of Revenue of the Residency of Singapore from the Official Year 1820/21 to 1826/27.

	1820/21	1821/22	1822/23	1823/24	1824/25	1825/26	1826/27
Total Spanish Dollars	15,925	21,870	31,490	49,500	67,000	75,734	77,316
						(A35/98).	

138. THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, SINGAPORE AND MALACCA. 7th JUNE 1827.

The Statement of Import & Export Trade, drawn out according to the form prescribed by the Honble Court from 1823 to 1826 which I have the honor to present herewith will exhibit the information required under this head. The Abstract stands thus

Amounts of Imports for	.. ..	1823/24	\$6,559,179½
Do of Do "	.. ..	1824/25	6,407,818
Do of Do "	.. ..	1825/26	6,268,405
		Sp. Drs.	19,235,402½
averaging Spanish Dollars 6,411,800 per Annum.			
Amount of Exports for	.. ..	1823/24	\$4,856,162½
Do of Do "	.. ..	1824/25	5,871,791
Do of Do "	.. ..	1825/26	5,357,668
		Sp. Drs.	16,085,621½

averaging Sp. Drs. 5,361,873 per Annum.

(A37/46).

**139. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM TO
THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
12th JULY 1827.**

In a letter we addressed to you in the Political Department, on the 22nd Ultimo, we drew your attention to the efforts making at this, and at the other Presidencies for the purpose of bringing the charges of the Indian Government within the Income.

Although the second year of Peace⁽¹³²⁾ is now passing, we are sorry to be under the necessity of acknowledging that this has not yet been done nor is there any prospect of the object being accomplished, except by the practice of severe Economy, and the resort eventually to measures of retrenchment such as all must deprecate.

The Estimates for the year which closed with the 30th April last, exhibited a deficit of upwards of Seventy Lacks of Rupees on the general Account of the three Presidencies, independently of the supplies to England to meet the House Territorial Charges, which cannot be assumed at less than a Million and half Sterling. The total deficit of the year must therefore have exceeded two Crores.

The Sketch Estimates for the passing year, shew a Revenue barely sufficient to meet the Indian Charges, so that the home Territorial Demand will have to be provided by an encrease to the general Debt of the Country. But in time of peace, when there is no call for extraordinary exertion, such condition of things as shall require an annual encrease of the Public Debt can only lead to Bankruptcy and ruin.

Your Honor in Council will be sensible from the above sketch of the financial position of the Indian Governments, how anxiously the attention of every one connected with the administration of this branch of affairs must be directed to the means of retrenching expenditure and encreasing Income. we beg to express a hope that no means will be omitted of reducing the Expenditure of the Settlements under your control, so as to diminish the drain they occasion upon the resources of India.

(A32/70-71).

**140. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.
18th JULY 1827.**

In deference to the general revision of the establishments under this Government, we have to observe that the late instructions of the Honble Court relative to the abolition of duties on trade,

(132) Since the first Anglo-Burmese War, which was formally concluded by the Treaty of 24th February, 1826

whereby our receipts were affected to an extent little short of 5 Lacks of Rupees, necessarily impressed us with the conviction of the necessity of reduction. The financial arrangements of the Settlements of Malacca and Singapore at the close of the official year were the object of our President's late visit to those Stations, and on the completion of the revision at this Settlement, where the only material reductions can be made, full report and statements will be transmitted to the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council.

(D8/290).

141. THE ACCOUNTANT, FORT CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT. 26th SEPTEMBER 1827.

Estimate of the probable Amount required to meet the expenses of the Madras Troops serving at Prince of Wales Island Singapore and Malacca for the Current official year.

<i>Prince of Wales Island</i>	Sicca Rs. 418,899 "
<i>Singapore</i>	59,996 "
<i>Malacca</i>	48,885 "
	<hr/>
	Sicca Rupees 527,780 "
	<hr/>
	Madras Rupees 564,724 97

(A40/18).

142. THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 6th NOVEMBER 1827.

Adverting to your Honble Courts orders to abolish all duties on the trade of the Port and to the absence of all anchorage duties at Singapore, we considered it advisable to abolish the harbour dues heretofore collected on the Shipping frequenting this Port and reduced the fee on a port Clearance to one Sicca Rupee which we hope will meet the approval of your Honble Court.

(B9/79).

143. THE SUPERINTENDANT OF POLICE, SINGAPORE TO RESIDENT COUNCILLOR, SINGAPORE. 24th JANUARY 1828.

I have the honor to transmit the Census of the Population on the commencement of the present year, which independent of the Military and the Convicts, shows an excess of that of the preceding one of 1061 Males and 92 females, making a total encrease of 1153.

Extract List of the Population at Singapore the 1st January 1828:
Total of each Class of Inhabitants

	Males	Females	Total
Europeans	85	23	108
Native Christians	119	74	193
Malays	2850	2486	5336
Armenians	17	8	25
Chinese	5847	363	6210
Natives of Coromandel Coast	1072	23	1095
Ditto of Bengal	237	57	294
Arabs	17	—	17
Bugies	877	375	1252
Javanese	247	108	355
	11368	3517	14885
Military	—	—	561
Convicts	376	6	382
	11744	3523	15268

Independent of the above, the people on board the Native Vessels etc. may be estimated on an average throughout the year at 2500.

(N4/74-75).

**144. THE REGISTRAR OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS,
SINGAPORE TO THE RESIDENT COUNCILLOR,
SINGAPORE. 31st MARCH 1828.**

Of the trade of Singapore, for the official year ending the 30th of April last, the Statements exhibit the following favorable results, namely, Total amount of Imports 13,619,793—of Exports 13,883,062 making an excess of the latter of 263,270 Sicca Rupees, also an encrease in the Imports, compared with those of the preceding year, of 460,579 and in the Exports of 2,612,751 Sicca Rupees.

With only one or two exceptions there appears, to have been an uniform increase of Imports from all the places with which we have usually carried on Trade, making a Gross aggregate increase of 2,817,592. Of this amount, England contributes 1,020,831 A very large portion of the latter amount has arisen on the encreased importation of Europe Piece Goods, but there is a falling short in the importation of woolens of about 83,500 Sicca Rupees: Calcutta, Madras Bombay, Prince of Wales Island, Java, Siam, Cochin China, all shew considerable increase in their respective Trades. There is an augmentation of the Java Trade alone of 363,699 consisting Chiefly in Coffee. It has been found advantageous to bring the Coffee of Java to this Port for re-exportation for Europe, the export duty direct from Java to Europe being double of that paid on its exportation to this Place. The encrease

on the Siam and Cochin China Trade is also equally satisfactory, that of the former being 106,133 and of the latter 72,066. No importations took place during the preceding year from South America, Isle of France, Acheen, nor Ceylon. The total amounts under each of these places therefore constitute a corresponding increase in the general trade of the year 1826/27.

On the other hand the aggregate amount of Decrease in the Import Trade is 2,357,013—arising on the Trade with China, Native Ports, Bencoolen and Malacca. The total falling off in the China Trade is, 2,233,387 Rupees, consisting principally in Raw Silks and Nankeens and may partly be accounted for by a large quantity of China Goods having been purchased the preceding year by the China Merchants (chiefly the Captains of Indiamen) and sent down to this Port for transshipment, in order to evade the operation of the act of Parliament, affecting the clearing out of British Ships from China to England direct. But as these transactions were not effected with Singapore Capital, and owed their existence to circumstances of temporary influence only they ought not to have been reckoned an integral part of the Singapore trade, and consequently any falling short in this particular branch ought not to be considered a diminution of the regular trade between Singapore and China. In the trade with Native Ports the decrease is 71,775. There were also no importations from Bencoolen, during the year 1826/27, making a further deficit in the Imports of 48,903. (N4/146-149).

145. THE RESIDENT COUNCILLOR, SINGAPORE TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 20th MAY 1828.

We beg to refer to an Abstract Statement shewing the amount of Imports and Exports for the last 5 Years ending 30th April 1827 exhibiting a progressive Encrease and in 1826/27 as compared with the preceding year an aggregate Excess in the amount of Imports and Exports of Sa. Rupees 3,029,993.—The Statement is subjoined for more particular reference.

Statement shewing the Amount of Imports and Exports at Singapore for the last 5 Years ending 30th April 1827.—

Years	Amount of Imports	Amount of Exports	Total
	Sa. Rupees	Sa. Rupees	Sa. Rupees
1822/23	7,746,833 ½	6,677,758 ¾	14,424,592 ¼
1823/24	13,807,072 ¾	10,222,222	24,929,294 ¾
1824/25	13,488,457	12,360,120 ½	25,848,577 ½
1825/26	13,194,992 ½	11,277,891	24,472,883
1826/27	13,619,792	13,883,084	27,502,876
	Total Sicca Rs.		117,178,223 ½

It must be observed however, that the Exports are little more than a repetition of the Imports. We have reason to believe that the Accounts of the last Year which we expect will be made up soon exhibit a satisfactory result also. We may here remark that the Number of Junks from China, Cochin China and Siam, which have arrived at this Port during the last few Months has been greater than during any Season Since the Establishment of this Depot.

One great advantage which this Establishment has enjoyed over its Sister Settlement of Prince of Wales Island, has been the unrestricted admission of many Articles of commerce against the importation of which there existed at Penang either a direct and positive prohibition or a duty equivalent to it. While a duty of Six Dollars the lb. was exacted upon foreign Opium at Penang as a protection to the produce of our own Territories in Benares, Patna and Malwa, Turkey Opium was imported here in large quantities free from any duty whatever. During the first visit of our President last year, his attention was especially directed to this subject and a reference was accordingly made to the Supreme Government the reply to which rendered it expedient for us to fix the same duty upon foreign Opium and extend the provision of the Regulation of Penang to this Settlement, subsequent to our reference several extensive importations of this drug took place per Brig Intrepid Packet and Ship Orythea.

(B9/231-233).

**146. RAJA OF SIAK SRI INDRA PURA TO THE
GOVERNOR OF PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
27th SEPTEMBER 1828.**

. We beg to represent to our friend, that the traders, at Siack are at present in much difficulty, for the interior districts of Siack have been attacked by the Rinchis who come from the country of Rawa.⁽¹³³⁾ They have burnt and laid waste 3 or 4 districts, and all the inhabitants of the interior Districts have in consequence entered into an agreement with the people of Menang Kabow to attack the country of Rawa. These circumstances have occasioned much distress to the poor traders, who are in the habit

(133) Both Crawford, History of the Eastern Archipelago, and Marsden, History of Sumatra, mark the Town of Rawa (Raua on the headwaters of the Rakan River, North of Siack. The modern Rawa country was a subdistrict of Palembang, which marched with the Residency of Jambi (Encyclo van Ned-Indie, III, 556-7). The name seems to have been applied generally to the pagan tribes of the interior, or to several groups of them. They were traditionally the allies of outside groups against the power which controlled the coastline. Thus they were allies of the Portuguese at Malacca against the Muslim states, and in the 18th Century as allies of the English made the Dutch gold-collecting settlement at Praman untenable.

of bringing merchandize from Singapore and Malacca and disposing of it in the interior of Siack. It is that part of the country which is in commotion and but for this we should be very happy to take measures for extending the commercial intercourse between Siack and Singapore and Malacca in order that there may never be an end of friendship between these places. Between Malacca and Siack there has never been any difference.

(F5/135).

**147. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, SINGAPORE
TO THE RESIDENT COUNCILLOR, SINGAPORE.**
6th FEBRUARY 1829.

I have the honor to enclose the Census for the last year, Showing an encrease of Population over the preceding one of 2,779 Souls.

Total of each Class of Inhabitants

Europeans	122
Armenians	24
Native Christians	272
Malays	5750
Chinese	7575
Natives of Bengal	455
Ditto of the Coast of Coromandel	1440
Arabs	32
Javanese	634
Bugies, Balinese etc.	1360
	<hr/>
Military Europeans & Natives	17664
Convicts	602
	553
	<hr/>
Total	18819

(A59/35 & 39).

148. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD
17th MARCH 1829.

Minute by the Governor General.

My principal object in visiting Prince of Wales Island has been as stated by me to the Supreme Council at Calcutta, to confer personally with Mr. Fullerton upon the charges and Establishments belonging to these Settlements, and in reference to the great deficit existing in the General finance of India to consult with him upon the practicability either under the existing system or by a modification of it, of reducing an expenditure so vastly disproportionate to the revenue.

Having fully discussed all the details of the Civil and Military Expenditure with Mr. Fullerton, I have had great satisfaction in finding an almost entire concurrence of opinion on his part, and that he has under preparation a scheme which will go far to meet the views of the Supreme Government. As this scheme is partly developed in the Memorandum and will, when completely matured, be transmitted to Bengal, I feel it unnecessary to enter into a detailed view of the Civil charges.

(A64/19).

**149. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD
17th MARCH 1829.**

Minute by Mr. Fullerton.

Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca are three Settlements now under one Government, and the object of our enquiry and consideration is their Administration on a scale as economical as may be consistent with efficiency.

The following is the Establishment of Covenanted Servants requisite for the conduct of the Civil Administration.

Prince of Wales Island

One Resident
One Deputy or Head Assistant
One Assistant

Three, the same at Malacca and the same at Singapore, making nine in all, to which may be added three for the general controlling duties if such be exercised on the spot. If on the principle of a separate Government as follows

One Governor
One Secretary

One Head Assistant also Register to Court of Appeal as herein-after described making twelve in all, but as three furloughs are allowed we may state the full number Fifteen, the Allowance on the existing scale I place on the Margin.

3 Residents at	2105	—	6315
3 Deputies or Head Assts.	1500	—	4500
3 Assistants	1000	—	3000
			<hr/> 13815

1 Governor	5262	
1 Secretary	1500	
1 Head Asst.	1000	7762
		<hr/>
		21577
		<hr/>

Three Supernumeries supposed to be absent on leave drawing the furlough allowance.

If separate Residencies each acting independent of the other, and all directly under the Supreme Government without an intermediate Controlling authority, only the nine Civil Servants will be required whether such local controlling authority be necessary is a matter of opinion. In my own opinion an efficient Administration cannot well be established without it, more particularly as affording intermediate appeal within the local Judicial Department. It must moreover be remembered that these Settlements are far distant from the other Presidencies, with the local authorities must rest the maintenance of all Political Relations with the Netherlands Government, the Siamese and numerous other Eastern States; the support of the British Interests in these distant regions require the presence of action more prompt and decisive than a mere insulated Residency could have.

As to the Revenue to be raised to support the Expences, I am of opinion it should be drawn from the following sources—

First—A Duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or even 3 per Cent on one side of the Trade, the Export.

Second—A Tax on Lands and houses rated in Money at the value of one tenth of the produce of lands or valued rent of the Houses to support the expence of Police, cleaning streets, repairing roads, Bridges, supporting Jails and all other expences for which rates are raised in an English Country.

Third—Rent of the Exclusive Privileges of retailing spirits, keeping houses for smoking Opium, retailing Opium less than a Chest for consumption, keeping Houses for Gaming
Do for retailing Toddy and Bang Seree or Betel
Do Pawn Brokers' shops, Shop Tax and Market Stalls.

Fourth—Fines and Fees in the Judicial Department these I have little doubt would meet all expences duly regulated.

The argument against the first is a general one that it would affect the Trade, the argument contrary must be equally so, such a Tax could never affect a prosperous Trade, it has not that effect

in other places nor had it at Prince of Wales Island, the Trade was greater when the rate of duty was highest and has been much less since they were taken off, than when the duties were levied, a certain proof that it is not the duty which affects the Trade—they are every where paid and in Settlements where Trade is the sole object of their establishment it seems unaccountable that they have no existence. The objection to duties on Trade appears most extraordinary when it is considered the Dutch at Batavia levy no less than 25 per Cent on British piece Goods on a tariff rated at least 60 per Cent above the Invoice value and there appears to be no diminution of Import, and yet it is argued that the levy only of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent here ruins the Trade—Duties on the Trade afford the only certain source of Revenue the one established and understood and general throughout the whole of these Eastern Regions, Dutch, Siamese, Malays, and Cochin Chinese. Singapore has been received as a channel for giving vent to the extensive sale of our European Manufacture and so it has hitherto proved. But it has given vent on equally favorable terms to the produce and Manufactures of every other Country. It opened the vast regions of the Eastern Islands till then unsupplied but the period must arrive and to all appearances it is not distant when those Countries must be saturated like other parts of the world with British Manufactures and if the promotion of British Industry and Enterprize be our object, why extend the exemption from duty to Imports and Exports from and to other Countries? Why allow the Piece Goods of the Netherlands, of Germany, or of France to be imported on the same terms with our own? Why allow to other Nations gratuitously the benefits of an Establishment so costly to ourselves? The course of proceeding I am here contemplating would easily be pursued allow the Import of British Manufactures and of all goods whatever free if imported on a British Ship from Great Britain levy $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent on all goods the produce or manufacture of India or any British Settlements on this side the Cape imported on British Ships. Levy 5 per Cent on all Imports whatever on foreign ships, there are objections to the levy of Duties of Imports of the Produce of the Straits and neighbouring places in Junks, Prahus, etc. let them be imported free; on all British Ships bound for Great Britain or any place beyond the Cape of Good Hope let such be exported free, let all such be leviable to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent if exported on a British Ship for any Port of India or any British Settlement on this side the Cape of Good Hope. If exported on foreign ships, let them be subject to a duty of five per Cent. If any Article be exported on a British Ship bound beyond the Cape on which Import duty has been levied let a proportionate drawback be given such while it could not affect the Trade of Great Britain would assist at least in the Establishment of a better relation between receipt and expenditure at these settlements.

I conclude with a few general observations. These Settlements have been reviewed only as a Depot for Trade and it has been argued that as such one or two companies of Sepoys and a few Peons would answer every purpose of security. A mere Depot might be on an Island half a mile square on a Town of the same Dimensions, and there is no doubt the Establishment contemplated would be sufficient, but what in reality is the state of these Settlements? They are not mere Depots, they extend over thousand of square Miles, they now contain Population of 120,000 and every day increasing; we give them a system of Judicature the most finished, the most perfect, the most expensive in the world, under a King's Court we give them all the Privileges and Immunities of our subjects in the Mother Country which they neither require nor understand, it seems moreover to be expected that we are to extirpate Piracy from the Eastern Seas and for all this the great body of our Inhabitants pay nothing, for the Revenue now collected from Excise is paid by a very Small part of the Population, Arrack Drinkers, Opium Smokers, and Gamblers. Those who really derive the benefit, protection and profits of the Trade pay literally nothing, and yet we are surprized that these Settlements should be a dead weight on our finances. We have only to follow the course followed at all other places and apply here those principles applied in every other part of the World, the result will be the same, they will pay their own expences, and if the Authorities in England would declare the above officially to be the rule of Proceeding, with the knowledge I now possess, I should not hesitate in undertaking the duty of squaring receipt and expenditure in the course of six Months.

(A64/4-17).

150. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM. 7th APRIL 1829.

Our serious attention having been given to the charge of maintaining the Incorporated Settlements of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, we proceed to communicate to you the opinions which we have formed of the practicability and expediency of effecting an important reduction in that branch of Expenditure.

When it was determined many years since to constitute Prince of Wales Island a separate Presidency it was in contemplation not only to form that Island into a Marine Station for the rendezvous, refitting and supply of His Majesty's Squadrons in the Eastern Seas, but also to make it a Naval Arsenal for the building of ships for the Royal Navy. These objects may now be considered as abandoned and with regard to Political or Commercial benefits resulting either to Great Britain or to India from the tenure by us of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, We consider that those benefits may be effectually secured by an administration of the Settlements upon a very reduced scale and that such an

alteration need not interfere with the sources or amount of Revenue now collected.

We have therefore come to the resolution of putting these three Settlements on the footing of Residencies subject to your Government and we desire that you take immediate measures for that purpose.

We presume that the facility and quickness of Steam will enable you to exercise a direct control over the proceedings of the several Residents. If however upon reflection you should consider that it would be a preferable arrangement to combine the Administration of the three Settlements in one Chief Resident with a suitable number of Assistants you have our authority to do so.

It will we think be desirable at once to name a date (and the 1st May 1830 appears to be a suitable period) at which the Government as now constituted shall cease to exercise its function and when the local authority of each of the three Settlements shall vest in a Resident to be appointed by the Government at Bengal to whom the Residents are to be subject.

The Revenues of the Settlements appear to yield about Five Lacks of Rupees so that after providing for the Charge of the Establishments above suggested there will remain sufficient to defray the charge of maintaining Convicts which appears to amount to about 80,000 Rupees Annually and the charge of the Judicial Department amounting to about 120,000 Rupees in the latter of which we trust hereafter to make an important reduction in which case a portion of the local Revenues will be available in aid of the expense which must still be incurred in the maintenance of an adequate Military Force.

(C6/175-).

**151. THE GOVERNOR PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND TO
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS. 18th APRIL 1829.**

In our letter of the 20th May 1828 (para 27) We referred your Honble Court to a letter from the Superintendent of Lands, reporting on the depressed state of Cultivation at this Settlement, since the fall in the price of Pepper, and the levy of an exorbitant duty on the Article of Gambier (which it appears had in former Years been cultivated to a considerable extent) by the Batavian Government, and remarking on the way in which this depression affected the subject of Quit Rent on Lands. Our President recorded his opinion and proposed certain instructions for the guidance of the Superintendent on granting Lands and Suggested that in respect to the fee for Survey, if such should be found a

Serious objection against the taking of Lands by individuals, it would be better to waive the collection of the Survey fee on the issue of periodical Leases under 15 Years, than allow the Lands to remain for such a number of Years without a Tenant.

(B9/358-362).

152. THE ACTING RESIDENT, SINGAPORE TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT PENANG. 1st MAY 1829.

Having before me the letter from the Acting Deputy Secretary to the address of the Resident Councillor, requesting him to state if he is aware of any mode of assessment which can be resorted to in order to supply the deficiency in the Revenues of this Settlement, and as Mr. Murchison has left the subject unanswered, I hope the Honorable the Governor in Council will not consider me as performing an act of supererogation in submitting with deference the following reply.

Considering all the circumstances of this infant Settlement, there do not appear to me to exist any legitimate sources, besides those already in requisition, whence a Revenue can be derived, except that of an Impost on the commerce of the Island. While the justice of such a duty is acknowledge by all, the expediency of it has been called in question by many, but principally, I believe, by those who are concerned in the trade, on whose profits it is thought likely to intrench. They decry the measure as likely, nay sure, to check and injure the rising Commerce of the Settlement but whether there is reasonable ground for such an apprehension, I would submit for the decision of the highest authorities, and in doing so, I would respectfully state it as my opinion that no result would ensue, provided judicious arrangements were made for exempting the Native trade from some of the restrictive measures and minute search, usually attendant on Custom House Regulations. The policy of exempting the trade from all impositions on the first establishment of Singapore cannot, I imagine, be called in question, but, as the trade has now passed the stage of its infancy, I am of opinion, there is little to apprehend from casting away the lead strings.

(N6/3-5).

153. AT A COUNCIL HELD AT SINGAPORE⁽¹³⁴⁾ ON 8th JUNE 1829.

The Board concur generally in the Sentiments expressed by the Acting Resident⁽¹³⁵⁾ as to the propriety of raising a revenue by

(134) After all 3 Settlements came under the control of Penang in 1826 the Council met successively at each place although the administrative machinery remained at Penang.

(135) In the preceding extract.

the imposition of a moderate duty on the Commerce of the place, and are perfectly satisfied from the result of experience at Penang that such a duty would not affect the general Trade. It seems most desirable to submit the proposition with these remarks to the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General is Council leaving it to be determined by His Lordship in Council.
(N6/109-110).

**154. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD ON
24th AUGUST 1829.**

Minute by the President.

In the Minute recorded by me in March last⁽¹³⁶⁾ and written under the very impressive injunctions of the Supreme Government relative to future economy in the expenditure of these Settlements. I observed that, provided the same principles of administration were attended to, as at other Presidencies, the receipts and expences might be brought to agree.

. besides the items of revenue set down, there are others which might be realized to an extent proportioned to the Population vizt. Monopolies on the retail of Salt and Tobacco also stamp duties and some minor Assessments; notwithstanding what has been urged against the expediency of imposing such taxes at these Settlements. It appears to me that there can be no earthly reason why the Inhabitants of them should not be subject to the same taxes that are paid by those of the other Presidencies. The principle and most affluent of our inhabitants are the Chinese and Chuliahs, who come here for a time only to enjoy the benefit of protection, to scrape up money by every possible means, to carry all away and leave nothing behind them for any lasting or permanent benefit derived from such a population not a trace appears, and probably the tax once suggested by a former Lieutenant Governor for the price of entrance and departure would be the most appropriate, such a tax levied from those who come poor and in a few years go away rich, often to the exclusion of the indigenous inhabitants would only be the fair remuneration for that protection under which their wealth was attained, so far from being weak it appears to me that the argument in favour of taxation is even stronger at these Settlements than at other Presidencies, where the means of accumulation of property are less concentrated, less speedy, and when once gained stationery and promotive of lasting improvement.

It is on this principle the relations between receipt and expenditure are proposed to be adjusted in these Settlements, it will be

(136) No. 149 above.

seen that if not subjected to the expence of Troops they will defray their own expences, if subjected to them the very moderate duty proposed will more than meet the difference. In proposing the duties I have been, in point of principle, guided by local circumstances and considerations these Settlements are depots for the receipt of the produce of India and Europe and their diffusion throughout the Islands & Countries of the Eastern Archipelago, secondly the collection of the produce of the same Countries and their export in exchange, the levy of duties or the imposition of any restraint on the export of European and Indian produce to places situated within the limits of the Eastern Archipelago, or on the other hand the levy of duties on the Import of produce to be exchanged for those of India or Europe might be objectionable the more so as the local trade is conducted by Native Prahus, Junks etc. unused to such restraints, it is proposed therefore that the Imports of all Articles the produce of places Eastward of Negrais⁽¹³⁷⁾ to the Eastern Settlements shall lie free as at present. In like manner that the export from these Settlements of all articles the Produce of Europe in India to any place within the above limits shall also be free from duties. That Import duty shall only be leviable on goods the produce of Countries beyond the said limits. That Export duty shall only be leviable on Articles the produce of Countries within these limits when exported to places beyond them. This arrangement by leaving the Trade of all Native Prahus, Junks etc. unmolested avoids one of the principal objections to the levy of duties at these Settlements, namely the interference with the Native Trade. It would doubtless be better to avoid the imposition of duties entirely were it possible to provide for the expences of these Settlements without them, they must be viewed only as the last resource to make up for deficiencies and carried no further than necessity requires and it will be seen that it is only in the event of their being charged with the support of the Military expenditure that duties will be requisites.

(A66/395-400).

**155. FORT CORNWALLIS, AT A COUNCIL HELD THE
29th APRIL 1830.**

Minute by the President.

Report on the Trade of the Three Settlements, Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

. There is little produce at any of the Settlements in the Straits. The trade consists therefore almost entirely of Foreign

(137) Cape Negrais, South West coast of Burma.

Import and re-Export. Of the articles imported therefore at one Settlement many are shipped and landed at another, shipped again and carried from port to port in search of a market; it was directed therefore that the general statements should include only the external trade, that is the trade between the Settlements and places beyond their limits;

Trade of Prince of Wales Island.

The trade of Prince of Wales Island is carried on with the following places, viz., Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, England, China, Java, Ceylon, Siam, Coast of Tenasserim, Acheen, Delli, Quedah and a few petty native ports.

Calcutta, Imports from.

The Imports for the year ending 30th April 1828/9 from Calcutta amounted to Sicca Rupees 1,094,986, of which the principal articles were:

Opium	710,400
India Piece Goods	184,500
Rice	22,750

The balance being made up of sundry petty goods, of which we may notice only the few British articles travelling for a market, viz., Iron (20,000) and British Piece Goods (17,500)

Calcutta, Exports to

The total exports to Calcutta for the year amounted to Sicca Rupees 357,126, of which the principal articles were:

Pepper	114,121
Tin	111,740
Gold Dust	51,600
Betel Nut	37,755

Imports therefore being as above	1,094,986
and the Exports	357,126

The difference was Sicca Rupees 747,860, to be made out by bills or transmission of spice. It is to replace this difference that Government bills on Bengal are principally taken.

Madras, Imports from

The imports for the year amounted to no less than 1,695,850, of which the principal articles were:

India Piece Goods	1,444,000
British Piece Goods sent for a market	78,880

Oil	53,440
Spices	18,000

Madras, Exports to

The total exports to Madras were 238,765, of which the principal articles were:

Pepper	68,160
Metals, Iron, Lead etc.	42,480
Betel nut	40,716
The total Imports being as above	1,695,850
The Exports	238,765

The balance Sicca Rupees 1,457,095 it is generally understood that except for the sums remittable by government bills the whole amount of Madras Piece Goods Imported is returned in silver, and this trade is reckoned one of the great drains of specie from the Straits.

Bombay

[Imports Sa Rs. 265,290, mainly India Piece Goods (93,100) & Opium (36,000). Exports to Sa Rs 230,146, mainly Tin (97,680) and various Straits Produce. Imports balance of 35,144 more than balanced by export of silver coins to the value of Sp. \$96,000.]

England

[Imports from Sa Rs 176,670, the principal articles being British Piece Goods (77,500) and Beer (9,280). Exports to Sa Rs 50,669 almost entirely Pepper (47,500)]

China, Imports from

The total Imports from China amounted to Sicca Rs. 218,440, the [principal] articles being as follows:

Raw Silk	63,250
Camphor	32,000
Tobacco	27,000

China, Exports to

The Exports during the year amounted to Sicca Rs. 965,834, the principal articles being as follows:

Beetle Nut	205,411
Birds Nests	141,140
Pepper	111,432
Tin	86,321
Beech de Mer	77,820
Malay Camphor	60,000

Opium	55,605
Spices	48,375
The total Exports being as above	
Sa Rs	965,834
The Imports being	218,440

The excess of Exports 747,394. Nearly the whole of the exports are made on the Hon. Company's Ships by the Commanders. The trade it will be observed returns in specie to the Straits.

Java

[Imports from Sa. Rs 37,312, principally Java Cloth, 14,100. Exports to Sa. Rs 52,330, mainly India Piece Goods (29,500) and Pepper (18,000)]

But little trade can be carried on between Java and Prince of Wales Island, Singapore intermediately situated offering a mart for exactly the same articles.

Ceylon

[Imports from Rs 56,206, principal article being Arrack (26,208). Exports to Rs. 23,450, mainly Sugar (7,219) & China Sundries.]

Siam, Imports from

The total Imports from Siam in goods amounted to Sa Rs 216,788, the principal articles being:

Tobacco	129,500
Tin	38,250

Siam, Exports to,

The exports amounted to 96,093, of which the following were the principal articles?

India Piece Goods	57,600
Opium	26,950

The excess of Imports is 120,695. Considering that Singapore deals in similar articles with Prince of Wales Island, and is exactly between it and Siam it is rather surprising that this trade, small as it is, should continue.

Tenasserim

[Imports Rs 177,000, mainly Birds Nests, etc. for the China Market. Exports to Rs 155,152, mainly British and Indian textiles (46,000) and China Sundries (30,000). The British garrison stationed there at this time no doubt accounted for most of the woollens.]

Acheen, Imports from

The total Imports from thence during the year amounted to Sicca Rs 808,513, consisting principally of the following articles:

Betel Nut	280,000
Pepper	221,448
Camphor Malay	88,000
Rice	38,000
Benjamin	34,000
Coffee	24,800
Dammer	21,800

Acheen, Exports to

The exports thither amounted to Sa. Rs 1,075,842, of which the following are the principal articles:

Opium	374,070
India Piece Goods	362,500
Sticlac	90,550
Cotton	34,200

Excess of Exports Sa. Rs 267,842.

Delli

[Imports from Sa. Rs 204,905, mainly Pepper (176,520) and Rattans (24,000). Exports totalled 158,930 mainly Europe Piece Goods (94,000) and Opium (34,542).]

Quedah

[Imports from Sa. Rs 221,200, mainly Rice (172,640). Exports Rs 136,000, principally India Piece Goods (68,000) and Opium (28,000).]

Other Native Ports

[Imports Rs 60,741. Exports to Rs 60,631.]

From the foregoing it appears that the total Imports of Goods into Penang amounted in 1828/9 to Sicca Rupees 5,224,872

And the Exports to 3,600,900

The Excess of Imports being thus 1,623,971

This excess is principally composed of the following items, viz.,

India Piece Goods	1,126,790
Rice, Wheat & Grain	350,000
Opium	208,043

The Rice, Wheat and Grain are for the Consumption of the place. The other articles comprise a balance on hand. It will be seen that of certain articles there is an excess of exports. This probably is only the periodical adjustment, the excess being the store of the former year. Spices, pepper etc. are now produced on the Island, and from this source the excess of Export may in small measure proceed.

It is obvious that the source of trade must unavoidably lead to the export of the precious metals. The only counteraction and subsequent detention of the precious metals arises from the great expenditure from the Public Treasury thrown into the market, and the remittance by Bills instead of specie which retain so much in the place. When the projected abolition of the Government takes place, and the consequent reduction of the Public Expenditure to a sum nearly within the regular receipts, the drawing of Bills and the imports of Specie by Government will cease, and a comparative deficiency in the circulating medium must be found, probably to an extent to produce the same process of Commercial dealings as at Singapore—the Barter of Goods against each other, instead of the more certain and substantial one of sale and purchase by the medium of actual cash.

Singapore Trade

England, Imports from

The Imports of goods from England into Singapore this year amounted to Sicca Rupees 2,414,430, of which the principal articles were:

Piece Goods	1,648,859
Iron	135,791
Woolens	94,301
Copper Sheathing	64,019
Wines & Spirits	50,541

England, Exports to

The Exports to England amounted to Sicca Rupees 6,602,716 of which the principal articles were:

Raw Silk	3,271,565
Nankeens	822,941
Coffee	541,123
Sugar	408,890
Tortoise Shell	379,321
Camphor China	206,466
Pepper	204,595

. a comparison of the trade with England shows an excess of exports amounting to Rs 4,298,286, and of this excess the principal article is Raw Silk This article is exported from China, landed and re-exported only in consequence of the Law preventing its being carried direct from China, a few other articles are under similar circumstances, Nankeens, China Sundries etc. The great proportion of funds for the conduct of this trade is probably derived from the proceeds of the sale of India and Straits produce

carried for sale to China by the Commanders of the H.C. Ships; the returns being in excess of their Privilege Tonnage are of necessity sent by another ship. On this trade the Singapore merchants gain only the commission of 1 per Cent for landing and re-shipping.

Foreign Europe.

[Imports from Rs 86,509, principally Woollens (37,039) Wines and Spirits (21,622) and Iron (18,229). The Exports to amounted to Rs 220,988, in general China and Straits produce]

South America

[Imports from Rs 80,108, mainly Copper & Iron (43,000). Exports to Rs 72,105, Straits & China produce, Spices, Nankeens, Tortoise Shell; etc.]

Mauritius

[Imports from Rs 43,000 (Sea Snails & Ebony). Exports to Rs 34,000 (various consumer goods, Tea etc.)]

Calcutta, Imports from

The Imports from Calcutta for this year amounted to Sicca Rupees 2,969,544, of which the principal articles were:

Opium	1,775,445
India Piece Goods	782,260
Woollens	186,608
Europe Piece Goods	69,669
Gunny Bags	44,179

Calcutta, Exports to

The Exports to Calcutta for this year amounted to Sicca Rupees 2,255,476, of which the principal articles were:

Tin	589,507
Gold Dust	554,480
Copper Jappan	481,720
Pepper	206,100
Wood Sapan	76,586
Spelter	80,000
Rattans	36,834
Copper, Peruvian	24,000

Madras, Imports from

The amount of Imports from this port was Sa. Rs 1,084,595 of which the principal articles were:

Indian Piece Goods	1,059,141
Cotton	9,472

Madras, Exports to

The amount of Exports to this port was Sicca Rupees 97,682, of which the following were the principal articles:

Copper Jappan	16,800
Europe Piece Goods	14,787
Rattans	11,676
Pepper	10,380

The Madras Merchants who generally return with their own goods, invariably carry away specie in return, Madras Rupees if to be had, next Dollars, and last Sicca Rupees.

Bombay, Imports from

The amount of Imports from Bombay was Sa. Rs 380,144, of which the principal articles were:

Opium, Malwa	192,081
India Piece Goods	71,864
Europe Piece Goods	52,644

Bombay, Exports to

The amount of Exports from Singapore to Bombay was Sa. Rs 291,659, of which the principal articles were:

Tin	46,834
Copper Jappan	35,195
Sugar	33,143
Camphor Malay	31,869
Gold Dust	28,701

China, Imports from

The amount of Imports from China was Sicca Rupees 5,590,823, of which the principal articles were:

Raw Silk	3,496,701
Nankeens	882,971
Spices	339,206
Camphor China	252,593
India Piece Goods	117,810

China, Exports to

The amount of Exports to China was Sicca Rupees 1,760,251, of which the principal articles were:

Opium	624,862
Birds' Nests	181,598

Rattans	148,820
Tin	111,411
Beech de Mer	101,517
Ebony	84,498
Camphor Malay	79,221
Pepper	76,514

A comparison of the trade with China shows an excess in the Imports of nearly Sicca Rupees 3,830,572. The excess of Imports finds its way to England as explained above.

Java, Imports from

The Imports from Java amounted to nearly Sa. Rs 1,154,933, of which the principal articles were;

Copper Jappan	281,575
Coffee	210,228
Rice	151,958
Tobacco	108,389
Malay Piece Goods	65,933

Java, Exports to

The amount of Exports to Java amounted to Rs 983,440, of which the principal articles were:

India Piece Goods	331,403
Opium	313,695
Europe Piece Goods	47,840

Rhio

[Imports from Rs 180,000, principally Pepper (57,575). Exports to Rs 155,084, principally Rice (58,835) and India Piece Goods (50,391).]

Siam, Imports from

The amount of Imports was Sa. Rs 771,057, of which the principal articles were:

Sugar	353,067
Rice	79,195
Stielac	74,748
Salt	42,967

Siam, Exports to

The amount of Exports was Sa. Rs 603,246, of which the principal articles were:

India Piece Goods	186,274
Europe Piece Goods	181,729
Opium	114,200

Cochin China

[Imports from Rs 304,245, mainly Rice (154,191) and Sugar (81,561)
Exports to Rs 106,252, principally Opium (91,081).]

Ceylon

[Imports Rs 28,000 mainly Brandy & Spirits, Arrack etc. Exports to
Rs 2,3000, Nankeens etc.]

Acheen & Other Northern Sumatra Pepper Ports

[An Exports trade to them of Rs 45,815, mainly earthenware (12,700)
and India Piece Goods (10,000). Imports only a small amount of Specie
(8,500).]

Other Sumatran Ports, Imports from

The amount of Imports was Sa. Rs 439,238, of which the
principal articles were:

Coffee	120,626
Rattans	69,246
Tin	46,143

Other Sumatran Ports, Exports to

The amount of Exports was Sa. Rs 377,709, of which the
principal articles were:

India Piece Goods	193,771
Europe Piece Goods	33,754
Salt	31,653

East Coast of the Peninsular, Imports from

The Imports amounted to Sicca Rupees 653,032, of which the
following were the principal articles:

Tin	279,193
Gold Dust	212,443
Pepper	105,015

East Coast of the Peninsular, Exports to

The Exports amounted to Sicca Rupees 593,423, of which the
principal articles were:

Opium	369,222
Tobacco	58,582
India Piece Goods	46,385

Straits Trade

[Imports Rs 189,000, of which Tin made up Rs 174,000. Exports Rs
72,000, principally Malay Piece Goods (20,600) Opium (15,200) and Tobacco
(11,700).]

Celebes, Imports from

The amount of Imports was Rs 402,157, of which the principal articles were:

Tortoise Shell	169,241
Malay Piece Goods	142,145
Birds Nests, etc.	42,000

Celebes, Exports to

The Exports amounted to Rs 503,248, of which the principal articles were:

Opium	189,692
India Piece Goods	137,814
Europe Piece Goods	61,618
Raw Silk	44,357

Borneo, Imports from

The Imports amounted to Sa. Rs 424,722, of which the principal articles were:

Gold Dust	101,519
Rattans	93,301
Birds' Nests	63,347

Borneo, Exports to

The amount of Exports were Sa. Rs 346,122, of which the principal article was India Piece Goods (230,024).

Bally.

[Imports Rs. 75,279, all Straits produce. Exports Rs 179,568, mainly Opium (139,217) and India Piece Goods (20,500).]¹³⁸
(K15, 207-245).

**156. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, FORT WILLIAM TO
THE GOVERNOR, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.
4th MAY 1830.**

We have had the honor to receive your letter dated 16 January last, with its Enclosures, regarding the Revenues of the Incorporated Settlements, and forwarding the Minutes of the President and of

(138) Note. The returns of trade with Manilla and Cambodia, and general remarks on the trade of Singapore and of Malacca included in the original Minute, have been lost from the records.

The trade returns listed above, however, give a total for the year for Singapore as follows:

Imports Sicca Rs	17,336,601
Exports " "	15,257,269

which may be compared with the returns for Penang listed earlier in this extract. The passages in parentheses have been slightly condensed.

the Honble Mr. Ibbetson upon the new arrangement ordered by the Honorable the Court of Directors for the Administration of Affairs in these Settlements, in their Dispatch dated the 7th of April of the past year.⁽¹³⁹⁾

From the date, therefore, of your receipt of this letter, the orders contained in the Dispatch in question, must finally take effect, and we have only to communicate our determination on the several questions left to our option, or discretion.

Mr. Fullerton has recommended Malacca for the residence of Chief Authority as being Central: But, as we propose, that the Diana Steamer, shall be permanently allotted to the Service of these Settlements, the distance becomes of little consequence, while the increasing importance of Singapore, its proximity to Java, as well as to those Countries to the Eastward, from whence the great resort to the Island principally arises, strongly point it out as the most eligible Seat of Government, and for this reason we have given it a preference.

The following arrangements have been determined upon by us for the three Settlements upon this understanding. The Resident at Singapore will receive 36,000 Rups. per annum every thing included. The First Assistant to the Resident 24,000 and Second Ditto 7,200.

For Prince of Wales Island and Malacca we propose Deputy Residents with Salaries of 30,000 and 24,000 per annum respectively, and to each a 2nd Assistant at 7,200.

At Prince of Wales Island an additional Assistant is allowed for Province Wellesley.

The duty in these Settlements cannot require the assignment of young men permanently to its Service who, by passing their lives there, become disqualified for the general Service of India; whereas, on the contrary, a proper training in India, will not diminish their efficiency to the Eastward.

(139/2).

157. THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM TO THE RESIDENT, SINGAPORE.
15th FEBRUARY 1831.

I am directed by the Honble the Vice President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 13th November reporting

(139) No. 150 above.

your having received Charge of the Settlements of Singapore, Prince of Wales Island and Malacca from Mr. Fullerton.....
(M6/24).

158. RESIDENT'S OFFICE, MALACCA TO THE DEPUTY RESIDENTS, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, SINGAPORE AND MALACCA. 30th MARCH 1832.

Government Notification

[The following paragraph of a Public General Letter dated the 27th July 1831 from the Honble the Court of Directors, to the Governor General in Council at Fort William is published for general information—

Para 2. "We have now to acquaint you that upon further consideration it has been deemed expedient to continue the Old Charter for the present and in order that all doubt may be removed regarding the Powers under that Charter of the Resident and Deputy Residents: We have determined and hereby declare that for the purpose of administering Justice under His Majesty's Charter, the Resident stands and the Resident at Singapore for the time being shall stand appointed and designated Governor or President of the United Settlements of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, and that the first Assistant to the Resident at Singapore stands, and that the first Assistant for the time being to the Resident at Singapore shall stand appointed and designated as Resident Councillor at Singapore; and that the Deputy Residents at Prince of Wales Island and Malacca stand, the Deputy Residents of Prince of Wales Island and Malacca for the time being shall stand appointed and designated as Resident Councillors at those places respectively."

(U1/260-261).

Index.

Owing to technical difficulties it has not been possible to produce a page index. References are therefore to the numbered extracts. Most important commodities have been indexed. Those seeking others should look up the nearest general reference; thus Baliness cloth will be found under Malay Piece Goods; the non-precious metals (apart from tin) under metals, etc.

- Abdul Mahomed, Sultan, of Achin, III.
- Achin, 2, 3, 33-37, 42, 45, 47, 48, 52, 57, 66, 72, 73, 78, 86, 88, 98, 106, 111, 112, 119, 121, 124, 126, 134, 144, 155.
- - American trade with, 3, 48, 86.
- - King (Ex-King) of, 33, 34, 35, 37, 42, 44, 47, 48, 52, 78, 86, 88, 98, 111, 112, 134.
- Achin Head, 33n.
- Acts of Parliament, SEE Statutes.
- Adam, Mr. 92.
- Admiralty, First Lord of, 2.
- SEE also Navy, H.M.
- Africaine, H.M.S. 35, 36.
- Akbar, ship, 19.
- Amboina, 27, 112.
- America, 28.
- American cotton, 28, 31.
- - - trade, 2, 3, 14, 48, 56, 59, 86, 94,
- - - 107, 108, 119, 130.
- - - War of 1812, 28n.
- Anderson, Mr. John, 68, 103.
- Annalaboo, 98.
- Annapoorney, ship, 35-37, 52n.
- Arakan, 122.
- Argyle, ship, 91.
- Arrack, 23, 90, 100.
- Attaps, 90, 100.
- Aurora, H. C. C. 38, 40.
- Ava SEE Burma.
- Ayerajah SEE Ierajah.
- Bali, 155.
- Bally Belling SEE Buleleng.
- Banda, 112.
- Banjermassin, 136.
- Banka, 40, 68, 102, 124.
- Bankok, 92, 94, 107, 116, 122, 127, 131.
- Bannerman, Colonel John Alexander, Governor of Penang, 53, 59, 78, 94.
- Batavia, 29, 38, 40, 83, 92, 107, 124, 151.
- Batavian Government, the, 14.
- Battam, 112.
- Batu Pahat, 92.
- Belligneux, H.M.S. 10.
- Benares, 145.
- Bencoolen, 6, 19, 64, 69, 80, 81, 83, 102, 105, 112, 117, 135, 144.
- - - Lieut. Governor of, 84, 85, 89, 95, 105.
- Bengal, 12, 18, 20, 28, 29, 31, 32, 40, 45, 49, 52, 72, 76, 78, 86, 108, 119, 123, 136, 148, 150, 155.
- - - Bay of, 118.
- - - Company, See East India Company.
- - - Government, See Supreme Government.
- Berar, Rajah of, 4.
- Betelnut, 2, 23, 33n, 76, 90, 106, 119, 124, 136, 155.
- Bintang, 112.
- Blenheim, H.M.S. 8.
- Board of Control, 55.
- - of trade (of the East India Company), 28, 50.
- Bombay, 2, 31, 49, 76, 91, 107, 119, 136, 144, 155.
- Borneo, 106, 155.
- 'Borneo proper' See Brunei.
- Bourbon, 31.
- 'Bowed Georgias', 31.
- Braam, Mr. Commissioner van, 56.
- Brooks, Mr. 80.
- Brown, Mr. David, 41, 50, 114.
- - & Co., 48.
- Bruce, the Hon. Charles Andrew, Governor of Penang, 22, 24.
- Brunei, 81, 92.
- Bugis, as place name, See Celebes.
- Buleleng, 92.
- Bukit Batu, 92.
- Burcalong, the, of Siam, 94.
- Burma, 82n, 106, 113, 116, 118, 119, 122, 124, 127.
- Burney, Capt. Henry, 122, 125, 127, 131.
- Burong, 98.
- Calantan, See Kelantan.
- Calcutta, 7, 12, 29, 32, 76, 91, 100, 104, 105, 107, 119, 130, 144, 148, 155.
- Cambodia (Camboja), 81, 107, 155.
- Campar See Kampar.
- Campbell, Mr. David, 34.
- Canning, Capt. 52, 119.
- Canton, 12n, 110.
- Capong (coin), 2.
- Carian, See Kuala Krian.
- Carimon Is., 60, 112.
- Carmo, ship, 91.
- Carnegy, Mr., 130.
- Caroline, ship, 91.
- Caromandel, See Coromandel.
- Caunter, Mr., 73.
- Celebes, 81, 112, 136, 155.
- Ceram, 112.
- Ceylon, 112, 144, 155.
- Charlotte, ship, 91.
- Charter of Justice, at Penang, 20, 158.
- Che Im, 38.
- Che Seong, 63.
- Che Toak, 62, 63.
- China, trade with, 2, 8, 12, 15, 17, 28, 29, 39, 60, 76, 84, 89, 91, 99, 106, 108, 109, 110, 119, 124, 130, 136, 144, 145, 155.
- Chinese settlers, at Penang, 7, 94, 154.
- Clove plantations etc, at Penang, 6, 21, 49, 110.
- - - - - at Singapore, 80, 135.
- Clubley, Mr., 108.

- Cochin China, 94, 107, 113n, 144, 145, Farquhar, Major (later Colonel), 56, 149, 155.
- Coffee, trade & cultivation, 12, 21, 25, 31, 46, 110, 136, 144, 155.
- Commander in Chief, East Indies Fleet, 36.
- Commissioners, H.M., See Board of Control.
- Company, the, See East India Company.
- Convicts, at Penang, 58n, 99, 150.
- Coombs, Capt., 72, 73, 78, 119.
- Cornwallis, Lord, See Penang.
- Cornwallis, Lord, Governor General of India, 4n.
- Coromandel coast, 33, 34, 119, 124.
- Cota Tingin, See Kota Tinggi.
- Cotal, 92.
- Cotton trade & cultivation, 2, 21, 25, 28, 31, 39, 49, 86, 90, 91, 119, 124, 136, 155.
- Council meetings, at Penang, 15, 17, 20, 48, 100, 104, 106, 108, 121, 133, 148, 149, 154, 155.
- Cracroft, Mr. Walter Sewell, 56, 59, 60, 68, 74, 75, 82.
- Crawford, Mr. John, 83n, 94, 103, 105, 116, 118.
- Crooke, Lieut., 87.
- Dadalo, brig, 91.
- Delli, 119, 155.
- Diamond Point, 33n, 34n, 103.
- Diana, H. C. S., 156.
- Dindings, the, 77, 94.
- Djéboes, the, 92.
- Docks, Dockyard, construction of at Penang, 2, 4, 16, 18, 46, 150.
- Doreewat Mahaden, ship, 91.
- Dunbar & Scott, Messrs., 42.
- Dundas, the Hon Phillip, Governor of Penang, 10.
- Dunn, Mr., 80.
- Dutch (Government), 49, 56, 60, 66, 68, 70, 71, 74, 77, 81n, 82, 86, 94, 103, 106, 107, 111, 112, 117, 121, 135, 149, 151.
- Duties - at Batavia, 29, 107, 112, 114, 144, 149, 151.
- in Great Britain, 31, 46, 117.
- in India, 14, 29, 32, 61, 76, 86, 100, 112, 114.
- at Kuala Muda, 62, 63.
- at Penang, 2, 6, 8, 14, 23, 29, 32, 41, 54, 61, 76, 86, 95, 97, 100, 104, 106, 128, 131, 133, 149, 153, 154.
- at Singapore, 84, 85, 89, 149, 152-154.
- East India Company, 29, 40, 59, 62, 68, 73, 95.
- cotton trade of, 28.
- pepper trade of, 19, 43, 46, 50, 109, 110.
- East Indies Fleet, C-in-C of, 36.
- Eastwards, countries (islands, ports) to the East of the Straits of Malacca, 7, 12, 29, 38, 40, 54, 56, 60, 66, 76, 81, 91, 100, 106, 112, 114, 124, 136, 149, 154, 156.
- Endau, 92.
- Erskine, Mr. I. J., 46, 48.
- l'Etoile, Mons., 34, 52.
- Europe goods (the exports of Europe), 29, 31, 100, 106, 110, 136, 144, 149.
- Farquhar, Major (later Colonel), 56, 60, 64, 69, 83.
- Farquharson, H. C. S., 91.
- Fattal Ibrahim, ship, 91.
- Fattal Mahal, ship, 91.
- Fenwick, Mr. Cuthbert, 33, 34, 45.
- Fidrabamal, brig, 91.
- Fischer, Nicholas, 42.
- Fleende Siam, brig, 91.
- Fort Cornwallis, See Penang.
- - Marlborough, See Bencoolen.
- - Muyat Lemgaya (Achin), 73.
- - William, See Calcutta.
- Fowey, H.M.S., 58.
- Fullerton, the Hon. Robert, Governor of Penang, 115, 122, 148, 149, 157.
- Gambler, 90, 92, 119, 136, 151.
- Georgetown, Penang, 23, 97.
- Gibson, Mr., 113.
- Gold-dust, 2, 81n, 90, 94, 119, 136, 155.
- - mines, 86.
- Governor-General, Fort William, the, 2, 7, 15, 18, 25-30, 32, 34, 36-38, 40, 45, 50, 51, 52, 56, 60, 64, 66, 68-72, 79, 87, 88, 94, 100, 101, 122, 133, 153.
- Great Britain, 25, 28.
- - import duties, 31, 46, 117.
- - imports of cotton, 31.
- - imports of pepper, 108.
- Ha pping, sloop, 91.
- Harriet, ship, 27.
- Hemp cultivation at Penang, importance for British interests, 25.
- H.M.S. Africaine, 35, 36.
- Belligneux, 10.
- Blenheim, 8.
- Fowey, 58.
- Hero, brig, 42.
- Hero of Malown, H. C. S., 105.
- Holkar, Insswant Rao, 4.
- "Honourable, the, of Bencoolen," See Raffles.
- H. C. C. (Hon. Company's Cruiser), Aurora, 38, 40.
- Shettra, 42.
- H. C. S. (Hon. Company's Ship.).
- Diana, 156.
- Farquharson, 91.
- Hero of Malown, 105.
- Indiana, 73, 80.
- Inglis, 91.
- Kent, 91.
- London, 99.
- Metcalf, 53.
- Minerva, 125.
- Penang, 18.
- Repulse, 91, 109.
- Royal George, 30, 91.
- Thames, 99.
- Warren Hastings, 99.
- William Fairlie, 115.
- Hue, 107.
- Hyder Ally, ship, 45.
- Ibbetson, Mr., 87.
- Ierajah, 16.
- Ile de France, 144.
- Inche Mahomed, Penghulu of Kroh, 62.
- India (East India Company's Eastern possessions), 16, 19, 25, 29, 43, 54, 112.
- - duties at, 14, 86, 100, 112, 114.
- - trade of, 2, 29, 31, 33, 86, 106, 108.
- Indian goods, duties on at Penang, 6, 54, 86, 100, 106.

- - piece goods, 54, 86, 90, 92, 102, 106, 119, 124, 136, 155.
- Indiana, H. C. S., 73, 80.
- Indragiri (Indergeree), 81, 86.
- Inglis, H. C. S., 91.
- Intrepid, brig, 145.
- Iowar Allum Shah, See Johor Allum Shah.
- Isabella, ship, 91.
- Iskandar Shah, 45n.
- Jaboos See Djeboes.
- Jambi (a), 81, 86, 87, 92, 146n.
- Jamestown, Penang, 23.
- Java, 26, 29, 38, 40, 52, 56, 60, 91, 106, 114, 124, 136, 144, 155, 156.
- - Government of (Dutch), 60.
- - Lieut. Governor of, 38, 40.
- Jidda (Judda), 119.
- Johnston & Co., 109.
- Johor (e), 60, 66, 85, 92, 107.
- - Sultan of, 85, 89, 107.
- Johor Allum Shah (Johor Oolallum), 52, 72, 73, 78, 98, 111, 119, 134, and See King (ex-King) of Achin.
- Judicature, Court of, at Penang, 20, 106.
- Junk Ceylon, 82, 94, 118, 127.
- Junka Coys, 126.
- Kalang, (Klang), Selangor, 74.
- Kampar, 92, 136.
- Kedah, 62, 63, 68, 77, 82, 93, 94, 101, 103, 113, 116, 122, 125, 127, 134, 155.
- Kelantan, 81, 92, 127, 131.
- Kent, H. C. S., 91.
- Kota Tinggi, 92.
- Kroh, 62, 94.
- Kuala (& River) Krian (Krian), 77, 94.
- - Muda (Mooda), 62, 63, 77, 94, 134.
- Lady Nugent, ship, 43.
- Land tax, at Penang, 23, 55, 97, 151.
- Lankat, 119.
- Lawrence, Mr., 34.
- Levant, cotton from, 31.
- Light, Capt. Francis, 32n.
- Ligor, 67, 94, 125, 127.
- - Rajah of, 93, 101, 113, 125.
- Linggin, (Lingin), 38, 40, 59, 60, 64, 66, 81, 85, 89, 92, 112, 136.
- London, Convention of (1814), 112.
- - pepper sales at, 19.
- London, H. C. S., 99.
- Lukut (Lookat), 92.
- Macalister, Colonel Norman, 10n, 11.
- Macassar, 136.
- Macdonald, Major, Superintendent of Penang, 52.
- McKenzie, Mr., 76.
- Madras, 24, 49, 58, 76, 83, 119, 141, 144, 155.
- Malngy, Mr., 100, 106.
- Malabar, 6, 50, 119.
- Malacca, 8, 38, 40, 55, 60, 64, 66, 68, 70, 71, 74, 82, 86, 91, 92, 103, 107, 112, 127, 128, 129, 133, 136, 140, 141, 144, 146, 149, 150, 156, 157, 158.
- - Straits of, 38, 40, 70, 86, 107, 118, 135.
- Malay market, 2, 7, 12.
- - States, 56, 58-60, 94, 103, 107, 112, 113, 116, 125, 130, 131, 155.
- - trade, 40.
- Malays, 7, 54, 76, 149.
- Maldives, 119.
- Malwa (Malwer), 119, 136, 145, 155.
- Mandar, 136.
- Manilla, 155.
- Maratha War (1803-5), 4.
- Marlborough, Fort, See Bencoolen.
- Mary Ann, ship, 91.
- Mauritius, 108, 155.
- Mellis, Mhr., 107.
- Menangkabow, 86, 146.
- Merbok (Kuala & River), 93, 94.
- Mergui, 113, 116, 118, 122, 127.
- Metals, trade in, 7, 90, 92, 119, 136, 155.
- Metcalfe, H. C. S., 53.
- Minerva, H. C. S., 125.
- Minerva, ship, 91.
- Ming Sorei, brig, 91.
- Mintow, See Mutok.
- Mokha, 92, 119.
- Moluccas, 49, 112, 114, 117.
- Mooda River, See Kuala Muda.
- Muah (Muar), 92.
- Muntok, 92.
- Murbow, See Merbok.
- Murchison, Mr., 152.
- Muyat Lemgaya, Fort, 73.
- Nakhoda Haran, 74, 75.
- Nankeens, 90, 136, 144, 155.
- Napoleonic Wars, 27n.
- Naval Arsenal, establishment of at Penang, 2, 4, 16, 46, 52, 150.
- Navy, H.M. Commissioners of, 18, 19.
- Negapatam, 35.
- Negrais (Cape), 154.
- Netherlands Government, See Dutch Government.
- New Guinea, 112.
- Nutmeg plantations at Penang, 6, 21, 49, 110.
- - at Singapore, 80, 135.
- Opium, opium trade, 2, 7, 12, 29, 54, 62, 67, 76, 83, 86, 90, 91, 92, 94, 100, 102, 106, 107, 119, 124, 130, 136, 145, 155.
- Orythea, ship, 145.
- Padang, 81n, 86.
- Pahang, 66, 81, 92.
- Palembang, 86, 92, 136, 146n.
- Pangkor, 68, 77, 82, 94.
- Pangleema Polem (Sagi of Achin), 73.
- Patani, 62, 92, 94, 124, 127, 134.
- Paterson, Capt., 109.
- Patna, 145.
- Pearson, Henry Stephen, Governor of Penang, 10.
- Pedir (Coast), 33, 47, 48, 57, 78, 98, 119.
- Pegatan, 92.
- Pegue, See Burma.
- Penai (Penau), 92.
- Penang, H. C. S.
- Penang, clove & nutmeg trade & cultivation, 6, 21, 46, 49, 110, 117, 155.
- - cotton trade & cultivation, 2, 21, 25, 28, 31, 39, 49, 86, 155.
- - coffee trade & cultivation, 12, 21, 25, 31, 46, 110, 155.
- - customs duties, 2, 6, 8, 14, 23, 29, 41, 54, 61, 76, 86, 95, 97, 100, 104, 106, 108, 112, 124, 128, 131, 134, 140, 142, 145, 149, 153, 154.
- - expenditure at, 46, 54, 58, 76, 95, 122, 134, 141.
- - hemp cultivation, 25.

- - navel arsenal & docks, 2, 4, 16, 18, 46, 52, 150.
- - pepper trade & cultivation, 6, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25, 31, 41, 43, 46, 49, 50, 76, 86, 100, 106, 108, 110, 119, 124, 130, 151, 155.
- - population, 103.
- - relations with Achin, 2, 3, 33, 34, 37, 48, 52, 57, 72, 78, 86, 88, 98, 111, 112, 119, 121, 124, 126.
- - with the Dutch, 56, 60, 66, 111, 112, 149.
- - with E. Coast of Sumatra, 86, 87, 103, 112, 146.
- - with Malay States, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 68, 74, 75, 77, 82, 93, 94, 101, 112, 113, 125, 131.
- - with Siam, 56, 67, 93, 94, 101, 103, 113, 116, 118, 122, 125, 127, 131, 134, 149.
- - revenues of, 8, 15, 23, 54, 55, 58, 61, 76, 82, 86, 95, 97, 100, 104, 106, 123, 133, 134, 140, 149, 156.
- Penang, shipbuilding at, 2, 5, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19, 46.
- - tin trade & production, 41, 62, 63, 68, 75, 76, 82, 92, 94, 100, 124, 134, 155.
- - trade, 2, 7, 8, 12, 29, 38, 54, 76, 86, 91, 92, 99, 100-102, 106, 110, 118, 119, 124, 130, 144, 155.
- Pepper trade, of Achin, 3, 33n, 106, 108, 119, 155.
- - of Bencoolen, 6, 109.
- - East Coast of Sumatra, 86, 108, 155.
- - of Malabar, 6.
- - of Penang, 2, 6, 12, 15, 17, 18, 21, 25, 31, 41, 43, 46, 49, 50, 76, 86, 100, 106, 108, 110, 119, 124, 130, 151, 155.
- - of Singapore, 90, 92, 102, 107, 109, 136, 155.
- Perak (Perah), 56, 59, 60, 66, 68, 74n, 77, 82, 94, 125, 127, 130.
- Petrie, William, Governor of Penang, 26n, 30, 46, 51.
- Phillips, William Edward, Governor of Penang, 24, 26n, 46, 48, 51, 76, 79.
- Piece goods, 62, 91, 94, 130.
- - European, 90, 92, 102, 119, 124, 136, 144, 149, 155.
- - Indian, 54, 86, 90, 92, 102, 106, 119, 124, 136, 155.
- - Malay, 90, 92, 136, 155.
- Piracy, 60, 68, 77, 87, 125, 149.
- Pontianak, 60, 81, 91, 92.
- Poongah (Pungah), 124, 130.
- Portuguese in Siam, 94.
- - shipping, See Shipping.
- Prai River, 77, 94, 127.
- Priaman, 146n.
- Prince of Wales Island, See Penang.
- Fry, See Prai.
- Fugaton, ketch, 91.
- Pulicat, 124.
- Pulo Aor, 92.
- - Laut, 92.
- - Tega, 93.
- Qualla(h)—, See Kuala—.
- Quedah, See Kedah.
- Quit Rent, at Penang, 23, 55, 151.
- Rachado, Cape, 66.
- Raffles, Sir T. S., 64, 66n, 69, 71, 72, 73, 78n, 83n, 102, 105, 109.
- Rangoon, 7, 9, 106.
- Rattans, 2, 76, 90, 92, 106, 119, 124, 136, 155.
- Rawa, 146.
- Repulse, H. C. S., 91, 109.
- Revenue, at Penang, 8f, 15, 23, 55, 58, 61, 76, 82, 86, 95, 97, 100, 104, 106.
- - at Penang, Singapore & Malacca, 133, 137, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156.
- Rhio, 38, 40, 59, 60, 64, 66, 81, 85, 86, 89, 92, 106, 136, 155.
- Rice trade, 90, 92, 106, 107, 119, 136, 155.
- Rinchnis, the, 146.
- Rochore, 92.
- Rodney, Capt. the Hon. E., 35, 36.
- Royal George, H. C. S., 30, 91.
- Sabon Is., 92.
- Sagis (Sagees) of Achin, 73, 78, 111.
- Saif Allum, See Syf Allum.
- Salengore, See Selangor.
- Sambas, 81, 136.
- Sambelong Is., 125.
- Samulagan, 126.
- Sartorius, Mr., 73, 88.
- Scindiah, Dawlut Rao, 4.
- Scott, Mr. John, 9.
- - Mr. James, 94.
- - & Dunbar, 42.
- Seaton, A. Governor of Penang, 26.
- Selangor, 56, 59, 60, 74, 75, 82, 125, 127, 130.
- Semarang, 91, 136.
- Sheik Mahomed, 67.
- Shettra, H. C. C., 42.
- Shipbuilding, at Penang, 2, 5, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19, 46.
- Shipping, 8, 15, 17, 28, 50, 83, 87, 36, 99, 102, 109, 110, 118, 136.
- - - Amercian, 3, 6, 48, 86, 119.
- - - Dutch, 91, 107.
- - - Foreign, 6, 25, 60, 67, 81, 86, 91, 104, 119, 130, 149.
- - - Native, 38, 60, 81, 84, 85, 90, 92, 96, 106-108, 119, 131, 145, 149.
- - - Portuguese, 2, 66, 91, 124.
- Shop Tax at Penang, 23, 97.
- Siak, 59, 60, 64, 81, 86, 92, 103, 106, 136, 146.
- Siam, 7, 56, 67, 68n, 77, 81, 82, 91, 93, 94, 101, 103, 106, 107, 113, 116, 118, 122, 124, 125, 127, 130, 131, 134, 144, 145, 149, 155.
- - Gulf of, 38, 107.
- Siboiga, 91, 108n.
- Silk, 90, 119, 136, 144, 155.
- Singapore, 66n, 69, 71, 83, 87, 94, 97, 100, 105, 106, 109, 112, 119, 124, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 140, 141, 142, 149, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157, 158.
- - - duties & taxes at, 84, 85, 89, 128, 133, 152, 153, 154.
- - - population of, 143, 147.
- - - relations with native states, 70.
- - - revenue, 137, 149, 150-154.
- - - spice cultivation at, 80, 135.
- - - trade of, 81, 83, 84, 90-92, 96, 102, 107, 120, 136, 138, 144-146, 154, 155.
- Singora, 94, 127.
- Sinkap (Sinkip), 92.
- Soosoo, 3.
- South America, 144, 155.
- Spices, 2, 6, 21, 27, 46, 49, 80, 86, 90, 110, 112, 117, 119, 135, 136, 155.

- Sri Tanjo, Ketch, 91.
 Statutes, 53, Geo III, cap. 155, 55, 133.
 - - - - 54 Geo III, cap. 105, 133.
 "Straits, the", See Malacca, Straits of.
 Straits Produce, 90, 92, 100, 110, 124, 130, 136, 149, 155.
 Sugar, 90, 92, 94, 102, 106, 107, 136, 155.
 Sultan, the (of Johor), See Johor.
 Sumatra, 34, 35, 37, 43, 47, 86, 87, 103, 106, 108, 112, 117, 118, 119, 124, 155.
 - - American trade with, 2, 48, 144.
 Supreme Government, the, in India, 15, 17, 26, 33, 34, 36, 38, 42, 50, 52, 56, 60, 68, 69, 72, 78, 82, 86, 93, 97, 105, 116, 131, 145, 148, 150.
 Surat, 67, 119.
 Syed Hussain, 45, 52, 57, 78.
 Syf Allum (Syf Ool Aleem), 52, 57, 72, 73, 78, 86, 119.

 Tamiang, 86.
 Tampanooly, 109.
 Tanah Puteh (Pootel), 92.
 Tate, Mr., 13, 16.
 Tavoy, 113, 116, 122, 127.
 Taxes, at Penang, 23, 55, 95, 97, 106, 133.
 - - at Penang, Singapore & Malacca, 149, 154.
 Telebang, 91.
 Teluksdinaway, 126.
 Temenggong (of Johor), 85, 89.
 Tenasserim, 118, 122, 127, 155.
 Ternate, 112.
 Thames, H. C. S., 99.
 Thyssen, Mhr. Timmerman, Governor of Malacca, 60.
 Timber, supply for Penang shipbuilding, etc., 8, 9, 18, 19, 106, 119.
 Timor, 112.
 Tin trade, 40, 62, 63, 68, 74n, 75, 76, 82, 90, 92, 94, 100, 102, 107, 124, 130, 134, 136, 155.

 Tobacco, 90, 91, 92, 100, 106, 119, 136, 155.
 Tomongong, See Temenggong.
 Trang, 94.
 Trangana, See Trengganu.
 Tranquebar, 34.
 Travers, Capt., 83.
 Treaties, - 1765, (Dutch) with Perak, 74n.
 - - - - - 1786, (Dutch) with Selangor, 74n, 82.
 - - - - - 1818, Commercial Treaties with Perak, Selangor, Rhio, 59 (Text) 60, 68n.
 - - - - - 1819, with Achin, 78, 83, 112.
 - - - - - 1824, with Holland, 103n, 112 (text), 114, 117, 121.
 - - - - - 1826, with Siam, 127 (text), 131.
 - - - - - 1826, with Burma, 139n.
 Trengganu, 81, 91, 92, 107, 127, 131, 136.
 Troubridge, Rear Admiral Sir Thomas, 8, 16.
 Tulosamoy, 34, 35, 52, 57.
 Turkey (opium), 136, 145.
 Ujong Salang, See Junk Ceylon.

 United Kingdom, See Great Britain.
 Uyah 92.

 Warren Hastings, H. C. S., 99.
 Wellesley, Lord, Governor General of Ind'a 4n.
 Wellesley, Province, 94, 103, 134, 156.
 West Indian cotton, 31.
 William Fairlie, H. C. S., 115.
 Wolterbeck, Admiral, 60.
 Woollens, trade in, 7, 12, 107, 136, 144, 155.

 Ye, See Ava.

Vol. XXIII

Part 3.

JOURNAL
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

**(Covering the territories of the Federation of Malaya,
the Colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo,
and the State of Brunei)**

August 1950

Miscellaneous Papers

by

Dato Sir Roland Braddell

Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales

Dr W. Linehan

Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad

A. B. Ramsay

K. Gopinath

Tom Harrisson

C. E. Wurtzburg

E. Wodak

C. A. Gibson-Hill

SINGAPORE

Malaya Publishing House, Limited

1950



The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Patron:

His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C.,
Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia.

Council for 1950

Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *S.P.M.J., M.A., D.Litt* .. *President*

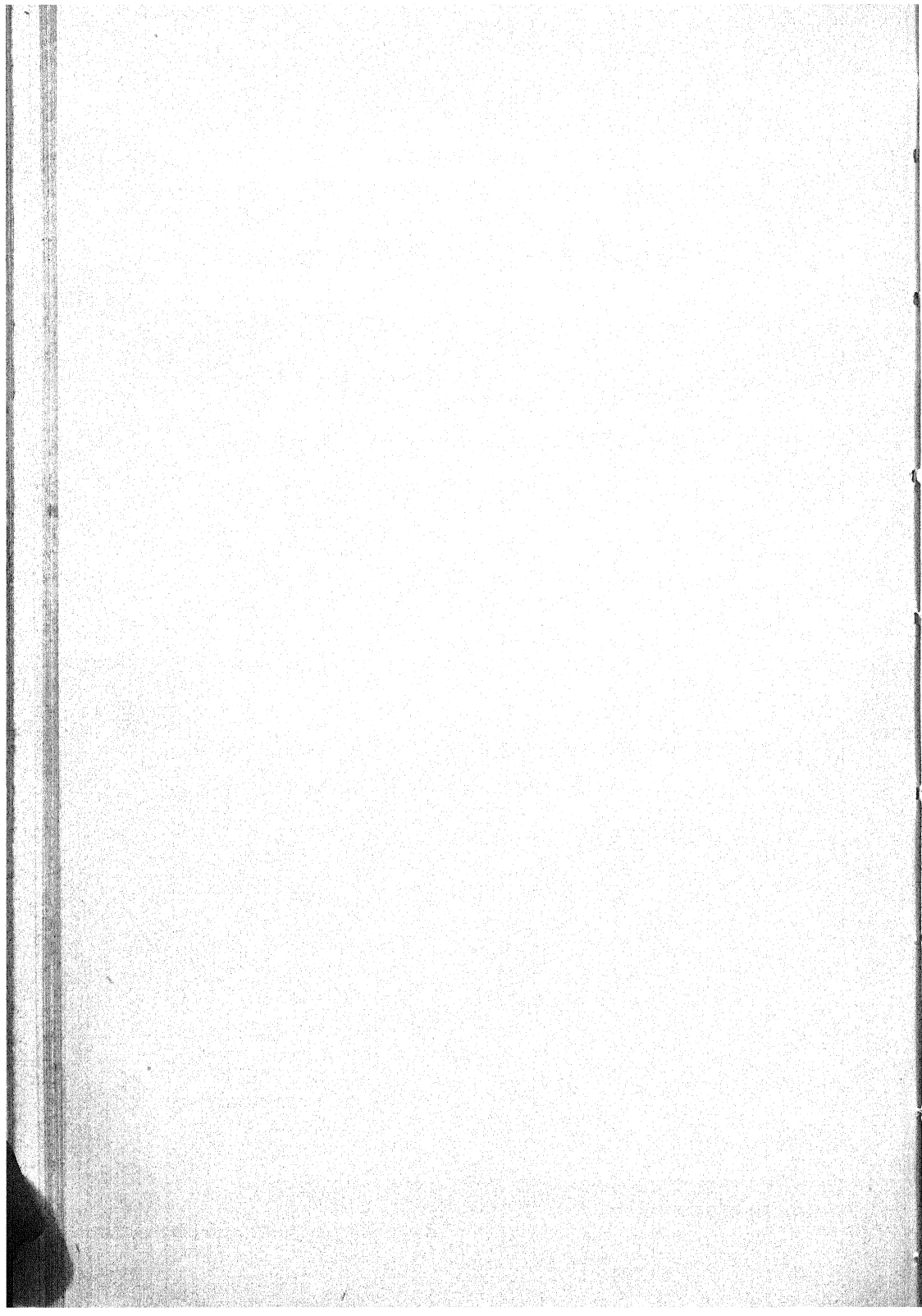
The Hon'ble Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, <i>D.K., S.P.M.K.</i> ..	}	<i>Vice-Presidents</i>
Mr. Anker Rentse, <i>S.M.K.</i>		
Mr. J. N. McHugh		
Mr. Brian Harrison, <i>M.A.</i>		
The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. Keith, <i>B.Sc.</i>		
Mr. M. C. ff Sheppard, <i>M.B.E., M.C.S.</i> ..		

Mr. G. L. Peet	}	<i>Councillors</i>
Prof. R. E. Holttum, <i>M.A.</i>		
Mr. Hsu Yun-ts'iao		
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. N. Taylor ..		
Mr. B. A. Mallal		

Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, *M.A.* *Hon. Secretary*
and
Hon. Treasurer

Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.* *Asst Hon. Secretary*

Hon. Editor: Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*



CONTENTS

Vol. 23, part 3, published August, 1950

Council for 1950	iii
Contents	v
Editorial & Notice to Contributors	vi
<hr/>	
Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya (part 7), by Dato Sir Roland Braddell, <i>S.P.M.J., M.A., D.Litt.</i>	1 ✓
The Sabaeans and possible Egyptian influence in Indonesia, by H. G. Quaritch Wales, <i>Ph.D., D.Litt.</i> ..	36
Malay Manners and Etiquette, by Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad	43
The Malayan Purse Seine (Pukat Jerut) Fishery, by K. Gopinath, <i>Senior Research Officer,</i> <i>Fishery Development Scheme, Travancore</i>	75
Notes on Kampong Officials in the Alor Gajah district of Malacca 1932-35, by A. B. Ramsay, <i>M.C.S.</i>	97
An Inscribed Tin-Ingot from Kuala Dipang, District of Kinta, by W. Linehan, <i>C.M.G., D.Litt.</i> ..	102
The Sarawak 'Turtle Islands' "Semah", by Tom Harrison, <i>D.S.O., Government Ethnologist Sarawak</i>	105
The Reminiscences of Colonel Nahuys, by C. E. Wurtzburg, <i>M.C.</i>	127
The Baptist Mission Press at Bencoolen, by C. E. Wurtzburg, <i>M.C.</i>	136
Some Coins and Tokens of Malaya, by E. Wodak, <i>B.Sc.</i>	143
The Fishing Boats operated from Singapore Island by C. A. Gibson-Hill, <i>M.A., F.R.A.I.</i>	148

Editorial

This issue, which forms the third and last part of volume 23 (1950), is composed of eleven miscellaneous papers. The first part for this year, which was circulated to members in February, is also devoted to miscellaneous papers, mainly on historical subjects. The contributors include Dato Sir Roland Braddell, C. D. Cowan, A. H. Hill, Tan Soo Chye and C. A. Gibson-Hill. The second part, which was circulated to members in April, is entitled "Early Penang and the rise of Singapore, 1805-32", and consists of a selection of documents from manuscript records of the East India Company, chosen to illustrate the early commercial progress of the two settlements. The extracts are arranged by C. D. Cowan, who has also provided a brief introduction.

Any changes of address, or additions to decorations and degrees, to be incorporated in the next list of members must reach the Honorary Editor before December 31st this year.

Notice to Contributors

In the interests of economy contributors are asked to keep their papers as brief as possible and to correct and return their proofs with the minimum delay. Contributions should be type-written, on one side of the paper, double spaced and with good margins. If footnotes are used they must be numbered consecutively through the paper. Citations in the text should give the author, year of publication of the work and the page or pages to which reference is being made. No other details should be given in the text, but authors are requested particularly to give the page number as many of the works to which they refer are very long and without indexes. In the bibliography or list of references at the end of the paper contributors must cite the author, with initials, the year of publication of the work, the title of the book and the name of the town in which it was published, or the title of the article and the name of the Journal in which it was published together with volume and page number, in this order.

Contributors are supplied with 25 reprints of their papers, free, shortly after the publication of the Journal (Rule 20). Additional copies can be provided on payment if these are asked for when the paper is submitted, or when the galley proofs are returned to the Honorary Editor. Contributors are reminded that the type is normally broken up as soon as the copies of the Journal and the standard number of reprints have been run off from it. Authors expecting to be on leave when their papers appear are asked to place an address with the Editor to which their reprints can be sent, or to ask specifically that they should be retained in the Raffles Museum until they write for them. It must be appreciated that though no responsibility can be taken we are anxious that reprints should not go astray in the post through misdirection, as they cannot subsequently be replaced.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

(Received, March 1950).

by ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A., (Oxon.), F.R.G.S.

(Continued from J.R.A.S.(M.B.) vol: XX, Pt: 1, pp: 161-186;
Pt: 2, pp: 1-19; vol: XXII, Pt: 1, pp: 1-24; vol: XXIII, Pt: 1,
pp: 1-36).

7. Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an.

As was seen in the last part of these *Notes* the *Chu Fan Chi*, 1225 A.D., gives the following geographical facts, retaining Hirth and Rockhill's method of spelling the names:—

(1) Ling-ya-ssü-kia (i.e. Langkasuka) can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights, there is also an overland route:

(2) Fo-lo-an can be reached from Ling-ya-ssü-kia in four days; there is also an overland route:

(3) the neighbours of Fo-lo-an are Pöng-föng, Töng-ya-nöng and Ki-lan-tan.

In his history (272, p. 308) Professor Coedès gives the following identifications:—

- (1) Ling-ya-ssü-kia, Lankasuka;
- (2) Tan-ma-ling. Tāmbralinga, region of Ligor;
- (3) Fo-lo-an, P'at'alung?;
- (4) Pöng-föng, Pahang;
- (5) Töng-ya-nöng, Trengganu;
- (6) Ki-lan-tan, Kelantan;

thus placing them all on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

He considers (ibid: p. 72) that Tan-mei-lieou was an earlier Chinese name for Tan-ma-ling but that Teng-lieou-mei cannot be identified with certainty either as Tan-ma-ling (ibid: p. 304, n. 5) or as Tan-mei-lieou (ibid: p. 310, n. 2).

It is proposed now to examine all these views, for which purpose it is necessary first to assemble the facts available.

Tāmbralinga. Both Professor Coedès (272, p. 73) and Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his new *History of Sri Vijaya* (356, p. 21) take

this name to be the same as the *Tambralingam* mentioned in the *Niddesa*. The former considers it to be proved thus that Tambralinga was already in existence in the 2nd century A.D. Sylvain Lévi wrote the name in the *Niddesa* as Tambapanni and it has been pointed out in the *Introduction* that the relevant passage merely gives an unrelated list of names with no geographical data¹. In the list occurs the name Takkola, which appears in Ptolemy, who, however, gives no name resembling Tambalingam. And, if Tambralinga really is the Tambalingam of the 2nd century A.D., then the name disappears completely for 800 years until it appears in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. For ourselves, we prefer to begin the history of Tambralinga with that inscription and ignore the reference in the *Niddesa*.

As Professor Coedès recognized in 1918 (315), Mā-Damālingam in the inscription means the Great Damālingam, or Tamālingam, and represents Tambralinga. This view is accepted by all and finds its latest expression in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's history (356, p. 81). Professor Coedès (315, p. 17) says that *tāmra* is the prakrit form of *tāmra*, meaning "copper", and that Tāmralinga would mean "the country which has copper for its characteristic"; but, he says, since no copper is known in the Malay Peninsula, it may mean "Copper Linga". The presence of copper in the Peninsula will be noted later when we come to the problems of identification. Professor Coedès says, and all have agreed, that Tāmralinga = Chinese Tan-ma-ling = Tamil Tamālingam. Professor Nilakanta Sastri agrees with this view (311, p. 386; 356, p. 81) and also that Tan-ma-ling and Tan-meī-lieou are the same kingdom (356, p. 21). We accept these views naturally but we shall query the identification of Tambralinga with the region of Ligor.

The next mention of Tambralinga occurs in an inscription of 1230 A.D., discovered at the small town now called Ch'aiya. This inscription with an English translation is to be found in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's history (356, pp: 133-134). It gives the name of a king Candrabhānu called "Sri Dharmarāja, Lord of Tāmralinga". Since this inscription was found *in situ*, it can be said with certainty that in 1230 A.D. the area covered by the present Ch'aiya was within the jurisdiction of the king of Tambralinga; but what the limits of his kingdom were and where its centre lay are different questions.

Professor Coedès (357, p. 461) says that Sri Dharmarāja was the peculiar title of the kings of Ligor and he, therefore, places Tambralinga between the Bay of Bandon and Ligor, as does Professor Nilakanta Sastri (311, p. 294; 356, pp: 21, 81). This explains why Professor Coedès has identified Tan-ma-ling with the region of Ligor. But the reasoning in support appears to depend entirely

(1) This Journal, vol: XVII, Pt. 1. pp: 157-158.

upon the king's title and one asks when the kings of Ligor first used that title. Is there any evidence of its use before 1230 A.D.? Professor Coedès himself says (357, p. 463) that it was towards the middle of the 13th century A.D. that the Thais came into contact with the region of Ligor and gave to the capital of Tāmbrālinga the name which it bears to-day of Nāgara Sṛīdharmarāja, the modern Nakon Sri Thammarat. Dupont (358, p. 107) puts the expansion of the Thais down Siam as occurring in the 13th to 14th centuries A.D.

The famous Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. (356, pp: 119-121, 125) gives the king's title as Sṛi-mahārāja and at that time Ligor was clearly under the suzerainty of the Maharajah of Srivijaya.

Then there is the inscription on the famous statue of Buddha from Grahi, which is accepted as the ancient site of Ch'aiya (272, p. 310; 356, p. 92). This statue is now in the Bangkok Museum but it came from the Wat Hwa Chieng at Ch'aiya (358, p. 107, and n. 1). Dupont (358) gives a reproduction (Plate VI, A) which shows the Buddha seated upon a curled *nāga* with the spread hood of the snake rising up behind the figure; see also Plate III in Coedès (315). The inscription appears upon the *naga* pedestal which is Khmer work, whereas the figure of the Buddha is of different work and later in date (358, pp: 109-110; 272, p. 301 and n. 5).

The inscription is written in pure Khmer language but the script recalls that of Sumatra and Java (356, p. 91; 358, pp: 107-108). It shows that the *nāga* pedestal was made by one Nāno, who had the purely Khmer title of *mraten* (358, p. 109). It says that the region (*sruk*) of Grahi was governed by a *mahāsenapati* whose name is not too certain but may be taken as Talānai (272, p. 301, n. 5). The name of the king is given but not that of his kingdom. The royal title is given as the Khmer *Kamraten añ* and also the Sumatran *mahārāja* (358, p. 107). The inscription gives a date which for long caused uncertainty but which has been established definitely by Professor Coedès as 1183 A.D. (357, p. 469; 272, p. 301; 356, p. 92; 358, p. 107). Professor Nilakanta Sastri sets out the inscription, with an English translation, in his history (356, p. 133). Dupont cites Skeat and Blagden for the remains of the Khmer language in tongues of the Malay Peninsula and points out that this language was still in use at Pathalung as late as 1699 A.D., as is proved by an inscription found there (358, p. 108). It is generally considered that the name Pahang is the Khmer word for 'tin' (220, p. 2).

The inscription makes it clear that in 1183 A.D. the present Ch'aiya was in the province then called Grahi, ruled by a governor under a king, generally taken to have been Sumatran, and that

the language used in this province was Khmer. It is accepted without dispute that the Chinese name Kia-lo-hi is an exact transcription of Grahī; and Professor Coedès places Kia-lo-hi as "the region of Ch'aiya and the Bay of Bandon" (272, p. 274). The *Chu Fan Chi* lists it amongst the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, or Srivijaya (226, p. 62).

Kia-lo-hi. This appears to be a Sung name and the references available are very meagre. There is a passage in the *Sung Shih* which Ma Tuan-lin repeats (230, p. 486) and which says that Chen-la (Cambodia) touches the southern frontier of Chan-ch'eng (Annam) and has the sea to its east, P'u-kan to its west, and Kia-lo-hi to its south. P'u-kan is generally taken to represent Pagan on the Irrawadi River in Burmah. The *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 52) repeats these geographical facts but in slightly different language, as translated by Hirth and Rockhill, since it says "in the west one comes to P'u-kan; in the south one comes to Kia-lo-hi"; and the notice on Chen-la ends with the observation "This country confines to the south on Kia-lo-hi, a dependency of San-fo-ts'i". In view of the extent of the Khmer Empire in Sung times the statements are readily intelligible: its power extended down the present Thailand as far as the region of Ch'aiya, where the power of San-fo-ts'i then began, since the *Chu Fan Chi* places Kia-lo-hi amongst the dependencies of the latter.

In its notice on Tan-ma-ling the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 67) says "Ji-lo-t'ing, Ts'ien-mai, Pa-t'a and Kia-lo-hi are of the same kind as this country"; and the three first of these names also appear in the list of dependencies of Sri Vijaya (ibid.; p. 62). Professor Coedès (315, pp: 10, 11) has identified the Māyirūḍṅam of the Tanjore inscription with the Chinese Jī-lo-t'ing, considering each to be an attempt to render an indigenous name; and in his history (272, pp: 241, 308) he would place Ji-lo-t'ing on some part of the Malay Peninsula. Like everyone else, he is dubious about Ts'ien-mai and Pa-t'a; the former he merely queries and for the latter suggests doubtfully the Batak country in Sumatra (272, p. 308). For ourselves, we would reject this last suggestion and would think that all three places must have been somewhere on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; but in the absence of further facts obviously nothing can be said definitely. For those who like name similarities one can point to Tanjong Cherating, the northern headland at the entrance to the Cherating River, which Skinner (64, p. 28) gave in 1884 as the boundary between Trengganu and Pahang, while there are a Tanjong Paka, Paka river and Paka district south of the Dungun River in Trengganu. In point of fact, these last two areas would fit in reasonably well with the identifications which we shall suggest later: but we would base no identifications on mere name similarities without geographical data. For Ts'ien-mai no name similarity can be suggested at all.

All that we really know from these Chinese passages is that Kia-lo-hi was the southernmost boundary of Khmer suzerainty and the northernmost boundary of Srivijayan suzerainty in 1225 A.D. It seems quite clear that Kia-lo-hi is the transcription of Grahi and that the province of Grahi contained the present Ch'aiya. From the inscription of 1230 A.D. it is clear that Grahi had then come under the power of Tambralinga. It is, we think, unfortunate that scholars should call the inscription of 1183 A.D. "the Grahi Buddha" and that of 1230 A.D. "the Ch'aiya inscription". Clearly both were records of Grahi. Dr. Quaritch Wales (228, p. 174) considers that Ch'aiya represents Jaya and so was a shortened form of Srivijaya: and one knows that the Thais have a general custom of shortening place-names. If he is right, then the full Chinese name would have been Che-li-fo-che or shortened, Fo-che; and it would prove that in 1225 A.D. the name Ch'aiya was not known because the Chinese used Kia-lo-hi, or Grahi, at that time. Accordingly, one would suggest that Ch'aiya was a later name and that, if it does represent the sanskrit name, was given to the place by the Thais after they conquered it. We know that the Thai custom was to give honorific sanskrit names to the places they conquered and Nakon Sri Thammarat is the present version of one such name.

Teng-lieou-mei. This is the French way of writing the name; English versions are Tōng-liu-mei and Teng-liu-mei. According to Hirth and Rockhill, the name does not appear before the Sung dynasty and occurs first in the *Ling wai tai ta*, 1178 A.D. (226, p. 57, n. 1). It appears there in the list of Chen-la's dependencies (355, p. 98) and also in the *Chu Fan Chi*, 1225 A.D. (226, p. 54, p. 56, n. 10). No embassy to China is mentioned in any of the translated passages.

Mr. Hsü (342, p. 5) translates parts of a passage under the caption of Chen-la, which appears in the *Ling Wai tai ta*, "The State of Chen-la. . . . besides it there are the State of Teng-lieou-mei. . . . especially producing famous perfume; that which is produced in Teng-liu-mei is the most wonderful, unsurpassed by that of any other country". But Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 58, n. 3) say that this refers to gharu-wood (*chōn hiang*) and cite (ibid: p. 205, n. 1) a further passage from the same work which says "The best *chōn-hiang* comes from Chōn-la, the second best from Chan-ch'ōng. The Chōn-la kind is the hardest, that from Tōng-liu-mei the most aromatic. The San-fo-ts'i product is called "Lower Coast incense", that from P'o-lo-man is far superior to the Lower Coast incense."

Gharu-wood is "a pathologically diseased, fragrant wood" and is also called "aloes wood" or "eagle wood", Malay *gaharu*. The reader should refer to Burkill (365) under *Aquilaria*, where all the learning concerning this commodity is collected.

The *Ling wai tai ta* (226, p. 79, n. 1) says "The kingdom of Shō-p'o, also called P'u-kia-lung, is in the south-east of the sea. Its position being downward (i.e. in the S. as compared to the countries of Annam in the N., which are held to be "upwards" or above") causes it to be called the "Lower Coast". In the eleventh and twelfth moons of the year ships can reach there from Kuang-ch'ou with the monsoon and sailing day and night in one month". The *Chu Fan Chi* has a further explanation of the two Coasts. It says (226, p. 204) "*Chōn-hiang* comes from different places. That coming from Chōn-la is the best; the second quality is that of Chan-ch'ōng, and the poorest qualities are those of San-fo-ts'i and Shō-p'o. It is customary to distinguish between "Upper Coast" and "Lower Coast" countries; Chōn-la and Chan-ch'ōng are called "Upper Coast"; Ta-shī, San-fo-ts'i and Shō-p'o (Cho-p'o) "Lower Coast". In these passages Chōn-la (Chen-la) represents Cambodia, Chan-ch'ōng (Chan-ch'eng) Annam, Shō-p'o (Cho-p'o) generally taken to be Java, San-fo-ts'i (San-fo-ch'i) Palembang, and Ta-shī not the Arabs proper but "the Arab colonies in Sumatra, and the lower part of the Malay Peninsula", according to Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 205, n. 1.).

✓ From the passages cited it seems that Teng-lieou-mei was famous principally for its gharu-wood and was an Upper Coast country.

As translated by Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 57), the notice in the *Chu Fan Chi* on Teng-lieou-mei (written by then as Tōng-liu-mei) says that it is to the west of Chen-la and contains a mountain called Wu-nung where the Buddha manifested himself after his *nirvana*, this event being commemorated by a bronze elephant. The products are "cardamoms, the *tsiēn*, *ch'ōn* and *su* (varieties of gharu-wood), yellow wax and sticklac". Schlegel (174, x, p. 295) gives Bulong for the mountain and the products as "cardamoms, lignum aloes, yellow wax, kino gum and such like".

According to Hirth and Rockhill (226, pp: 57-58, n.1) the only indication of the geographical situation of Teng-lieou-mei, in addition to what appears in the *Chu Fan Chi*, occurs in the *Sung Shih*, where it is said to be 15 stages by sea north of Lo-yuē and south-west of Chōn-li-fu. Mr. Hsü (342, p. 5) translates from the account of Chen-la in the *Sung Shih* "Among its dependencies there is Chen-li-fu situated in the south-west and its south-east is bordered by Po-sze-lan, while the south-west has Teng-liu-mei as its neighbours. Under it there are sixty communities". Presumably, this is the passage to which Hirth and Rockhill refer; but here, as almost everywhere else, the close attention of sinologists is needed.

In his notice on Chen-la Ma Tuan-lin, as translated by de Saint-Denys, writes "Another kingdom dependent on Tchin-la is

that of Tehin-li-fou, situated at its south-west frontiers. This kingdom of Tehin-li-fou is itself bordered to the south-east by the country of Po-sse-lan and to the south-west by the country of Teng-lieou-meï" (230, pp: 487-488).

Schlegel (174, x, pp: 294-295) cites the *San t'sai t'u hui*, 1607 A.D., on Ting-liu-mi, as he writes it, which says that the lord of the country is chosen by universal suffrage and that, when he holds his court, his people after they have saluted him sit with crossed arms and clasp their shoulders as a sign of respect. He points out that this is the Malay custom called *sēngkêlang* but he says (ibid: p. 296) that the same custom was in use in ancient Cambodia during the Sui dynasty in 617 A.D. and translates a passage from the *Pien-i-tien* in support of that.

Schlegel quotes copiously in his *Geographical Notes* from the *Pien-i-tien*, which comprises 140 volumes and forms the last part of the *Ku-chin-t'u-shu-chieh-chung*; and *Pien-i-tien* means literally "Records of Surrounding Nations". The main work consists of no less than 10,000 volumes and was compiled under Imperial auspices, being presented to the Emperor in 1725 A.D. (336, pp: 107-109). It is, therefore, a late work but, nevertheless, is said to be "the largest and most useful encyclopaedia that has ever been compiled in China", with the exception of the *Yung lo la tien*, which no longer exists save for a few hundred volumes (ibid:). With the exception of Schlegel, the *Pien-i-tien* seems to have been neglected by sinologists and the attention of local scholars is called to this work, which must contain a great deal of untranslated material that might be useful to Malaysian research: but the usual caution as to Ming works must be borne in mind.

One can go further than Professor Coedès and can deny upon the evidence the identity of Teng-lieou-meï with Tan-ma-ling. There are separate notices on these two places in the *Chu Fan Chi* and in the lists of dependencies given there Teng-lieou-meï is under Chen-la, while Tan-ma-ling is under San-fo-ts'i: and a comparison of their products shows great difference. The *sēngkêlang* custom is not mentioned in notices on Tan-ma-ling or Tan-meï-lieou; and finally, the geographical data are different.

The doubting suggestion by Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 57) that Teng-lieou-meï was Ligor must be rejected, since it was under Khmer suzerainty and so must have been north of Kia-lo-hi (Grah, Ch'aiya). Teng-lieou-meï can be left out of any further discussion.

Tan-meï-lieou. This again is the French way of writing the name, the English versions being either Tan-mi-liu or Tan-meï-liu.

The Sung Shih contains the following passage, as translated by Pelliot (129, p. 233):—"Kingdom of Tan-meï-lieou—To the

east, to reach Chen-la, 50 stages; to the south, to reach Loy-yue, 15 stages by sea; to the west, to reach Si-t'ien, 35 stages; to the north, to reach T'ch'eng-leang, 60 stages; to the north-east, to reach Lo-hou, 25 stages; to the south-east, to reach Ch'ö-p'o, 45 stages; to the south-west, to reach T'ch'eng-jo, 15 stages; to the north-west, to reach Lo-houa, 25 stages; to the north-east, to reach Canton, 135 stages".

Schlegel (174, x, pp: 291-292) also translates this passage, giving Lowak for Lo-yue, Lohak for Lo-hou, and Lo-hoa for Lo-houa. Maspero (355, p. 110) repeats Pelliot and says in a footnote that Tan-mei-lieou was not heard of before it sent an embassy to China in 1001 A.D., for which fact he quotes the *Sung Shih*.

But the whole of the passage in the *Sung Shih* was not translated until Mr. Hsü did so (342, p. 6). It starts with the geographical facts just given but Mr. Hsü substitutes "journeys" for "stages" and puts in brackets the word "day" before his first use of "journeys". For the names he writes "Chan-la (Cambodia)", "Lo-yueh", "the West Heaven (India)", "Ch'eng-liang", "Lo-ho (Lavo)", "Sheh-p'o (Java)", "Ch'eng-ju", "Loh-hua", and Canton. The passage then gives facts about Tan-mei-liu, as Mr. Hsü writes the name. Houses are of timber; gold and silver are used in trade; the residence of the ruler extends to five *li* but there are no city walls; the ruler goes out in elephant wagon or on pony. The country produces "rhinoceroses, elephants, copper-zinc alloy, *Lithospermum officinale*, *Caesalpinia sappan*, and other drugs". In 1001 A.D. the king named Tou Sū Chi sent an embassy of nine persons, headed by the envoy Ta Chih Ma, the vice-envoy Ta Lüeh, and the judge P'i Ni. They offered "incense wood of a thousand catties, copper-zinc alloy and lead-tin alloy of hundred catties each, *Lithospermum officinale* hundred catties, on red blankets, four pieces of patterned cloth, *Caesalpinia sappan* ten thousand catties, and sixty-one ivories". Mr. Hsü later gives the ruler's name as Tuo Sze Chi.

Schlegel (174, x, pp: 293-294) gives a passage from the *Pien-tien*, which seems to be based on the *Sung Shih*. As translated by him, it gives no geographical facts but says that the houses of the common people are built of wood; that the chief's residence was five *li* in circumference; that the chief rode out on an elephant or in a carriage with four ponies; and that the people bartered goods for gold and silver. The country produced "rhinoceroses and elephants, calamine stone, *lithospermum erythrorhizon*, sapan-wood and all sorts of medicine". It had never come to China before 1001 A.D. when the lord of the country "Ta: Suki" made a large offering consisting of "1000 pounds of Putschuk, a hundred pounds of Calamine and Tin each; 35 pounds of foreign *Coptis*; one hundred pounds of *Lithospermum erythrorhizon*; a set of red rugs, four

pieces of flowered chintz; 10,000 pounds of sapanwood and 61 Tusks of elephant-teeth". He writes the names of the envoys as Ta:Kitma, Ta:Lap and P'i-ni.

An amplification of the facts is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin in his notice on Tcheou-meilieu (Chou-meiliu). This last name, however is clearly faulty, *tcheou* (*chou*) being a miswriting of *tan* (129, p. 233; 342, p. 6). As translated by de Saint Denys (230, pp: 583-585) the notice begins with a repetition of the geographical facts as given in the *Sung Shih* and then says, amongst other things, that the people used gold and silver in their commercial transactions, that the soil contained very pure gold of a deep red colour and a stone called *yu-chi*, inferior to jade but much esteemed, that there were elephants and rhinoceroses, and that the country produced sapan-wood and many medicinal plants. The king's name is written by de Saint Denys as To-siu-ki, the envoys as Ta-kou-ma, Ta-la and Tcha-pi-ni. The tribute sent in 1001 A.D. appears here as "one thousand pounds of scented wood, one thousand pounds of the metal called *teou*, one thousand pounds of the metal called *la*, thirty-five pounds of *hou-houang-lien*, one hundred pounds of red gold, red rugs, four pieces of flowered material, ten pounds of *sou-mu* wood and sixty-one pieces of ivory".

The products of a country, in our view, are so important for identification purposes that they have been set out in full in these excerpts; but the translations are not satisfactory. One wants the exact Chinese characters and not merely what the translators thought them to represent. De Saint Denys, however, does give some of them. *Sou-mu* (su-mu) is sappan (226, p. 217), also called "bresil" and "brezile-wood", and the reader is referred for this product to Burkill (365) under *Caesalpinia*. Gerini says that *yü-shih*, as he writes it, is a jadeite produced in northern Burma and presumably traded into Tan-mi-liu, as he writes it (46, p. 523, n. 2). Berthold Laufer in his book *Jade*, 1946, says that *yü-shih* usually refers only to jade-like stones (p. 25). Hirth and Rockhill give *t'ou* (*teou*) as "white copper" in a passage where Chau Jukua is writing of the alloyed coinage of Shö-p'o (226, p. 78). But de Saint Denys cites authorities to show that *teou* was probably a rich ore of gold and copper, while *la* was a kind of tin or an alloy of tin and copper (230, 585, nn. 17, 18). Mr Hsü gives "*t'ou* stone (copper zinc alloy)" and "*yü* stone (copper zinc alloy?)".

The outstanding fact from all these notices is that Tan-meilieu must have been a wealthy and highly metalliferous country.

Schlegel (174, a, pp: 296-297) makes an attempt to explain the name Tan-mie-lieu but it carries no conviction and has not been adopted.

Unless there are more passages which have not been translated as yet, Tan-meï-lieou appears in 1001 A.D. and then is heard of no more.

Tan-ma-ling. Chau Ju-kua has a notice in his *Chu Fan Chi* on this kingdom (226, p. 67) in which he says that it is under a ruler addressed as *siang-kung*, which, according to Hirth and Rockhill, means "minister of state", *mentri* (ibid: p. 68, n. 2). Schlegel (174, ii (1901), p. 128) gives it as "noble sir" and Mr Hsü (342, p. 6) as "the minister". Since Tan-ma-ling was one of the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, as given in the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 62) and paid tribute to it (ibid: p. 67), one might say that the local chieftain was a kind of Temenggong of Srivijaya. It sent an embassy to China in 1196 A.D., which is the only one mentioned in passages which have been translated.

The products, as given in the *Chu Fan Chi* and translated by Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 67), were "yellow wax, laka-wood, the *su* (variety of gharu-wood), incense, ebony, camphor, elephants' tusks and rhinoceros horns"; and we are told that Tan-ma-ling collected such gold and silver articles as it received for offering to San-fo-ts'i.

It seems that Chau Ju-kua got his facts as to Tan-ma-ling exclusively from oral information (226, p. 37.)

The *Tao i chih lio*, 1349 A.D., has a notice on Tan-ma-ling (352, pp: 123-124) which, as translated by Rockhill, says that it is the adjacent country to Sha-li-fo-lai-an, is level and extensive, producing more grain than it could consume, and has a ruler. The products are "superior tin, pearl camphor, turtles' shells, cranes' nests, laka-wood, as also bees-wax and *huang-chou hsiang-t'ou* (gharu)". In his translation Mr. Hsü (342, p. 6) has "The land is the neighbouring country of Sha-li and Fo-lai-an" and gives the products as white tin of high quality, red (? crystals of) camphor, tortoise shells, *Rhinoplax vigil* (Forst.), lakawood, and roots of gharu-wood. He substitutes "hornbills" for "cranes", says nothing about nests or bees-wax, and has "local chief" for "ruler". It may be noted that "yellow wax" and "bees-wax" are the same (226, p. 238).

Schlegel (174, ii, (1901), p. 125) translates from the *San tsai t'u hui*, 1607 A.D., "When one sets sail from Canton for Tan-ma-ling it takes ten days and nights from Cambodia to reach it. The country has a landlord but no king. In 1196 A.D. they offered three golden wine-jugs and one gilded parasol". This passage must have been taken from some other work which, as usual, is not named. But it gives us another important geographical fact (if it can be accepted), viz.:—that Tan-ma-ling was 10 days' sail from Cambodia, though from whereabouts in Cambodia we do not know.

In the case of Tan-ma-ling again we want more translations and a search for all references to it.

Schlegel (174, ii, (1901), p. 130) says that the name in the Amoy dialect sounds as "Tan-bé-ling, which, by assimilation, becomes Tembēling". If so, it is clearly a transcription of the Malay name; but Schlegel, ignoring completely the facts, located it on the east coast of Sumatra. Mr. Hsü (340, p. 60; 342, pp: 5, 7) considers that the T'ang name T'an-ling is the same as Tan-ma-ling but an enquiry into that is unnecessary for our present purposes.

As has been seen, Professor Coedès accepts Tan-ma-ling as being the same place as Tan-meilieu and his opinion has been accepted universally.

Fo-lo-an. Luce and Pelliot write this name as Fo-lo-ngan, Schlegel variously as Puluang, Ful-lo-ngan, Put-lo-an and Pu-lu-an; but we follow Hirth and Rockhill. The Chinese characters for the name are the same throughout the references given below.

Rockhill (352, p. 123, n. 1.) would seem to be right in saying that the Sha-li-fo-lai-an, which appears in the notice on Tan-ma-ling in the *Tao i chih lao* above, is really the same as Fo-lo-an. Mr Hsü, as has been seen, divided the name into two places; but surely *Sha-li* must represent sanskrit *Sri*, Malay *Sēri* and so be merely an honorific. Taking Sha-li-fo-lai-an and Fo-lo-an to be the same, we get another important geographical fact, namely that Fo-lo-an was the adjacent country to Tan-ma-ling. We have seen also that other neighbours of Fo-lo-an were Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan. From this it must surely follow that Fo-lo-an was an east coast state and could not possibly have been Beranang on the west coast of Selangor, as so many have accepted because of etymological reasoning. It is quite true that the modern Chinese name for Beranang is Fu-lu-ngan, as Mr. Firmstone writes it (333, p. 190): but Beranang is a village of no importance on the Langat River in south-eastern Selangor and there is no evidence that it ever was of any importance. Moreover, it is far inland and so could never have been a port, such as, we shall see later, Fo-lo-an undoubtedly was. Nevertheless, Maspero (355, p. 109), Majumdar (181, p. 194), Nilakanta Sastri (331, p. 294), Hsü (342, p. 6), and a good many others have accepted Beranang in Selangor as the proper identification. It would seem that once more we have a much accepted identification which is based purely on a name similarity and in the teeth of the facts. Professor Coedès does not fall into the error since, as has been seen, he identifies it, though doubtingly, with Pathalung, an identification which had already been made by the late Dr. C. O. Blagden (352, p. 123, n. 1). The only difficulty is that, if Fo-lo-an is really a transcription of the Malay name Beranang, there is no place now on the east coast

which will fit it: but that is not really a difficulty since the name may have dropped out of existence or Fo-lo-an may not be such a transcription. At all events, the geographical facts must be faced and they point clearly to the east coast. The exact location will be considered later under the questions of identification.

Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 205, n. 2) also consider that the P'o-lo-man mentioned in the passage, already quoted, concerning gharu-wood in the *Ling wai tai ta* is "probably an error for Fo-lo-an". If that is so, then Fo-lo-an was an Upper Coast country and this is corroborated by another passage in the same work where the name is written correctly. According to Hirth and Rockhill (ibid: pp: 69-70) it reads "The chief of Fo-lo-an is appointed from San-fo-ts'i. The country produces aromatics with which those of "Lower Coast countries" cannot compare in aroma or strength. There is here (in Fo-lo-an) a Holy Buddha which the princes of of San-fo-ts'i come every year to burn incense before". In the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 62) we find Fo-lo-an given amongst the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i (Srivijaya).

Hirth and Rockhill (226, pp: 22-27) have translated a long passage from the *Ling wai tai ta* which is most important for an understanding of Chinese ideas as to South Sea navigation in Sung times. In it (p. 26) occurs this passage:—"It is impossible to enumerate the countries in the South-Western Ocean, but if we take Tongking (Kiau-ch'i) as a central point, we have to the south of it Annam (Chan-ch'öng), Kamboja (Ch'ön-la) and Fo-lo-an".

That makes it clear, we think, that Fo-lo-an must have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and also that it must have been an important place for trade, which is borne out by the *Chu Fan Chi* in its notice on Ta-shi, the Arabs proper. After enumerating their products, it says (226, p. 116) "The foreign traders who deal in these merchandise, bring them to San-fo-ts'i and Fo-lo-an to barter"; and it speaks again of foreign traders in its notice on Fo-lo-an in which, as translated by Hirth and Rockhill, we read "To this country there came flying two Buddhas, one with six-arms, the other with four arms. Should ships try to enter the confines (of Fo-lo-an), they would be driven back by the wind; this is popularly ascribed to the magic power of (these) Buddhas. The Buddhist temple (of Fo-lo-an) is covered with bronze tiles and is ornamented with gold. The fifteenth of the sixth moon is kept as the Buddha's birthday with crowded processions accompanied with music and the beating of cymbals. The foreign traders take part in them".

This same notice gives the products of Fo-lo-an as comprising "the *su* and *chan* (varieties of gharu-wood), laka-wood, sandal-wood and elephants' tusks" and says that it sent yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i (ibid:., p. 69).

Schlegel (359, p. 402) translates a passage in the *San ts'ai t'u hui*, which looks as if it is based on the *Chu Fan Chi*. It says that Fo-lo-an can be reached by sea in four days and nights from "Sēmbođja (Palembang)" or could be reached by land also. Sēmbođja, i.e. San-fo-ts'i, must clearly be an error for Ling-ya-sī-kia as given in the *Chu Fan Chi*; and it is noticeable that Gerini in his reference to the *San ts'ai t'u hui* (46, pp: 598-599) writes that it says Fo-lo-an could be reached by sea in four days' and nights' sailing from Ling-ya-sz, as he spells the name. In the passage, as translated by Schlegel, we are told that in Fo-lo-an there were two copper divinities, which had arrived there by flying, one of them having six and the other four arms. The anniversary of their birthday took place on the 15th day of the 6th moon. Whenever strangers wished to come there in order to steal the pearls and jewels in the temple of these divinities, a violent storm and waves arose as soon as they arrived at the mouth of the river, so that their ships could not enter it.

It looks as though we have in this passage, and in the one from the *Ling wai tai ta*, what is really a reference to the effect of the NE monsoon on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, which during that wind is a complete lee shore. So much is this so that the Malays call this monsoon the *musim kuala tutup*, "season when the river-mouths are closed". Ships from China, of course, came down on this wind and there were only a few east coast anchorages open to them. Fo-lo-an evidently was not one of them.

Ma Tuan-lin does not mention Fo-lo-an at all nor apparently does the *Sung Shih*, since no sinologist has referred to it; but one would like to have all the references to Fo-lo-an gathered and translated by some expert hand.

The references to the two Buddhas are so interesting that they merit a digression. Schlegel (358, pp: 403-404) says that there is a good engraving of them in the *San ts'ai t'u hui*, which, he thinks, evidently represents the goddess Kuan-yin, whose birthday, according to de Groot, is on the 15th day of the 6th moon. Schlegel also cites de Groot for the statement that the portrayals of Kuan-yin in China "tally exactly with those of Ma-tsu-po, the Chinese patroness of the sailors, who herself is identified with *Koan-yin*, the legend of whose birth in the southern seas is thereby strikingly confirmed".

For these two goddesses the reader is referred to Bredon and Mitrophanow (45), Maspero (360) and Werner (361). The two authors first-named write (45, p. 196) "Though Kuan Yin, the Best Beloved, is the supreme and favourite goddess of those who go down to the sea in ships, and has to a certain extent supplanted all other maritime goddesses in popular favour, there are certain local patronesses of sailors such as T'ien Fei, Ma Tsū Po, and Ma Chu

(the two last-named being probably regional deifications of the same figure) who are worshipped by most of the sea-faring families of the southern coast-ports".

With regard to the name Ma Tsü Po, I note that locally it is written Ma-cho-po; and in the first account of a Chinese procession in Singapore, which occurred in 1840, an effigy of this goddess, newly arrived from China, was borne to the temple which had just been erected in her honour. The description says "She is called by the Chinese Thien-siang-sing-bo (or Ma-cho-po), being the deity commonly termed the Mother of the Heavenly sages. She is supposed to be the especial protectress of those who navigate the deep".² This temple is the well-known Hokkien temple in Teluk Ayer Street. A portion of its cost was defrayed by the owners of Chinese junks from Amoy, and from Siam and Java.³ The spacious main building in the famous Cheng Hoon Teng temple in Malacca, founded in the 17th century A.D., is dedicated to Kuan-yin and the side portion on the left to "Machoe Poh, the Queen of Heaven, as the special guardian of sailors, fishermen and voyagers on the high seas"; so Dato Tan Cheng Lock writes in his *Cheng Hoon Teng Temple*, 1949.

T'ien Fei, the Empress of Heaven, has the alternative name T'ien Hou and Maspero (360, p. 329) says that she is more familiarly called "Grandmother Ma-tsu-p'o", her cult having originated in Fukien and from there spread over the whole of China. Fukienese sailors have her image on almost all of their boats, while traders in exports and imports and oversea travellers sacrifice to her. It appears that her worship sprang up suddenly at the end of the 11th century A.D. and developed swiftly in the course of the next. Traditionally, Ma Chu was the daughter of a Fukienese sailor and was born during the Sung dynasty.

Kuan-yin was a divinity who changed sex, having originally been the male Avalokitesvara, from which the full name Kuan-shē-yin derives. It is said that the sex changed from male to female in the 12th century A.D. (45, p. 184) but in a paper in *Artibus Asiae* Benjamin Rowland Jr claims that the deity began to assume more female aspects several centuries before then.⁴ The goddess is often called "Kuan-yin of the Southern Seas" and amongst her many legends is one that she was born in those seas.

The different attributes which the Chinese have given to their divinities have caused confusion between the sea goddesses and this confusion is added by the marked similarities of so many of their effigies, which are often portrayed with six or four arms, obviously derived originally from Indian effigies.

(2) Buckley's *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. 1, pp: 345-346.

(3) Ibid: p. 356.

(4) Vol: x, No: 1, p. 29.

According to Bredon and Mitrophanow, the 15th day of the 6th moon is not accepted as the anniversary of Kuan-yin, her festivals occurring on the 19th days of the 2nd, the 6th and the 9th moons, the first being the most popular. De Groot gives the birth day of Ma-tsu-po as the 23rd day of the 3rd moon (226, p. 69, n. 2). But it will have been noted that it is the *San t'sai t'u hui* which says that the birthday of the Fo-lo-an goddesses was the 15th day of the 6th moon: the *Chu Fan Chi* says that the Buddha's birthday was celebrated in Fo-lo-an on that day. This latter work in its notice on P'o-ni (Brunei) says that the Chinese junks had to wait there for their homeward voyage until the festival of the Buddha on the day of the full moon of the 6th moon was passed or otherwise they would meet with bad weather (226, p. 157). It may well be that the importance of the 15th day of the 6th moon was connected with the homeward SW monsoon whose full force is felt in the South China Sea in the month of July and so is the time when a speedy and safe voyage back to China could be ensured. For Fo-lo-an on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and P'o-ni on the west coast of Borneo this would be a most auspicious season. De Groot says that the 15th day of the 6th moon is celebrated in Fukien as the mid-year festival (226, p. 70, n. 2) and here again one gets the feeling of a sailors' festival since the date corresponds so exactly and the connection between Fukien and Malaysia is so marked.

It is tempting to think that the two Fo-lo-an divinities were the origin of Ma-tsu-po and of Kuan-yin as a sea goddess. We have the coincidences of the festival dates in Fo-lo-an, P'o-ni and Fukien; the mention of the celebrated Buddha in the *Ling wai tai ta*, 1178 A.D., and the two Buddhas in the *Chu Fan Chi*, 1225, A.D.; the birth of Ma Chu in Fukien in Sung times; the legend of the birth of Kuan-yin in the Southern Seas and her becoming a sea goddess in Sung times; the cult of T'ien Fei and Ma-tsu-po originating in Fukien; the six and four armed effigies of the three goddesses; and the continual passage back and forth of Fukienese sailors. But this is merely a suggestion for the consideration of those properly qualified to consider it. Fo-lo-an as a Chinese place-name appears to date only from Sung times and the matter of the flying Buddhas appears to us to be of great interest.

We pass now to the three neighbours of Fo-lo-an, whose names are written by Hirth and Rockhill as Pöng-föng, Töng-ya-nöng and Ki-lan-tan. Variant forms of the names have been collected with references by Pelliot (129, pp: 344-345, 5, 6, 1) but local sinologists should collect all the references and translate them. It may be observed here that the *Chu Fan Chi* merely names the three places but has no notice on any of them and mentions them only in two passages, the one in relation to Fo-lo-an, already noticed, and the other in the list of the dependencies of San-to-t'si, where each place

is named (226, p. 62.) The first notices of the three, which are available in translation, occur in the *Tao i chih lio*, 1349 A.D.

Pong-fong. The *Tao i chih lio* calls it P'êng-k'êng, as written by Rockhill (352, p. 120). It says that P'êng-k'êng had a ruler and describes it by saying "Rocky cliffs encircle it, rough and precipitous. From afar it looks like a level wall. The soil is fertile, rather good for cereals". The products are "*houang shou hsiang t'ou* (gharu-wood), *ch'ên* and *su* (gharu-wood), *tapai* perfume, camphor, tin, and coarse laka-wood". Rockhill cannot say what was *ta-pai* perfume (ibid: n. 3).

The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, 1436 A.D., has a repetitive notice which has been translated by Rockhill (352, pp: 120-121) and also by Groeneveldt (148, pp: 257-258), while Schlegel refers to other Ming sources (174, x, pp: 40-46) but these last are too late for our purposes.

Tong-ya-nong. This place is called Ting-kia-lu, as written by Rockhill, in the *Tao i chih lio* (352, pp: 120-121). It had a ruler, who managed his affairs well, and it is described thus:—"It is a triangular islet, a bay separates it from the adjacent district and forms an important water-way. The island is high and desolate. The fields middling to poor, but the poorest people have a sufficiency of food". The products are "laka-wood, camphor, beeswax and tortoise-shell".

There is no notice in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* but Groeneveldt translates passages in the *Ming Shih* and the *Tung hsi yang kao*, 1618 A.D. (148, pp: 200-201). He was, however, under the misapprehension that Indragiri was meant. Schlegel, under the name Ting-ki-gi, gives a number of references which really apply to Trengganu (174, ix, pp: 293-297). But all these are too late for our present purposes.

Ki-lan-tan. The *Tao i chih lio* says "The country is extensive, the land is poor and arable soil is scarce, but the summer being hot they get in two crops" (352, p. 121). It says also "Outside (this place) there is a small bay, secluded and very deep, with salt water and splendid fish. Here tin is found" (ibid: p. 122). The place had a ruler and the products were "superior quality of *ch'ên* and *su* (gharu-wood), coarse laka-wood, beeswax, turtle-shells, cranes' nests, and betel-nuts".

There is no notice in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* but Groeneveldt has translated a passage from the *Ming Shih* (148, pp: 257-258). After giving passages concerning Ho-lo-tan which he took to be Kelantan, Schlegel refers to Ming notices (174, x, pp: 162-163). But all these again are too late for us.

Nagarakretagama. Canto 14 of this Javanese poem of 1365 A.D. gives us the names of Langkasuka, Sai, Kalantën, Tringgano and Pahang amongst the dependencies of Majapahit on the Malay Peninsula (111, pp: 147-8). It also gives a name Nacor, perhaps a misprint for Nagor (ibid: p. 149). It might represent Ligor, as the Dutch *Encyclopaedie* says; but Dr. Blagden pointed out difficulties. Dharmānāga appears in Canto 15 and Ligor in 1365 A.D. was tributary to Siam (ibid: p. 149).

Wu-Pei-Chih Charts. References to Ming authorities have been omitted for the most part in the preceding review of the facts but the *Wu-pei-chih* charts need to be noticed. Mr. J. V. Mills (321, pp: 28-39) studies the positions up the east coast from Pedra Branca to Singgora. We find the Pahang river given as *P'eng k'eng Chiang* (the last character meaning "river") or in Amoy Hokkien *Phe hang kang*. Mr. Mills thinks that the name may be connected with *pahang*, the Khmer word for "tin", and has a full discussion of the various views as to the Chinese name (ibid: pp: 31-32). Trengganu appears as *T'ing chia hsia lu*, or in Amoy Hokkien as *Teng ku ha lo*, and Mr. Mills points out that it is clearly a transcription of the Malay name, of which as pronounced locally *Teganung* is a good phonetic rendering (ibid: p. 33). The 1948 Annual Report on Trengganu says, however, that *Trekanu* comes nearest to the local pronunciation of the name. The Kelantan River appears as *Ku lan tan Chiang*, or in Amoy Hokkien as *Ko lan tan kang*; and above it the Telubin River under its old name Sai River appears as *Hsi Chiang*, or in Amoy Hokkien *Sai kang*, the exact equivalent. Between these two rivers the mainland is marked *Ch'u Chiang Hsiang* meaning "produces *chiang* perfume", which Mr. Mills takes to be laka-wood (ibid: pp: 35-36). Patani appears as *Lang hsi chia*, or in Amoy Hokkien *Long sai ka*, and we dealt with this in the last part of these *Notes*. The main-land between the Telubin and the Patani is marked *Ch'u Chiang Chen*, meaning "produces *chiang chen*", which Mr. Mills considers to be the same perfume as that produced between the Kelantan and the Telubin (ibid: p. 36). Singora is given under the name *Sun ku na*, or in Amoy Hokkien *Sng ku na*. From there to the Bangkok River no countries, towns or rivers are named (ibid: p. 37), though Bandon Bight seems to appear as the *Cheng put* shoals, using the Amoy Hokkien pronunciation (ibid: p. 38).

It is noticeable, then, that Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an and Kia-lo-hi (pronounced in Amoy Hokkien *Ka lo hi*) do not appear; nor even does Ligor. The main-land lying to the south of Triple Peak in Siam is marked merely as producing sapan-wood (ibid: pp: 39, 47).

Pulau Tenggol, about 15 miles eastward of Tanjong Dungun and the mouth of the Dungun River, seems to appear as *Tou hsi* or Peck Island; and it seems to have been a Chinese navigation-mark

on the sea-route from Pulau Condor to Malaya (ibid: p. 32), during the course across to Pahang and then down the Peninsula. Off the coasts of Trengganu, Kelantan and Patani seven island-groups are shown, the identification of which is described by Mr. Mills as "a matter of considerable difficulty" (ibid: p. 33).

Identifications. We come now to the very difficult problems of identification. It seems to us that we shall be approaching certainty only if the geographical, the economic, and the historical facts are reasonably in accord: but, since we do not seem yet to have all the facts in translation, any identification can only be a tentative one.

Beginning with the geographical facts, we have seen that Ling-ya-ssī-kia was 6 days' sail from Tan-ma-ling and 4 days' sail from Fo-lo-an, and that Fo-lo-an was the adjacent country to Tan-ma-ling. It is, therefore, clear that Fo-lo-an lay between Ling-ya-ssī-kia and Tan-ma-ling: but are we sailing north or south from Ling-ya-ssī-kia? Professor Coedès locates Tan-ma-ling in the Ligor region and suggests with a query Pathalung for Fo-lo-an. For Ling-ya-ssī-kia he has nothing closer than "on the Malay Peninsula". Since Pathalung is south of the Ligor region and since he takes Tan-ma-ling as far north as the Bay of Bandon, it follows that for Professor Coedès the days' sail must be north from Ling-ya-ssī-kia: but we submit that the reverse is the real case. The key to the problem lies, it seems to us, in the statement of the *Chu Fan Chi* that Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan (identified by everybody as Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan) were the neighbours of Fo-lo-an.

We have said before, and we repeat, that a tragedy of ancient geography is the necessity to express it in modern terms which are apt to convey false thoughts to the mind. Thus, when we are told that Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan are Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan, we are prone at once to think of the present three States with their well-defined boundaries, whereas we ought really only to think of river-mouths. In ancient times, and even in quite modern ones, nearly all the Malay States were riverine with the river giving its name to the State. As Mr. Daly wrote in 1878, "It would appear that the Malay Peninsula would be a vast uninhabitable jungle, were it not that the interior yields rich gold and tin alluvial deposits on either side of the range of hills that form the back-bone of the country" (362, p. 194). The main high-ways into this rich interior were the rivers and Dr. Linehan (220, p. 2) writes "The ancient practice of defining territorial divisions and apportioning lands by water-sheds was due, no doubt, to the fact that the Malays had an intimate knowledge of the courses of rivers and their tributaries"; and, one feels sure, so did the predecessors of the Malays. One has only to fly over the Penin-

sula, even in its present high state of development, to appreciate the reason for what Mr. Daly wrote.

Therefore, for us the names Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan indicate the respective river-mouths; and it is necessary to remember that the Pahang and the Kelantan have changed courses on several occasions within historical times. An interesting fact, however, emerges in connection with Tōng-ya-nōng. This name appears as Ting-kia-lu in the 14th century *Tao i chih lio* and as Ting-chia-hsia-lu in the 15th century *Wu-pei-chih* charts. These last attach the word *chiang*, or river, to Kelantan (*Ku-lan-tan chiang*) and to Pahang (*P'eng-k'eng chiang*) but not to Trengganu: and the *Tao i chih lio* speaks of Trengganu as a triangular islet, which is high and desolate and is separated from the adjacent district by a bay, forming an important water-way. One wonders, therefore, whether the Chinese did not attach the name more to Pulau Kapas than to the main-land. The *China Sea Pilot*, 1938, says that this island is reported to afford good anchorage for small vessels, with local knowledge, during the NE monsoon. That fact would make a great appeal to Chinese junk-masters and so may have made the island more important to them than the main-land or the river-mouth, which is unprotected in the NE monsoon. Pulau Kapas is 478 feet high and lies south of Kuala Trengganu about 27 miles NNW of Tanjong Dungun, 4° 48' N. However, the point is not very material and it will be safe to think of Tōng-ya-nōng in general connection with the river-mouth rather than the present State.

Obviously, in 1225 A.D. Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan were of little importance since the *Chu Fan Chi* only mentions them in the list of Srivijaya's dependencies and as being neighbours of Fo-lo-an. The *Tao i chih lio* says that they had rulers; but that was 124 years later and the rulers may only have been local chieftains. To the *Chu Fan Chi* the places of real importance on the east coast were Ling-ya-ssü-kia, Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an, since it gives a notice on each of them. And the remarkable lack of reference to the west coast shows that Chau Ju-kua, the Fukienese shipping official, regarded the east coast as the most important part of the Peninsula.

In the last part of these *Notes* we showed that to the Chinese Langkasuka under its different names always was primarily an east coast state but we did not locate it more precisely. The *Wu-pei-chih* charts show clearly that it lay between Singora and the Telubin (Sailuri) River; and upon the rest of the evidence it seems safe to say that the present province of Patani must always have been included in Langkasuka. We do not, however, know the boundaries and it may have included Ligor, or a part of Ligor, at various times. Mr. Hsü, for instance, con-

siders that during the Liang, Sui and T'ang dynasties Langkasuka was in Ligor (340, p. 59). Boundaries of states change with varying fortunes and probably were never well defined in ancient times. Even in 1875 "the Sultan of Trengganu and the Raja of Kelantan told Sir William Jervois they knew nothing of the interior boundaries of their States, nor even what countries they marched with."⁴ Although there is a difference in time of some 200 years, we think that the evidence of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, which must date back a long time before the composition of the charts, can be used fairly to suggest that in 1225 A.D. Ling-ya-ssï-kia was centred in the present Patani province. If so, it possessed an important anchorage available to the Chinese ships in both monsoons. As Skinner (64, p. 25) wrote, "The bay of Patani is formed by the projection of a narrow strip of land about 7 or 8 miles in length, which, connected with the mainland to the eastward, bends round to the North-west like a horn and protects the roadstead, so that vessels can at most seasons ride in safety; which accounts for the high estimation in which it was held by the early navigators". The present light on Tanjong Patani (Lem Tachee) is given in the *China Sea Pilot* as 6° 57' N. The Patani River falls into the roadstead.

✓ In the last part of these *Notes* we showed that in the 7th century A.D. Chinese ships, which had sailed down the Indo-Chinese coast and cross the Gulf of Siam, made land-fall on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula at Langkasuka (Lang-chia, Lang-chia-shu). In his *Notes on the Historical Geography of Malaya*, p. 20, Dato Douglas, who identifies the Long Sai Ka of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts with Patani, writes "In the China sea directory one learns that the tidal undulations from the China sea strike the coast near Patani as at Pulau Ridang the tidal stream flows south whilst at Singgora it is setting northwest". The reader should study the *China Sea Pilot*, 1937, Vol. 1, pp: 30, 122, 125, 129, 131 and 132, which gives a good explanation of why land-fall should have been made at Patani and enforce our identification.

✓ Singora (Songkhla) appears as Sun-ku-na in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts and as the northern limit of Langkasuka. From it entrance is made to the inland sea called Tale Sap, inshore of which, some 38 miles NW of Singora, is Pathalung, which at present can only be reached by boats. Singora lies in the shelter of Tantalam Island and there is safe anchorage in the NE monsoon. The present light at the entrance to Singora is given in the *China Sea Pilot* as 7° 13' N.

Unless Ligor was included at times in the boundaries of Langkasuka, the Chinese records make no mention of it at all and it is noticeable that it does not appear on the *Wu-pei-chih* charts.

(4) Recorded by the late Sir Frank Swettenham, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1880, No: 5 at p. 53.

We take, therefore, the present roadstead of Patani as the beginning of the 6 days' sail from Ling-ya-ssi-kia in the *Chu Fan Chi*: where then is Tan-ma-ling to be placed?

In the first place, a coasting voyage is obviously indicated and it must be clear that during such a voyage a junk would cover far less distance than she would on the open sea with a following monsoon. The reader is referred to Messrs: Mills and Best (321, pp: 43-44) for the pace of a junk at the time of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts. The best speed attained in the open sea seems to have been about $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour and Mr. Best says that from Malacca to Raffles Light a modern junk "probably averages no better than 3-4 days". The *China Sea Pilot* gives the light on Malacca pierhead as $2^{\circ} 11' N$ and the Admiralty chart shows Raffles Light on Pulau Satumu, or Coney Islet, at about $1^{\circ} 9' N$. Mr. Mills thinks that where a Chinese record gives speed in terms of watches it is about twice as fast as where it is given in days, and suggests that the explanation may be that "where the period is expressed in days no allowance is made for the efflux of time while the vessel anchored for the night". The reader will also note the wide bend of the east coast, and the chains of islands parallel to the coast, from the mouth of Kelantan down to the mouth of the Kuantan, which we are about to locate as the southern limit of the 6 days' sail. We suggest, accordingly, that under all the circumstances the distance given in the *Chu Fan Chi* is reasonable for the limits of a voyage from Patani roadstead to Kuala Kuantan.

Schlegel says, as we have seen, that Tan-ma-ling, pronounced in Fukienese fashion, gives an exact transcription of Tembeling, which at present is a name applied to the northern headland at the entrance to the Kuantan River, to a most important tributary of the Pahang River, and to a large surrounding district with a village of the same name. Before going further we must express our great indebtedness to Dr. Linehan's *History of Pahang* (220) and particularly to chapters 1 and 2, and pp: 247-251, of that work, to which we call the reader's close attention.

South of the Tembeling-district lies the Temerloh one, which is also of importance. Since it is agreed by all that Tan-mei-lieou was the older name for Tan-ma-ling, those who like finding name similarities might consider whether Tan-mei-lieou can be correlated with Temerloh.

Dr. Linehan (220, p. 251) writes "The Tembeling river was an important province, and carried a fairly numerous population in prehistoric days, witness the many neolithic and iron-age relics recently found on its banks—and that, though little search has yet been made there, and the locality is now almost deserted". We place Tan-ma-ling as the Tembeling-Kuantan area to which the

best entrance from the sea is the Kuantan mouth since, as Dr. Linehan writes (220, pp: 10, 251), it is the only safe anchorage on the Pahang coast during the NE monsoon, a fact which is corroborated by the *China Sea Pilot*, p. 3. We fix, then, the mouth of the Kuantan River as the southern limit of the 6 days' sail in the *Chu Fan Chi* and the reader will note that Tanjong Tembeling lies $3^{\circ} 48' N$. Accordingly, the voyage began in the Patani roadstead, the junks getting into the sea when they had rounded the headland at $6^{\circ} 57' N$; they then made their way down the coast and eventually reached the turn into the Kuantan river at $3^{\circ} 48' N$. Fo-lo-an was 4 days' sail and so roughly 2/3rds of the way down: where is it to be placed?

From the facts, Fo-lo-an clearly was entered from a river mouth and the distance from Ling-ya-ssī-kia gives us the mouth of the Dungun River with its northern headland Tanjong Dungun at $4^{\circ} 48' N$. Fifteen miles eastward of it is Pulau Tenggol, 930 feet high, and that island seems to appear in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts as Tou hsū, or Peck Island: but neither Fo-lo-an nor the Dungun river are shown in them. Kuala Dungun affords no protection from the NE monsoon, which would make intelligible the statements which we have recorded from Chinese records about the wind at Fo-lo-an. Having no anchorage during the NE monsoon would mean that Fo-lo-an as a port had only one season, so that goods for trade with China would have had to be stored there until the SW monsoon had set in and the junks could take them to China. The great importance of the festival in the middle of the 6th moon is thus apparent. If we accept Fo-lo-an as the Dungun mouth and area, it will be quite possible in the loose Chinese fashion to say that it was the neighbour of the Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan river-mouths and was the country adjacent to Tan-ma-ling.

✓ The *Chu Fan Chi* tells us that land-routes connected Ling-ya-ssī-kia, Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an; and there is no difficulty at all over the statement. These routes normally would follow the rivers and Dr. Linehan (220, p. 2) writes "Pahang was linked up with adjoining states by river-routes as well as by sea. The Sungai Tanum, a tributary of the Jelai, and the Sat and Sēpia, affluents of the Tembēling, led into Kelantan. The Sēpia was also used as a means of communication with Trengganu"; and he speaks (p. 3) of the valley of the Tembēling as the old main northern high-way of communication. Prehistoric relics are particularly numerous in this valley, along which are to be found ancient gold workings, as well as on the Jelai river at Selensing (ibid: p. 3). The late Mr. V. B. C. Baker, a most experienced mining engineer in Pahang, wrote "The men of Sai who colonised Pahang were miners, not sea farers—probably of stock other than Malay. They followed gold and tin up the Telubin (Sai) and crossed over into the Pergau and thence up the Lebir and over, *via* the Sat, into the Tembeling valley.....

Some of them would take the alternative route up the Galas and over *via* Pulai into Jelai—the route followed by the railway to-day. Hence the importance of Sai, which as related by Eredia tapped so many goldfields" (363). He refers also to the chase by the late Sir Hugh Clifford of Bahman, a man of aboriginal extraction and a gold-miner at Semantan, who used the overland route up the Tembeling into Kelantan and Trengganu.

Mr. Anker Rentse, a man of the greatest experience and knowledge of the subject, writes "We are now able to establish the facts about a chain of ancient settlements along the Kelantan River and its main tributaries right up to the Perak and Pahang borders. Similarly there have been early settlements along the Pahang river, the upper reaches of which also contain gold and show traces of ancient mining. It is therefore quite probable that there was a close connection between the settlers in the upper reaches of the two main rivers, as the gold workings continue in an almost unbroken chain across the divides, some of which are less than one thousand feet above sea level. This would indicate an unbroken route from Kuala Kelantan up through the Lebir, Galas and Nenggiri Rivers, crossing the Kelantan-Pahang border into the Tembeling and Jelai Rivers down to Kuala Pahang. These routes are not known to the younger generation of Malays, but I have met many old Malays who used them before roads and railways were developed in this country" (364, p. 32). And (p. 34) he writes "The upper reaches of the Patani River, the Telubin (Sai) River and the Pergau River (a tributary to the Kelantan River) are situated in the neighbourhood of each other".

The vital fact about the land-routes from Ling-ya-ssi-kia to Tan-ma-ling obviously is that they passed through territory that was immensely wealthy in metals. Mr. Anker Rentse (364, p. 31) writes "Kelantan was no doubt very rich in gold, and also in tin to some extent, and the same applies to the countries of Patani, Rahman, Jaring and Sai. If we draw a line from the present Raub Gold Mines in Pahang up north through Ulu Galas and Sungei Nenggiri (S. Jenera and S. Wias) in Kelantan, then bending towards the north-east, Sungei Setong and Sungei Mempelam, and from there north through the area east of Sungei Pergau (Sungei Jentiang and Sungei Sokor), next further on the north-west through the Tadoh River areas towards Tomoh in South-Thailand, the source of Sungei Telubin (Sai, Cea), and finally westwards through the upper parts of the Patani River, touching the Ulu Belom in Perak, we find traces of ancient mining everywhere in the jungle in the form of old water-supply canals along the slopes of the hill. Alluvial gold will be found in the streams almost anywhere in this extensive area; but nowadays it appears in such small quantities that only small scale *dulang* work (panning) is profitable, an indication that the great bulk of surface deposits

have been removed by the ancient miners"; and, later in this passage, "It is now tolerably evident that an extensive trade in gold (and in tin to some extent) took place in Kelantan in ancient times, and I have no doubt that further investigations would yield the same results in the jungle along the upper reaches of the Patani and Sai Rivers. This trade in gold continued on a decreasing scale to the present time. We find Sung Celadon porcelain buried in the soil of the Kelantan plain and large Ming pottery jars regarded as sacred old relics in villages from the coast to the interior". The reader should look at the archaeological map which he gives, facing p. 34.

Skinner (64, p. 51) writes "Of the mineral states Pahang is by the Malays placed first and Kelantan next to Pahang and then Patani; all these and these alone have galena as well as gold and tin"; also, "gold is found in Pahang almost exclusively in the central line of the state"; and, "the principal gold-workings of the Peninsula lie almost along a not very wide line drawn from Mounts Ophir and Segamat (the southern limit of the auriferous chain) through the very heart of the Peninsula, to the Kalian Mas, or gold diggings, of Patani and Telepin in the North". By Telepin he means, of course, Telubin. He says that the principal gold-mines of the Peninsula in 1884 were in the valley of the Pahang river at Lipis, Jelai, Semantan and Luit; and Dr. Linehan says that traces of the predecessors of the Malays have been found at Luit (220, p. 226). Reference should also be made for the gold workings and the land routes to Daly (362, pp: 195-196).

We shall elaborate later upon the metals of these parts of the Peninsula but the reader will see from what has been written already that any king who controlled Patani and the central parts of Kelantan and Pahang must have been very rich and powerful. The long historical importance of Langkasuka, centred in Patani, can be attributed to its metals, to easy transcontinental land-routes to the west coast and easy land-routes south to Kelantan and Pahang, and to the control of the Patani roadstead which formed a good port in each monsoon. The importance of Tan-ma-ling can be attributed to its command of the rich central part of Pahang and its possession of the good port at the mouth of the Kuantan River with safe anchorage in each monsoon.

So far, therefore, we are well based upon geographical, economic and historical facts, which we shall now elaborate further. Since it is agreed by all that Tan-mei-lieou and Tan-ma-ling represent the same kingdom, the economic facts concerning the two may be considered together and, since there can be no doubt that that kingdom was somewhere on the Malay Peninsula, we can reject at once *lithospermum*, which must either be a mistranslation or which is to be explained by the Chinese having applied their name for that plant

to some other Malayan plant. In a letter Professor Holttum, of the University of Malaya and head of the Singapore Botanical Gardens, writes "*Lithospermum* is a genus of the family *Boraginaceae*, and its species are all native in rather dry temperate regions. I doubt if you could keep any of them long alive in Malaya, and there are no near relatives of the genus in Malaya". This plant is not mentioned at all in Burkill (365) but it occurs in central and north China. Professor Holttum asks pertinently "Is there any chance that some other plant was confused with it?" If, as would seem certain, the first record of the plant appeared in an official Court record, one can feel fairly sure that the official who made that record wrote down the nearest, or what he thought to be the most likely, Chinese name for the Malayan plant about which he was being told.

It is the very pure gold of a deep red colour, given as a notable product of Tan-meilieu, which might point unerringly to Pahang and to Pahang alone. Dato F. W. Douglas, who has an unrivalled knowledge of Malaya, writes in a letter "Pahang gold is red—definitely so and easily distinguished from say Tapah gold. I mean merely the washed grains are obviously red and articles made from it are red. The gold sheaths of the *Kris Terapang* of Selangor are made from it". In his *Notes on the Historical Geography of Malaya*, 1949, p. 1, he writes "The alluvial gold of Pahang is rated at 975 fine sometimes called guinea gold and is of rich dark red colour"; and he says that South African gold is rated at 900 to 920 fine, while Kelantan gold is not as fine as that from Pahang. Dr. F. T. Ingham, however, informs us that personally he cannot confirm the statement that Pahang gold is red and easily distinguished from Tapah gold. He says that a red colour in gold is normally due to the presence of copper and pale yellow to an excess of silver. Assays carried out in the Laboratory of the Geological Survey on alluvial gold samples from Raub gave a fineness of 928 and 934, while gold from Tapah gave 926.

Mr. Harold Service, Acting Director of the Geological Service, in a letter to the writer is quite explicit that Raub gold is not in the least red and he thinks "it very unlikely that native red gold does occur". He says that "something in the order of 10% or more of copper is needed to make a gold alloy red. 'Dark red gold' is stated in one book to contain 50% Au and 50% Cu; in another book, the composition of 'dark gold' is given as 75% Au, 10.4% Ag and 14.6% Cu. Such golds from Malaya as we know of are not red, and their percentage totals for gold and silver leave no room for much copper".

Opinions, therefore, differ and the writer would welcome further information from Pahang.

Skinner (64, p. 16) recorded in 1884 that gold from the Jelai district in Pahang brought a higher price by 3 per cent than the best Australian gold. He said (p. 51) that Pahang's reputation for gold and tin was unrivalled for the metals' wide-spread yield, their quantity and their fineness, and "Pahang tin is said to be the only tin on the east coast which can rival that of Perak and Selangor in whiteness and pliancy". It is, accordingly, natural that the accounts of the products of Tan-ma-ling should refer to tin of superior quality, if we have located that place correctly.

The Chinese tells us that the people of Tan-mei-lieou bartered gold and silver for goods and that Tan-ma-ling collected gold and silver articles for tribute to Srivijaya. In modern times, so far as is known, silver has been found only as an impurity in galena and Eredia's statement that silver was found in Sungei Ujong has, accordingly, been queried. What the ancient miners found during Sung times we do not know but the remarkable abundance of their mining remains shows that they must have found plenty, amongst which certainly were gold and tin, and there is no reason why galena should not also be included. Dr. Ingham informs us that galena has been worked on the property of the Pahang Consolidated Co. and also occurs on the Sungei Luit and near Batu Balai. It is present in other States, including Kelantan, and in small amounts in Perak and Perlis, he says.

Dennys (336, pp: 265-266) writes in his account of Pahang "As regards its mineralogy, the State has always possessed a high reputation for its product of gold and tin. Though during recent periods these have been but little sought, the wonderful old gold workings which exist in its interior, discovered by Messrs. Knaggs and Gower, show that, desolate and abandoned as the greater portion of it now appears to be, it must, at some very remote time, have been well known and populated. Mr. Knaggs said, in his report to Sir Frederick Weld the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, that they found, situated in the far jungle, a hill perforated with pits to a depth of over 160 feet extending for miles, and dug so closely together that there was only room for one man to walk between them. He added: "We could not dig one of these pits for less than \$6000; and there are not only hundreds but thousands of them. It must have taken centuries to have done all this, and thousands of men; but who they were, and how they were fed in this close jungle, and what became of them, must, I fear, remain a mystery for ever". Dennys recorded that in 1894 and since then many more ancient mining sites have been discovered on the east side of the main ranges as far north as Kelantan.

As has been noted, Pahang and Patani are the only two States which have galena as well as gold and tin. Skinner records in 1884 that there was a galena mine in the Kuantan district at Sungei

Lembing. Burkill says that in Malaya galena always contains silver, averaging 20-30 oz: per ton. Cameron (72) gave a full account in 1883 of the galena mines at Banasita (Bannang Sata) on the Patani River, with a good map. He said that the no: 1 mine had the largest lode of galena ever discovered in Malaya and of first quality. There was a series of rich lodes which contained silver in proportions varying from 23 to 66 oz: per ton, the best yield of silver lying near summits of limestone formation.

It would seem, therefore, that the ancient miners of Pahang and Patani might well have mined silver; and Eredia may not have been wrong about Sungei Ujong.

The sinologists have not made up their minds about the metals called *t'ou* (*t'euo*) and *la*, which are mentioned in connection with Tan-mei-lieou. Mr. Hsü thinks them to be copper-zinc alloy and lead-tin alloy; de Saint Denys a rich ore of gold and copper and a kind of tin or alloy of tin and copper. Tin, we know, is found in Pahang; but what about zinc, copper and lead? Cameron (72) said that in the Banisita mines considerable deposits of carbonate of lead and also of phosphate of lead were found, while copper in the form of pseudo-malachite was of common occurrence. Burkill says that copper has been found with tin-ore in Kinta, Perak, and with tin-ore and gold at Batang Padang, Perak. Sulphide of copper and iron (chalcopyrite) has been worked, he says, in the Pahang Consolidated mines in the Kuantan district of Pahang, 4½ tons having been produced in 1922. Zinc or blende (zinc sulphide, zinc blende, or sphaleite) is stated by Burkill to be found in the Kuantan district of Pahang and lead carbonate (cerussite) has been found, he says, in large quantities in the basin of the Sungei Liang in Kelantan, where it is a decomposition product of galena, which itself is lead sulphide and the best known ore of lead, called by the Malays *timah hitam*, or black tin.

The *yu-shih* stone seems also to have puzzled the sinologists. The Chinese said that it was much esteemed, though inferior to jade. Perhaps some Malayan geologist will consider what this might have been. Malachite is much used by Chinese for carved figures but whether any good enough for such a purpose is found in Malaya we do not know. Dr. Ingham says that he has not seen specimens large enough for cutting. Malachite has been found, so Burkill says, in the Pahang Consolidated Company's lodes in Kuantan. It is an ore of copper. Dr. Ingham suggests that *yu-shih* might more probably be serpentine or soapstone; the former is found in Pahang. Jade schists, he says, also occur in Pahang and he thinks it possible that soapstone was found in the past.

The rest of the products of Tan-mei-lieou and Tan-ma-ling, which have been set out above, are completely appropriate to the area which we suggest.

The products of Fo-lo-an do not contain metals but show that it was an "incense" country and also an elephant country. There is nothing in these products that would be inconsistent with the Dungun area, which we have suggested as the identification of Fo-lo-an.

And, so far as the products of Langkasuka are given in Chinese records, they accord with the Patani area and that to the north of it: but they make no mention of metals, which may show that Patani was not being mined at the relevant dates.

So far, therefore, the inferences which we have drawn from the geographical facts are supported by those which we have drawn from the economic ones. We submit that our inferences are fair ones and that accordingly the facts so far may be said to be reasonably in accord: but how do the historical ones fit into the picture?

The *Chu Fan Chi* proves that in 1225 A.D. Ling-ya-ssî-kia, Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an, Pöng-föng, Töng-ya-nöng, Ki-lan-tan and Kia-lo-hi were all under the suzerainty of San-fo-ts'i: but the Ch'ai-ya inscription of 1230 A.D. shows that Kia-lo-hi was then under the rule of Candrabhānu, King of Tambralinga, since all are agreed that Kia-lo-hi represents Grahi, which was sited where Ch'ai-ya is to-day. One must agree with Professor Coedès (272, p. 310) that the inscription has every appearance of being that of an independent ruler and, for ourselves, we think that the inference of Professor Majumdar (181, pp: 197-200) that "Candrabhānu had usurped the authority of his overlord by a successful rebellion" is inevitable.

In his *History of Pahang* Dr. Linehan accepts that Tambralinga must be identified with Tan-ma-ling and also accepts the identification of Tambralinga with the region of Ligor: but, recognizing the force of the facts concerning Tembeling, he suggests that the name was carried down to Pahang by the men of Ligor when they invaded the Peninsula (220, p. 10).

We shall submit that the name was carried north by Candrabhānu, the centre of whose kingdom was not in Ligor but in the Tembeling-Kuantan area: and we begin with some material facts concerning San-fo-ts'i.

Though it has been disputed, we think that the reasoning of Professor Coedès and Nilakanta Sastri is unanswerable and that San-fo-ts'i can only be identified with Srivijaya. It is, however, a Sung name. The T'ang one was Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che and during the T'ang dynasty, 618-907 A.D., embassies to China from that place are recorded from 670 to 742 A.D., the date of the last one.

The inscription of 775 A.D., which was discovered at the Vat Sema-muang of Ligor, proves that Srivijaya at that time was in

possession of the Ligor region. Though there has been a great deal of argument about this inscription (see, 356, pp: 41-44), there is none about the fact which we have just stated.

Srivijaya appears again in Chinese records during the Sung dynasty, 960-1279 A.D., when we get the name San-fo-ts'i. Embassies are recorded in the *Sung Shih* as having come towards the end of the T'ang dynasty in 905 A.D. and thereafter in 960, 962, 971, 972, 974, 975, 980, 983, 985 and 988 A.D. The ambassador in charge of this last embassy was in Canton during 990 A.D. but in consequence of news of the invasion of his country by Cho-p'o he stayed there. In the spring of 992 A.D. he went as far as Champa but the news of his country which he received there was not reassuring. So he returned to China and asked for an Imperial decree placing San-fo-ts'i under the protection of China. There the story stops and the next embassy from San-fo-ts'i is recorded in 1003 A.D. But Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp: 499-501) records an embassy to China from Cho-p'o in 992 A.D. and, as he tells us, these envoys said that their country was often at war with San-fo-ts'i.

We have seen that in 1001 A.D. Tan-mei-lieou sent its only recorded embassy to China, so far as facts are available at present. The description and size of this embassy, and the very rich tribute which it brought, can lead only to the inference that Tan-mei-lieou acted then as an independent kingdom. Now, the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. shows that Tambralinga then was within the possessions of the king of Kaṭāha, the chief seat of whose power lay in Srivijaya: and, as we have seen, it is accepted generally that the Tambralinga mentioned in this inscription was Tan-ma-ling. But, since the name of Tan-ma-ling does not appear until a century later, it would be better to say that Tambralinga in 1030 A.D. was called by the Chinese Tan-mei-lieou rather than Tan-ma-ling; since all are agreed that the two names represent the same kingdom and nobody has yet suggested that Tan-mei-lieou was a faulty writing of Tan-ma-ling. From all this it results that Tan-mei-lieou had acted as an independent kingdom in 1001 A.D. but at the time of the Chola invasion was included in the Srivijayan empire. The explanation may be that during the invasion of Srivijaya by Cho-p'o Tan-mei-lieou felt it necessary to keep its relations with China and so sent an embassy independently.

After the embassy of 1008 A.D. the *Sung Shih* records further ones from San-fo-ts'i in 1017, 1028, 1067, 1080, 1082, 1083, during the period 1094-1097, 1156, and finally in 1178 A.D. No mention of any further embassy to China from San-fo-ts'i has yet been discovered: very possibly because the *Sung Shih* says that on the occasion of the embassy of 1178 A.D. the Emperor issued an edict directing no further envoys from San-fo-ts'i to come to Court but that they should make an establishment at Ch'üanchow in Fukien

province. This last fact might be remembered in connection with what we have written about the Fo-lo-an goddesses, whom the kings of San-fo-ts'i regularly came to worship, and with the connection of Fukien with the sea-goddesses of China. We may note here that Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, pp: 87, 93) has assumed from a statement in the *Ming Shih* that embassies from San-fo-ts'i continued to come to China until 1279 A.D. But the statement in the *Ming Shih* is merely a general one, that San-fo-ts'i in the time of the second Sung dynasty brought tribute without interruption (148, p. 192). It gives no dates for any of these embassies and, as we have said, nobody has referred to any after 1178 A.D. If there had been one, it is fair to assume that Ma Tuan-lin would have included it in his full list (230, pp: 561-566).

Unfortunately, the *Ling wai tai ta* of 1178 A.D. has not been translated in full. It gives a list of seven places which were dependencies of Chen-la but apparently no list of the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i. Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 63, n. 1) say that the *Ling wai tai ta* applies the name of San-fo-ts'i only to an important port of call on the sea-routes of the foreigners: but, as has been seen above, it does say that the chief of Fo-lo-an was appointed from San-fo-ts'i. Therefore, in 1178 A.D. Srivijaya had at least one possession on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Nobody has given any reference in the *Ling wai tai ta* to Tan-mie-lieou or Tan-ma-ling; and so presumably there is none. Nor apparently was Kia-lo-hi mentioned; or even Langkasuka under any Chinese equivalent. But one would feel much more comfortable if one had a complete translation of this most important Chinese work.

In 1183 A.D. we have the inscription on the pedestal of the Grahi Buddha from which it is clear that Grahi was then a province under a local governor, or *mahāsenāpati*. We accept the view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, p. 92) and Professor Majumdar (181, pp: 195-197) that the king who is named in this inscription was a ruler of Srivijaya and not, as Professor Coedès (272, p. 301) would prefer, a ruler of Malayu. Upon this view, therefore, the evidence shows that in 1183 A.D. Kia-lo-hi (Grahi) was a dependency of Srivijaya.

In 1196 A.D. Tan-ma-ling sent an embassy to China; but in the passages which have been translated only a work of 1607 A.D. gives any details; and they apply merely to the tribute offered—three golden wine-jugs and a gilded parasol. However, on this meagre evidence, it does look as though Tan-ma-ling sent that embassy independently. Yet in 1225 A.D. it was a dependency of San-fo-ts'i under a local governor.

Let us now see what details are given in the *Chu Fan Chi* as to the local rulers of Ling-ya-ssi-kia, Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an.

We are told that the ruler of Ling-ya-ssi-kia "wraps himself in a sarong and goes barefooted" and that this country sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i. Of Fo-lo-an we are told that it sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i but not a word is said about its ruler. Of Tan-ma-ling, however, we are told that it was under a ruler who was addressed as *Siang-kung* (which we would equate with *mahāse-nāpati*) and that it sent gold and silver vessels to San-fo-ts'i as tribute. From the absence of any mention of a ruler of Fo-lo-an, from the contemptuous reference to the ruler of Ling-ya-ssi-kia, and from the description of the ruler of Tan-ma-ling, it can only be inferred that the last was much the most important of the three.

This short conspectus of Srivijayan history shows a connection with the east coast of the Malay Peninsula from at least 775 A.D. and establishes that in 1225 A.D. Srivijaya had established supremacy over the whole of that coast from the Pahang River to Ch'aiya. We have thus set the stage for the entrance of a most arresting figure, Candrabhānu, king of Tambralinga, who was ruling in Kia-lo-hi (Grahi, Ch'aiya) in 1230 A.D. The inscription which records this fact says that he was of the Family of the Lotus and was a Buddhist. No particularly reason is given for the record but it is in exultant language and might have marked his victory over the country.

Scholars are agreed that the Candrabhānu of this inscription was the same person as the Candrabhānu whose wars against Ceylon are recorded in the *Cūlavamsā*, a Ceylonese history which is a continuation of the *Mahāvamsā*. The first of these wars is now dated as in 1247 A.D., and the second, probably, in 1270 or 1271 A.D. (356, p. 93). There is a discussion of the historical records relating to Candrabhānu and his two wars in a well-known paper by Professor Nilakanta Sastri (366) and in his new history of Srivijaya he sets out the facts with a full discussion (ibid: pp: 93-95). One sees that Candrabhānu is called "King of the Jāvakas", his main troops being described as Jāvakas. Professor Coedès (357, pp: 461, 463) has shown that Jāvakas was an ethnic name meaning Indonesians and having the same sense as modern Cambodian Java (pronounced *chvéa*) which applies as well to the Malays of the Peninsula as to those of the islands and to the Javanese; and he reminds us that "nothing is less precise than the names by which Eastern people designate each other". Sumatra was itself the Jāvaka country *par excellence* and the Arab Zabag was their rendering of Jāvaka: but Candrabhānu, as proved by the inscription of 1230 A.D., was a Malayan king. He is not called king of Tambralinga in the *Cūlavamsā* but king of the Jāvakas, which means king of the Malays and more particularly king of the Peninsular Malays.

It would seem that at some date prior to the first war a colony of Malays had been founded in some part of Ceylon (272, p-

310: 356, p. 94) and it is worthy of remark that the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 62) places Si-lan amongst the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i and (ibid: pp: 72-73) repeats that statement in its notice on Lan-wu-li and Si-lan. There can be no doubt that Lan-wu-li was the Chinese form of Lambri, the northern part of the west coast of Sumatra from Achin Head. There would seem to be no doubt from the facts at the beginning of this notice that Si-lan was some part of the island of Ceylon: but it should be noted that Professor Coedès gives the identification with a query (272, p. 309). As translated, the notice says at the beginning that Si-lan was under the rule of Nan-p'i but at the conclusion says that it paid a yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i. Nan-p'i was the name for the Malabar coast and one would think that the characters in this notice must be faulty, unless, as Hirth and Rockhill suggest (ibid: , p. 75, n. 10), "we suppose that these statements refer to two different periods or to different portions of the island". Masudi in 943 A.D. places Sirandib, i.e. Ceylon, amongst the possessions of the Maharaja, i.e. of Srivijaya (172, i. p. 93). The *Sung Shih* says that the king of San-fo-ts'i is styled Chan-pi (148, p. 188) and one would wonder if a mistake might have crept into the *Chu Fan Chi*: but it should be noted that the characters for the two names are quite different as given by Groeneveldt and by Hirth and Rockhill. However, this is a digression.

It would seem that Candrabhānu's first expedition to Ceylon was peaceful at the beginning but he was defeated when war broke out. Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, p. 94) thinks that he "probably left his son behind at the head of the Jāvaka colony and himself returned to his home country". The next events in Ceylon were Pandyan incursions in 1258 and 1263 A.D. with the result that after the latter Candrabhānu's son acknowledged the Pandyan king as suzerain. Candrabhānu's final campaign followed with complete disaster to himself. His power collapsed, the Thais came down into his kingdom and by 1294 A.D. had possessed themselves of the Malay Peninsula (272, p. 343.)

Professor Coedès adduces the *Jinakālamini* in proof of his account of Candrabhānu (272, p. 310) but that work was composed more than three centuries later and Professor Nilakanta Sastri (366, p. 259) observes that "in its present form, it does not seem to be of much use to any attempt to reconstruct the history of Candrabhānu". We omit it accordingly.

It must surely be clear that for Candrabhānu to have possessed himself of Kia-lo-hi and then to have waged these two wars with Ceylon, he must have been a very rich and powerful king; and, wherever we look for the centre of his kingdom, it must be a place such as would have provided him with those riches and that power. One's mind would turn *a priori* to some place or places rich in gold and other metals.

One can only speculate as to Candrabhānu's origin, but is it too much to suggest that he might well have been the *Siang-kung* of Tan-ma-ling mentioned in the *Chu Fan Chi* of 1225 A.D.? and, proceeding from there, to suggest that he threw off his suzerain and then waged a swift campaign in which he possessed himself of all the other possessions of that suzerain?

History is full of cases where powerful, ambitious and warlike, local chieftains threw off their allegiance, seized their suzerain's possessions, and made themselves kings. If we are right in placing Tan-ma-ling in the Tembeling-Kuantan area, we give Candrabhānu the necessary wealth; and we can see that a campaign from there to the north would have been easy, both by land and sea. If his position was to be absolutely secure and, more particularly if he were ambitious and warlike, a campaign to drive his suzerain out of all its possessions would be logical enough, and such a campaign would take him right up to the beginning of Khmer power, *i.e.* to Kia-lo-hi. Srivijaya was far away and was already in serious trouble in its own country, so that its outlying possessions in Malaya would have been easy prey. It is difficult to imagine Kia-lo-hi as the solitary object of a campaign against Srivijaya but easy to imagine it as the culminating point of one. It is, above all, very difficult to imagine a king merely of Ligor and Ch'aiya being rich enough and powerful enough to go to war twice with Ceylon, but quite easy to imagine a king who held the whole east coast of the Peninsula with its rich interior and the whole of the Ligor isthmus to Ch'aiya, doing so. Such a king would have the necessary wealth, the necessary population, and the necessary ports. And such a king could truly be described as king of the Jāvakas.

It is true that we are speculating; but, if the Candrabhānu, king of Tambralinga, and the Candrabhānu, king of the Jāvakas, were one and the same, then he is an outstanding phenomenon in the history of the Malay Peninsula and a rational, convincing explanation for him must be provided. So far scholars have been content with arguing from his title that he must have been a king of Ligor and with arguing from his name and date that he must have waged the two wars against Ceylon. There the argument has stopped and nobody has considered how he could have done it. In the absence of provable facts, theory must enter, but more rationally than it has done so far. Certain it is that Tembeling is the only Malay name in the whole area from Pahang to Ch'aiya which corresponds with Tambralinga. Grahi and Nāgara Śrīdharmarāja certainly do not. Certain it is that the geographical facts place Tan-ma-ling in the south and not in the north. Finally, certain it is that Candrabhānu must have felt secure, rich and powerful, and a king merely of Ligor and Ch'aiya could not have answered those conditions. If the reader will stop to think of the logistics of a campaign

waged from the Malay Peninsula against Ceylon, he surely must admit the force of what is said in the last sentence.

Summarizing, we propose the following identifications:—

- (1) Ling-ya-ssī-kia — Langkasuka, centred in Patani:
- (2) Tan-ma-ling — Tambralinga, the Tembeling-Kuantan area:
- (3) Fo-lo-an — mouth of the Dungun River:
- (4) Pōng-fōng — mouth of the Pahang River:
- (5) Tōng-ya-nōng — mouth of the Trengganu River, including, perhaps, Pulau Kapas:
- (6) Ki-lan-tan — mouth of the Kelantan River.

To that we can add that Ling-ya-ssī-kia may well have included the Ligor isthmus to the southern boundary of Kia-lo-hi and that Kia-lo-hi quite possibly included the whole of the present districts of Bandon and Ch'aiya.

As Gerini (46, p. 115) points out, there is a province in Thailand north of the Kra district which is called Muang Langgya or Lankhia, and a river of that name there, while nearly opposite Chump'hon Bay there are two small islands called Koh Langkachiu. If these names have any connection with Langkasuka, then at its greatest power it might have reached far to the north: but there is no actual evidence, and certainly it did not do so in the time of the *Chu Fan Chi*.

For a complete understanding of this paper it should be read with the two previous ones in this series of *Notes*, since the three of them really form one thesis.

(To be continued)

Citations

- (356) NILAKANTA SASTRI, K.A. History of Sri Vijaya, 1949. ✓
- (357) COEDES, G. A propos de la chute du Royaume de Crivijaya, Bijdragen, 1927, Deel 83, pp: 459-472.
- (358) DUPONT, PIERRE. Varietes Archeologiques, 11. Le Buddha de Grahi et l'ecole de Caiya, B.E.F.E.O., 1942, vol: 42, pp: 105-113.
- (359) SCHLEGEL, G. Ma-tsu-po or Koan-yin with the Horse-head, T.P., 1898, vol: IX, pp: 402-406.
- (360) MASPERO, HENRI. The Mythology of Modern China, in Asiatic Mythology, 1932, pp: 252-384.
- (361) WERNER, E. T. C. Dictionary of Chinese Mythology, 1932.
- (362) DALY, D. D. The Metalliferous Formation of the Peninsula, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1878, No: 2, pp: 194-198.
- (363) BAKER, V. B. C. Further Notes upon a Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1937, vol: XV, Pt: 1, pp: 25-31 & pp: 27-31. ✓
- (364) RENTSE, ANKER. A Historical Note on the North-eastern Malay States, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1947, vol: XX, Pt: 1, pp: 23-40.
- (365) BURKILL, I. H. A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, 2 vols., 1935. ✓
- (366) NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A. Srivijaya, Candrabhanu and Vira-Pandya, Tijdschrift, 1937, vol: LXXVII, pp: 251-268.

The Sabaeans and Possible Egyptian Influences in Indonesia

(Received January 1950)

by H. G. QUARITCH WALES

In a recent instalment of his "Notes"¹ Sir Roland Braddell assembled the available evidence bearing on the possibility of ancient Sabaeian contacts with Malaysia. His immediate object was to try to ascertain who introduced into Malaya several ancient Mediterranean beads, possibly dating from about 700 B.C., supposing that they were actually as early as that and were carried direct and not brought by Indians after transshipment in India.

Interesting as his speculations were, it seemed to me at first sight that a few beads were little indeed to have to show as the result of such possible contacts. Subsequently, however, while studying the Javanese cultural evolution, it occurred to me rather forcibly that there were several indications which tended to support those adduced by Sir Roland and I gladly accepted his invitation to set them forth in a short article. But it will, I hope, be appreciated that I am here under the limitation of dealing with what amounts to an isolated aspect of the total situation which forms the subject of my forthcoming book *The Making of Greater India: A Study in South-east Asian Culture Change*.²

The possibility of Sabaeian contacts with Java was indeed already suggested by the late Dr. Wm. Stutterheim. In 1925³ he published illustrations of a number of peculiar signs found on Barabudur, Sewu and other Central Javanese temples, which he thought must be older than the type of Indian script on which Javanese writing was based. Later⁴ he pointed out that many of these signs were similar to Sabaeian script. On comparing his illustrations with specimens of Sabaeian script I agree that this seems plausible. It would not be a unique example of traits of material culture (e.g. the outrigger) persisting into the Hindu period when the Indians had nothing better adapted to local conditions to offer. In this case it would be the persistence of a convenient code of signs that might have been introduced among Javanese masons of the megalithic age.

Sir Roland mentions also some Borneo beads, three of them Romano-Egyptian and one considered by Seligman and Beck to be of

(1) This journal, Vol. xx, part ii, Dec. 1947.

(2) Bernard Quaritch Ltd; London (*in the press*).

(3) *Oudheidkundig Verslag*. 1925, pls. 13 & 14.

(4) "The Meanings of the Kala-Makara Ornament" *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. III, 1929, p. 51.

a type found in Egypt and possibly dating from 900-600 B.C., though the type persisted much later, and seems to have been exported to the Far East in some quantity. Stutterheim, in the article just mentioned, suggested that the Sabaeans brought from Egypt the Horus emblem and many other cultural elements.

According to the 4th (1949) edition of Hitti's *History of the Arabs* the South Arabians monopolized the trade of the Indian Ocean during the last millenium and a quarter before our era and, while Arabian culture was at bottom "indigenous", the author states that it could not have escaped Egyptian influence. He illustrates (pp. 32, 33) a South Arabian pictured on an Egyptian relief of 1500 B.C. Provided, therefore, that the Sabaeans did reach Indonesia, it would appear that they were equipped to introduce some elements of Egyptian culture.

I believe that Stutterheim exaggerated the extent of Egyptian cultural influence in Java. This was inevitable at the time when he wrote because it was not yet recognized that much that superficially appeared to be Egyptian was more probably Babylonian and Sumerian origin and had come into South-east Asia overland with the Older Megalithic waves of culture. But he may have been right with regard to the origin of what are two of the most characteristic features both of ancient Egyptian and of later Javanese religion: sun worship and the associated "Horus emblem".

These were indeed the features that most interested Stutterheim and continued to claim his attention from time to time. He was rightly impressed by the fact that the tendency towards sun-worship, and the identification of all gods with the Sun, increases in Java as Hindu influence declines. He thought it must therefore be due to the recrudescence of some older cultural elements that were repressed in the official religion so long as Hindu influence was strong.

Stutterheim showed that even at the early 10th century temple of Lara-Jongrang this tendency may be noted in the division of reliefs showing Rama's career into four parts, corresponding to the four parts in the sun's daily or yearly course.⁵ Later, in the Singhasari period, the tendency becomes still more evident with the predominance of Surya images. It is true that up to this time (13th century) the changes have all taken place well within the framework of what could be regarded as orthodox Hinduism, although as Mus has shown⁶ the solar facies of Indian religion was never developed in the one-sided manner imagined by Senart in *La legende du Bouddha*. Moreover it is Java and Bali alone, of

(5) "De Sticher der Prambanan tempels" *Djawa*, Vol. 20, No. 3 1940.

(6) *BEFEO*, Vol. 43, p. 654.

all the regions of Greater India, that such a tendency to solar worship is in evidence.

It is when in the Majapahit period sun-ancestor worship comes into the open (the sun-ancestor being mediated by dead kings), and the Hindu gods do nothing more than lend their garb, that we can feel certain we have estimated correctly the nature of the earlier trend. The emergence of this sun cult is especially marked in art by a further modification of the Indian *kāla-makara* emblem decorating temple doorways, which emblem since Central Javanese times had already tended to become rounded while the *makaras* have been replaced by *nāgas*.

Now the disc-like mask and snakes are sometimes joined by a pair of wings even though, after centuries of repression, the artist is in doubt as to their correct position. At Chandi Sawentar he places them almost surreptitiously beside the *nāga* balustrades, but in the early mosque of Sendang Duhur he allows them to spread boldly from the gate sides. Sometimes we find the *kāla*-head reduced significantly enough to a single eye. In a modern *wayang* in the Batavia museum we find Siva identified with the sun by reason of the naturalistic sun-face over his head, from which depend two large *nāgas*, the wings, in this case provided with heads of *garudas* (sun-birds), here finding a place adjacent to the bull Nandi. "It would seem beyond dispute" concludes Stutterheim that these three elements—the sun-eye, the snakes, and the wings—strongly remind one of that other motif, built up out of these same three elements, which was so widely spread in Egypt—namely, the Horus symbol of Edfu."⁷

Stutterheim also made a detailed analysis⁸ of the *gunungan*, or mountain piece, which is always shown at the beginning of Javanese shadow plays as a kind of introduction. Beyond an entrance gateway one sees a conventionalized World Tree standing on a mountainous base. In the centre of the World Tree is a *kāla* head, sometimes reduced to a single eye and thus leaving little doubt that the sun is intended. From it hang one or two *nāgas*, while wings spread from each side of the roof, or from the base of the Tree. A Sundanese *gunungan*, illustrated by Stutterheim, shows a very striking combination of one-eyed *kāla*-head, *nāgas* and wings which, through misunderstanding, have been provided with bird-heads.

Working independently and almost at the same time as Stutterheim, Walter Aichele⁹ came to very similar conclusions as

(7) "The Meaning of the Kala-makara Ornament" loc. cit. p. 49.

(8) "Oost Java en de Hemelberg" *Djawa*, VI, 1926, pp. 333-349.

(9) "Altjavanische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wunschbaumes" in *Festschrift Meinboff*, Hamburg, 1927. Dutch trans. in *Djawa*, 1928.

did Stutterheim, i.e. as to the influence of Egyptian concepts in the *gunungan*, and he clarified one or two points which had baffled Stutterheim. This was notably the case in regard to the two quadrupeds which are invariably shown facing each other at the foot of the 'Tree. Although in Assyrian seals such animals or men are thus depicted facing the sacred Tree, he identifies them rather as "the bull of the east mountain" and "the lion of the west mountain" of Egyptian mythology; and he concludes that it is in Egyptian conceptions rather than in Assyrian or Babylonian ones that one seems to be able to find light on the Javanese *gunungan*.

These views were soon challenged from a non-diffusionist point of view in a long and well reasoned article by W. W. Rassers.¹⁰ It would lead us too far afield to outline this article here, and to refute its main contentions point by point. I shall do both in my forthcoming work, which deals in greater detail with this and many others problems of South-east Asian cultural history. It must suffice to say here that I doubt if anyone reading Rassers' article to-day, and bearing in mind all that we now know about diffusion in general, would find his views at all convincing. This applies in even greater degree to another article in the same vein, though much less ingeniously argued, which appeared in the same year by K. A. H. Hidding.¹¹ This writer simply asks us to believe that every feature of the *gunungan* is a local invention.

If we are disinclined to believe in the independent origin of anything so complex as the sun-disc/*nāga*/wings combination, just as we cannot find a satisfactory origin in Indian religion for it and the sun-worship with which it is associated in Java as in Egypt, might we not suppose that it found its way into Java via the now well authenticated continental routes of diffusion? Could not the sun-worship and the Horus emblem have come in as part of the megalithic civilization which, as Prof. Heine-Geldern has shown, was entering continental South-east Asia between 2500 and 1500 B.C.? A solar cult was only a minor aspect of the Babylonian religion, to which the megalithic concepts seem to be ultimately traceable, and we have seen that Aichele recognized features in the Javanese *gunungan* that he thought were definitely Egyptian rather than Babylonian. Nevertheless is it not possible that some traits of the Egyptian religion were also diffused into South-east Asia by the continental routes?

It is, to say the least, most improbable. This is shown by the fact that, unlike what is the case in Java and Bali, none of the continental Greater Indian civilizations show any comparable tendency towards sun-worship and accompanying modification

(10) Over den oorsprong van het Javaansche tooneel" *Bijdragen*, Vol. 88, 1931.

(11) "De Beteekenis van de Kekajon" *Tijdschrift*, Vol. 71, 1931. especially pp. 636-639.

of the *kāla*-head. Furthermore there is no evidence of sun-worship ever having been practised by any of the non-Indianized peoples of continental South-east Asia. This is a categorical statement, and one that is plainly at variance with the views expressed by the late Mlle. Colani in her paper "Survivance d'un Culte Solaire"¹² But it seems to me that her arguments do not bear criticism.

As evidence for the former existence of a sun cult in parts of continental South-east Asia Mlle. Colani collected a number of ornamental motifs still in use among the Meo of Upper Laos and the Muong of Tongking, motifs which had once been sun symbols. But A. Leroi-Gourhan has shown in his interesting studies of the migrations of decorative motifs, how far from their sources these may travel. In regard to the birds and tree motif, one of which Mlle. Colani reproduces (her Fig. 3) from a Muong embroidery, though she mistakes the tree for "a sort of altar, perhaps solar", Leroi-Gourhan says that "except in cases where it is explicitly linked to the rising of the sun it seems to have lost, in Europe at least, all proper meaning...it is without doubt the most popular of all the themes."¹³

Obviously then for Mlle. Colani to show that these motifs were ever really used as sun symbols in South-east Asia she would have had to find some evidence of their having ever been connected with sun-worship there, as we have seen was the case in Java. For her to look for support, as she does, to Elliot Smith's unfounded assertion that megalithic monuments were connected with sun-worship (she is thinking of the proximity of the Meo habitat to the megalithic sites she investigated) is valueless.

Sir James Frazer once sagely remarked to Professor Hutton, and it is a remark that has even wider application than to the Pacific, that he had found "nothing of any value to connect the monuments of the Pacific with sun-worship, but a good deal to connect them with the worship of the dead."¹⁴ The essential feature of the Older Megalithic cult is a sacred stone through which the local earth god may be contacted in the person of the ancestor who has become identified with him.¹⁵ In its Indianized form this is the cult of the royal *līṅga* or *devarāja*, which became so popular in the eastern parts of continental Greater India because it was cognate to the pre-Indian cult of the region. It is significant that, while the *devarāja* cult is known to have existed in VIIIth century Java,¹⁶ it was afterwards pushed into the back-

(12) *Proc. Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East, Singapore, 1938.*

(13) in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*. Vol. XII. pt. 4. p. 163.

(14) Prof. J. Hutton "The Use of Stone in the Naga Hills" *Journ. of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVI. p. 82.

(15) P. Mus. "Cultes Indiens et indigenes au Champa", *BEFEO*, Vol. 33. pt. 1, pp. 367-410.

(16) G. Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesias*, Paris, 1948, p. 157

ground, at least in its earlier form, as a result of the coming to the fore of sun-worship. Only when, at the close of the Majapahit period, the royal sun-worship began to fade, did the *devarāja* re-emerge at Chandi Sukuh.¹⁷ But then it was already well on its way to a return to the basic megalithic cult of all Malayo-Polynesian peoples, a stage which, despite Islam, has actually been reached in the backstreets of present-day Batavia.¹⁸

Mlle. Colani further pointed to the Dong-So'n drums as evidence of sun-worship. She supposed that the central star represented the sun, around which circulated the deer, birds etc, which for her were solar symbols while the boats were solar boats. But solar boats are a different concept from boats of the dead, which the Dong-So'n boats have usually been taken to be in view of their similarity to the Dayak boats of the dead, while the birds on the drums resemble the hornbills which among the Toba Bataks of Sumatra are still looked upon as the birds which take the souls of the dead to the hereafter.¹⁹ Mlle. Colani sought to prove her point by comparing (pl. LXVI) this supposed circulation around the "sun" on the bronze drums with the ecliptic, the Earth's passage around the Sun. In so doing she was crediting the Dongsonians with a knowledge of modern heliocentric astronomy!

To understand the symbolism of the drums we must appreciate the nature of the astronomical knowledge likely to have been at the disposal of the Dongsonians. I have little doubt that the central star on the drums is, as it appears to be, a star. To be more precise, it is the Pole Star. In his great work *Barabudur* (Part V, Chap. 9) Mus has shown what a widespread influence the Assyrio-Babylonian planetary cosmology had on the earlier religious ideas. The Babylonians, through their observation of the stars, came to realize that the movements of the planets took place around the North Pole. Consequently the cosmic axis running through the old Sumerian ziggurat and presumed to connect earth and sky did not coincide with what they now observed must be the true scheme of things. In their improved planetary ziggurat they endeavoured, by a species of mystic relativity, to reconcile the axis of the ziggurat or palace with the south-north axis of the universe. The regular course of the stars around this axis became the model on which to regulate the affairs of the world below. Circular processions in ritual, with corresponding modifications in architecture, resulted from the new cosmology. It brought to India in the time of Asoka, via Persia, the ritual of the Chakravartin and of circumambulation. It reached China also and may well have modified the ritual of the Megalithic cult of the

(17) F. M. Schnitger, "Les Terrasses mégalithiques de Java" *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. XIII, 1939-42, p. 106.

(18) W. Stutterheim "Notes on a 'Neo-megalith' in Old Batavia" *Bull. of Raffles Museum*, Series B. Vol. I, No. 3, 1937.

(19) F. M. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra*, Leiden 1939, p. 144.

dead, so that on the Dong-So'n drums we find the celestial movement of the plane of the dead, as of other divisions of the universe, around the Pole Star.

In Dong-So'n derived motifs, as on Sumba textiles and Batak and Dayak spirit boats, we certainly find the widely travelled World Tree, often with sun and moon on either side of it. But these were connected with the cult of the dead, not with sun-worship. However, if the "Horus emblem" had belonged to the Dong-So'n civilization it would probably have revealed itself as clearly in the Cham evolution (where we find no trace of it) as in the Indo-Javanese.

This brings us to a point at which we may feel inclined to conclude that the hypothesis that seems best to cover the position is that some elements of Egyptian culture may well have been brought to Java by the Sabaeans. If they were only a few concrete, hence readily assimilated, traits and not a whole cultural pattern, that is exactly what one would expect to be introduced through the medium of a third party, who themselves had but superficial acquaintance with Egyptian culture.

Since the appearance of the crude, though basically correct, theories of Elliot Smith and Perry, while the recognition and documentation of overland diffusion has gone steadily ahead, there has been an unwillingness among many scholars, almost amounting to inhibition, even to discuss large scale maritime diffusion. But the pressure of facts cannot be indefinitely withstood. Recently I was privileged to see the very impressive exhibition which Professor Heine-Geldern prepared at the American Museum of Natural History, in connection with the (September) 1949 Congress of Americanists. It was designed by him to show the evidence for cultural diffusion from India and Indonesia across the Pacific to South America, beginning quite by the 4th century B. C. In the same month of 1949 (though in a journal issue dated 1946) there was published in England a most interesting and suggestive paper by Professor Hutton. It provided a mass of evidence pointing to the carrying of culture by Malayo-Polynesians from Indonesia, not merely to Madagascar, which has long been proved, but right round the Cape to Nigeria.²⁰

It is in conjunction with this overall picture of far flung ancient sea communication, whose claims to actuality are becoming increasingly insistent, that I think we should consider the possibility of Sabaean contacts with Malaysia to which Sir Roland Braddell has done well to call pointed attention. There is as yet nothing amounting to proof, but as Professor Hutton concludes his article on the Indonesia-West Africa situation, "the whole question is provocative of further research."

(20) Prof. J. H. Hutton "West Africa and Indonesia: a problem in distribution" *Journ. of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVI, Pt. 1, 1946.

Malay Manners and Etiquette

by ZAINAL-'ABIDIN BIN AHMAD

(Received October 1948)

The "unwritten rules" of Malay manners and etiquette, as far as I am aware, have never been properly studied or systematically set down in writing, either in English or in Malay. The following notes, rather inadequate and sketchy, are an attempt to fill this gap. Most of the fundamental ideas have, it is felt, been dealt with and covered; but there are still many more aspects of the subject, many points of detail and of local variation, which require further study.

It is hoped that these brief notes will help to point the way to future students, to enable them to make a more substantial contribution in this field, or at least to supplement what is set down here and to correct from their own observation where the facts presented are faulty.

1.—The Head.

Malay consider the head as the noblest part of the human anatomy, and so the most deserving of respect, just the feet are regarded the lowest.

A Malay must, therefore, always have his head covered with some native head-dress such as a cap (not a hat)—especially if he is in Malay dress, or when sitting at a meal in Malay style. If he is in foreign dress, usually European, then it is not bad manners if he walks about, meets people and sits at meals with his head uncovered. He may also wear a hat or a cap when in European dress.

When sitting at a meal in Malay style or in Malay dress, especially at a picnic in the jungle or by the river-side, and there is no proper Malay head-dress available to cover the head, an ordinary handkerchief or even only a piece of string or creeper tied around the head will do as a symbol for a head covering. Similarly when performing the five daily prayers a Malay always takes care to tie at least a handkerchief over his head if he has no better head-gear at hand than a European hat, although Islam does not stipulate that the head should be covered during prayers.

When shaking hands with an elder or a superior, and the head is bare at the time, having no cap or proper native covering, then the left hand is placed over the uncovered head to express apology and respect.

Only on the occasion of mourning for royalty—in the case of a Sultan 40 days—*was* it the custom to leave the head uncovered. But even this has nowadays been changed, and replaced by tying a white ribbon around the cap.

In fact, among all unsophisticated Malays, whether old or young, it is considered bad manners, if not bad breeding, for anyone in Malay dress to enter their house, sit in company, or meet respectable Malays and talk to them, without wearing a cap or any other suitable head-dress.

2.—The Meeting Friends: The Salutations

(1) The word *tabek* (meaning 'greetings' or 'salutations') to express respect and good wishes is used when a Malay (who is always a Muslim) meets a non-Muslim acquaintance or superior. Only if the Malay is educated in the other person's language, or knows the official foreign language, does he give greetings to the non-Muslim in the foreign language.

If the Malay word *tabek* is used, the phrase should be "*tabek tuan*" (greetings, Sir) to a European, or "*tabek enche*" (greetings Mr.) to a Malay gentleman or Chinese Baba, or "*tabek dato*" (greetings, chief) to a Malay chief, etc. as the case may be.

It may be accompanied with a raising of the right hand to the forehead, especially if the greeting is from a much lower inferior to his superior. But the hand-raising is not essential even in this case. Much less is the raising of the hand done by an equal or a superior. He will simply say "*Tabek Tuan So-and-so*."

The word *tabek* is also used by Malays among themselves to express apology and a request to be excused for doing a thing seemingly rude but not intended to be so, such as touching a customer's head to do a hair-cut, or passing something over another person's head.

In similar manner, it is also used when expressing respects to guardian spirits supposed to inhabit or haunt particular places, rivers, hills and dales, thereby excusing oneself for passing (or rather trespassing) there and asking the spirits' protection. The phrase used on such occasion would be "*Tabek datok! anak chuchu hëndak lalu*." (Greetings and pardon, grandfathers! Your grandchildren crave permission to pass!) This is, of course, a survival of the Malay's animistic belief, not Muslim.

(2) The Arabic formula *as-salāmu 'alaykum* (meaning "Peace be upon you!") is used among Malays when both the persons meeting are Muslims, more or less religiously inclined. This is

especially the practise if either of the two is a non-Malay Muslim, or if the two are only nodding acquaintances, not intimate friends.

Like "*Tabek* so and so", it may be accompanied by a raising to the forehead of the right hand or even of both hands to emphasise the respect and sincerity of the wishing. Generally, this *salam* greeting is more often accompanied by hand-raising than the case with *Tabek*, whether from an inferior, an equal, or a superior. But it is not considered bad manners if the hand-raising is omitted.

The reply is *wa 'alaykum u's-salām* (meaning, "and on you, too, be peace!"), with the same rule applying regarding hand-raising as to the first wishing. The hands if raised (to the forehead) are brought down to the region over the heart to express heartfelt sincerity and reciprocation.

(3) Two Malays meeting or passing each other on the road or outside the house do not, as a rule, give greetings by using any "good wishing" salutation. Usually they simply ask each other, "Where do you come from?" or "Where are you going to?" or "What are you doing there?" In contrast to the European idea, this is regarded as good manners, not as 'minding other people's business.' And the sense of respect or courtesy is expressed rather by the tone of the voice asking these questions than by the wording of the enquiries, and also by the accompanying action inviting the friend to call in or to stop and talk for a space or otherwise showing him friendliness.

These friendly enquiries are not supposed to be answered, or if answered at all only vaguely, such as "From nowhere" or "To nowhere" or "From (or To) So-and-So's house" or "(am doing) nothing in particular" etc. (However, if the two persons are foreign educated, they are more likely to use a foreign form of salutation, and reply accordingly).

This practice of asking the 'set questions' is called "*mēñēgor orang*" (i.e. addressing or greeting people), which is considered a part of good manners. A Malay must not merely continue on his way when meeting a friend or acquaintance on the road, without so much as a word addressed to them. To behave in this manner is considered impolite, proud or lacking in manners. He, therefore, only deliberately fails to do *mēñēgor* when he is definitely on bad terms, or at least not on speaking terms, with the other man.

Of course, he need not address any greeting if the person he meets on the road is a stranger, or a foreigner unknown to him whose customs and habits of politeness may be different. But even in such a case a smiling nod would be a gesture of politeness indicating good manners and good breeding.

It is bad manners to stare at a person without speaking when passing him on the road, or on any other occasion.

Among women and between men and women, the above three modes of greetings on meeting apply as well, except in the matter of raising the hand to the forehead which, as a rule, is dispensed with altogether and replaced with a slight bow instead, by both parties.

(4) The "*sĕlamat*" form of greetings (*sĕlamat* means peace, safety), such as:

<i>Sĕlamat Pagi</i>	=	good morning
<i>Sĕlamat Pĕtang</i>	=	good evening
<i>Sĕlamat Malam</i>	=	good night
<i>Sĕlamat Tidor</i>	=	Peaceful sleep!
<i>Sĕlamat Datang</i>	=	Hearty welcome!
<i>Sĕlamat Jalan</i>	=	bon voyage, go in safety.
<i>Sĕlamat Tinggal</i>	=	good bye! Farewell!
<i>Kĕtĕmu Lagi</i>	=	au revoir!

etc. are of recent growth in Malaya, and may well be less than 20-30 years old. They have been adopted from colloquial Indonesian Malay, which in turn has coined the expressions in imitation of the European phrases or of Arabic coinings in present-day Egypt. However, it appears that these *sĕlamat*-forms have come to stay, though at present they are used only in the towns and port cities especially among Indonesians or Indonesia-travelled Malays.

In all the several forms of *sĕlamat* greetings for different occasions the same phrase is used by both sides. The only exception occurs in the case of "*sĕlamat tinggal*" (literally, "may you remain behind in safety!"), the reply to which should be "*Sĕlamat Jalan*" (literally, "may you fare well in your journey!") and *vice versa*.

The expression *Sĕlamat Hari Raya*, freely used as a formula of greetings on the occasion of the two great festivals of the Muslim year—the Fast-Ending Festival (*Hari Raya Puasa*) and the Mecca Pilgrimage Festival (*Hari Raya Haji*)—is much older. And though the form itself must have been a Malay reproduction of such foreign phrases as "Happy Christmas!" and "Happy New Year!", it must also have been the model on which all the later *sĕlamat* phrases given above have been formed.

This phrase *Sĕlamat Hari Raya* is spontaneously spoken out whenever a Malay meets a friend and shakes hands with him for the first time during the festival days; if they are passing each other in a carriage the salutation is shouted with a waving of the hand or raising of it to the forehead.

3.—The Handshake on Meeting

With the greeting or salutation there is also the hand-shake, or even friendly embrace if the two have not met for a long time and are both men.

The "handshake" is not really a handshake but rather a "hand-joining", there being usually no "shaking" at all. It must always be done with the right hand, and if the right hand is not free or smeared with food or otherwise unpresentable, an apology is made asking to be excused from offering the hand, such as *Minta maaf, tangan kotor!*; that is "Excuse me, my hand is dirty, etc." In Muslim religious traditions this "hand-joining" on meeting friends is highly recommended as a meritorious act of brotherhood.

The first word uttered with the hand-joining, or even before it and also without it, is *apa khabar?* which is literally "What news?", that is to say, "How are you?" or "How do you do?" Whoever of the two is first in asking the question expects an answer which is always *Khabar baik*, literally "good news" or "the news is good," and really means "I am quite well," or "All is well!" Quite often, for the sake of more politeness, the phrase *tĕrima kaseh* is added, meaning "thanks" or "thank you": *Khabar baik, tĕrima kaseh*, "Quite well, thank you." Even if the 'news' is not really good the answer to *apa khabar?* should still be *khabar baik* and whatever 'bad news', that there is to be mentioned, should always be referred to later in the course of the ensuing conversation.

Women do the "hand-joining" with both hands; and for young women this is only done with women, never with men. They do it as a rule when meeting long separated friends or when introduced to a new woman acquaintance, especially if the latter is a lady higher in rank or much senior in age.

Only an elderly woman sometimes does the hand-joining with men, both parties using both hands. But the men must be old acquaintances far younger than herself such as are fit to be her sons or younger brothers, and for whom she entertains respect and motherly or sisterly affection. Even so, the "joining" is only done with some clean layer of clothes or handkerchief placed between the hands.

This form of hand-joining with both hands is also done by junior members of a family when asking the pardon and blessings

of the more senior members on the occasion of the two religious festivals (*Hari Raya*). It is also used when two estranged friends or relations effect a reconciliation, or even when the parties meeting unconsciously emphasise their enthusiasm in thus being able to meet each other after long separation.

4.—Inviting and Visiting

When meeting a friend whom one has not met for some considerable time, or whose agreeable acquaintance one has recently made, it is good manners to invite him to call at the house. If the invitation is accepted and the friend comes, it is etiquette to offer him, besides cigarettes, some light thing to eat or drink such as sweetened tea and sweetmeats—never strong drinks, a Western custom strongly condemned by all good Malays. As is natural, all this time conversation is carried on by way of exchanging news and opinion.

If the visitor is a man, and particularly if a Muslim, who is by no means an old friend or familiar acquaintance, the female members of the family do not come out to greet him nor sit out together and join the conversation. If they do that it would be considered highly unorthodox or ultra-modern, and always opposed and disapproved of by the older and more conservative Malays. Similarly if the visitor is a woman, the men members of the family do not join in. Exceptions to both these rules separating the two sexes only occur when the visitor of either sex is an old and close friend of the family, or if the visitor is a lady with modern or Western education and the men of the house are likewise so educated, and *vice versa*.

In the *kampung* where people usually go about barefooted, it is the practice to wash the feet before entering the house. The water for this purpose is always ready provided at the foot of the stair-way or ladder, where there is also some sort of planking or stone foot-hold on which to wash the feet. Quite often, too, the feet-washing is done on the staging usually put up adjoining the verandah where water is kept in buckets, small jars, or coconut-shell holders called *gopong*. Failure to wash the feet properly there is a bad infringement of the unwritten rules of good manners.

If the visitor wears shoes it is good manners to take off the shoes and leave them outside at the foot of the stair-way or ladder before entering, unless the house is one of modern style with cement floors and people sitting on chairs instead of squatting on mats.

The host must not show that he is ever bored with the visitor even if he feels the visit has been much too long. It would be a breach of good manners if he were to do so, and worse still if he tells the visitor so frankly. Such an action really amounts to

driving the visitor out. He must therefore bear with his guest patiently, and if really intolerable, may get over the difficulty by giving some diplomatic excuse such as a head-ache or an appointment outside, or by suggesting that the visitor should spend the night in the house if it is already late. Usually the latter will take the hint and depart. If he does not, he would be regarded as guilty of a breach of etiquette himself.

On the occasion of the two great festivals or *Hari Rayas*, especially the *Hari Raya Puasa* (Fast-Ending Festival), a Malay keeps an open house for all relatives and friends to visit without the need of an invitation. Any and every one of the family's friends and acquaintances are at liberty to drop in, to wish the family *Selamat Hari Raya*, and to partake of whatever light refreshments the family can offer, usually special *Hari Raya* cakes and dishes. For close relatives it is almost a duty to visit one another during the two or three days following the *Hari Raya*, the younger to ask pardon of the older, and those of equal age and status to renew the ties of relationship.

5.—At Meals

Malays all eat with their hand—their right hand, to be precise—which they jocularly call “Adam’s fork and spoon” in allusion to the traditional first man. Only Malays of the upper classes and those living in or near the towns have experience of the use of actual forks and spoons, and that generally only when eating as guests at a European-style dinner party, or as customers in high class and fashionable restaurants.

Of course, a few Westernised individuals affect this in their home too, especially when they entertain Western or Western-educated guests. The rest, both in town and in kampong, prefer and do use their hand at meals.

But there are two very important rules to be observed in using the hand to take food at meals. First, it must be *the right hand*; secondly, it must be washed and thoroughly cleansed before one may help oneself to the dishes when the signal is given. Both these rules are strictly adhered to among all Malays throughout the country, and it is looked upon as the height of bad manners if one breaks them when in company without adequate reason or excuse. Even with adequate reason, one has to apologise to the company.

For the first requirement, a habitual “offender” through always eating with his left hand in defiance of etiquette is an extremely rare phenomenon. When met with, it will be found that he is really a person incapable of using his right hand through some physical defect or accident, or that he is naturally a left-handed person from birth, and the correction of the tendency as far as social etiquette

is concerned has not been successfully applied in early childhood. So, whenever he takes his meal in a decent company, every one thinks he is a pitiable offender, and some even stare at him in shocked wonder and embarrassment.

This universal Malay custom against the use of the left hand is not only confined to taking food but also applies to other social dealings in which the hand is used, such as handing things to other people and receiving things handed to ourselves. So much is this the case that when asking someone to pass something to you it is usual to say for example, for the purpose of politeness and humility, *Tolong kirikan saya jak ayer itu*, i.e. "Will you please pass me the water jug with your left hand?" It is not intended, of course, that he should really do it with his left hand: the idea is only of so humbling oneself that even a left hand is not unsuitable to do the favour for which one is asking.

Among the few modernised young people, this custom prohibiting the use of the left hand for handing and receiving things is less and less stressed when among themselves. But when dealing with the older folks even these "moderns" have to respect the prejudice and bow to it. Any one of them who inadvertently uses the left hand to the older people, his father or mother for instance, would be instantly rebuked. It is the hand used to clean oneself after answering the call of nature.

As to washing the hand before eating, one or two special "hand-wash" bowls containing clean water for that purpose are always provided with every complete set of dishes served up. Every one is certain to have perfectly clean hands before coming into the dining room. But by way of formality and to make assurance doubly sure, he still has to dip his right hand in the hand-wash bowl—not however actually washing it but just enough to wet it before beginning the meal served to him.

At a big Malay feast or banquet where a large number of guests are present, special attendants are detailed to go round, each with a special "hand-wash" kettle containing water and a sink-like receptacle with perforated cover. They pour the water on the guests' right hand over the receptacle, thereby effecting "mass hand-washing" and saving trouble and the number of hand-wash bowls required. Sometimes this is done long before the dishes are served up, so that by the time the dishes are brought out the hands have all got dry again.

At the end of the meal the eaters provided with the hand-wash bowls pour the water sparingly, each on to his besmeared hand over the plate he has used and thus wash his hand more or less clean, wiping it afterwards with the clean towels always provided

for that purpose with each group of dishes. Or else the attendants with the kettle and the sink-like receptacle come round again, this time with a cake of soap too, and pour water over the hand of each guest—the soap being used to get rid of any greasy or oily matter.

Whether entertained as a single guest or collectively with others at a big feast, a guest or guests should not at once fall to eating the food set before them without the formality of being asked to do so by the host or his representative. When everything is ready, it is the host's duty to ask the seated guests to begin helping themselves to the fare by saying to them, or calling out if there is a big company, "Gentlemen, please *bismi 'llah*!" which means, "Please say 'In the name of God!', i.e. do start eating. Then only should the guest or guests advance closer to the dishes and help themselves.

If the company consists of only one or two guests, the host himself must join and partake of the meal with his guests to save them from embarrassment and make them feel at home. To begin with, he usually expresses apologies for the poorness of the fare; and then proceeds to pass the rice bowl and the various dishes in turn to the guests, or otherwise invite them to help themselves. Throughout the meal he should always show solicitous attention to the guests' needs.

Among the rules to be observed during the actual dining are: Never blow your nose or expectorate while the eating is in progress. Never eat with lapping sounds (*chēpak-chēpak*) in your mouth. Never drink with a gulping sound when the water passes down your throat.

It should be remembered that no liquor of any sort is ever served at a Malay party of this kind. Cool clear water, often iced, and sometimes hot tea, are the only beverages offered for drink.

The meals, refreshments, etc. may be served on tables with the guests sitting on chairs. This is usually done by the more modernised Malays of the town-side, or at big banquets when, for want of space inside the house, special sheds or tents are erected outside provided with long tables and chairs where part of the guests are accommodated and entertained. Naturally, here no particular way of sitting is to be observed other than that usual for sitting on chairs.

But away in the *kampong*, and even in town for those guests who can be found accommodation inside the house all squat on mats or carpets spread on the floor, in which the case the traditional style of sitting to be adopted generally takes a particular form.

For men it should be the *běrsila* style, that is squatting with the legs folded and crossed in front; and for ladies it should properly be the formal *běrtimpoh* style, that is with the legs folded backwards and a little inclined to the right side. But frequently even the ladies too—at any rate the more elderly ones among them—sit in the *běrsila* style.

6.—Cards for Greetings and Invitations

Nowadays it has become the fashion for the more educated classes of Malays to send greeting cards to friends on the *Hari Raya* occasions, and invitation cards for marriage receptions and other similar functions. The cards are specially printed; but in the case of the *Hari Raya* cards, they may also be bought ready-made at the shops with only the signature to be added in handwriting.

The contents of the *Hari Raya* cards are always good wishes for the great day, prayer for long life and many happy returns of the felicitous day in the coming years, the customary asking of pardon and kind indulgence for past wrongs including past eating and drinking of the friend's substance or at his expense, perhaps given reluctantly. These wishes are usually expressed in verse. It is not binding on the receiver to reply or acknowledge receipt, but it would be nice to do so. However, if the receiver himself has also sent the sender a card of his own, the matter ends there—no further exchange of missives on the subject is required.

In the case of invitation cards most Malays do not trouble to reply and have not yet learned to appreciate the need of sending a reply. They come or do not come to attend the party after receiving the invitation as they like or as circumstances dictate. But they all agree that the proper thing to do according to correct etiquette, is to send a reply thanking the inviter and saying definitely whether one will be able to attend, and if unable stating the reason and ending with all good wishes for the occasion. If it is a marriage invitation, some sort of nominal present for the new couple is customarily given whether one attends or not. But this is not obligatory.

Evidently this custom of sending greeting cards, invitations and presents is the result of Western influence within the last fifty years. The uneducated Malay peasants are still not affected by this influence. With them the traditional practice still followed is to go in person where possible and give verbal greetings; and if it is an invitation, either to go round and do the inviting personally or send some responsible messenger to do it on your behalf. This

personal method is considered more palpable and weighty than any written message.

7.—Terms of Address

This is not strictly a matter of actual personal 'manners' and conduct in the conventions of Malay society, but it is none the less a part of Malay etiquette and therefore not out of place here.

The Malay language contains a large number of Personal Pronouns or nouns used as Personal Pronouns for the first and second persons to indicate the degree of politeness and the difference in social status between the speaker and the person to whom he is speaking.

(1) Normally *saya* (from *sahaya* meaning 'slave' = "I") would do for all occasions. The corresponding second person for it would be *tuun* (= "master") or *énche'* (= "Mr." used for Malays only), *Che'* so and so (contraction of *énche'* + the personal name, and also used for Malays only), and less politely *awak* (literally "your person").

Whether between equals or between a superior and a subordinate, *saya* may be used by both sides, provided that where both parties are Malays the person addressed is not of royal blood. But the second person corresponding to it should be—

tuun, for a foreign superior or chief, for a *haji* (especially a learned or highly respected religious teacher), and for a not very familiar acquaintance of Arab or Indian Muslim nationality, and also for any respectable Malay from Indonesia.

énche', for a Malay superior in well-to-do circumstances or good official position.

Che' so and so, (i.e. with the personal name added to *Che'*), for Malay equals.

awak, for very familiar friends or for acquaintances slightly inferior in status or much junior in age.

(2) *Aku* (also meaning "I") is impolite if not actually rude. It is used without offence only between very intimate friends of the same age and social standing, and by the older members of a family such as father, mother, uncles, aunts, elder brothers, elder sisters etc. to their juniors—children, nephews, younger brothers and sisters.

Even in such cases *aku* is used only in non-affectionate conversation. Where affection is implied, words showing the true relationship are used instead of *aku*, such as *ayah* (father), *mak*

(mother), *tok* (granny) used by and for the seniors, and *saya* or their own personal names used by and for the juniors.

Similarly such affectionate terms are also used to express fictitious relationship when speaking to non-members of the family who are looked upon as special friends, or to whom one desires to show special family regards.

The corresponding second person for *aku* is *engkau* (you) which is generally considered impolite or even rude. It is used only between friends very intimate from childhood, and for very junior members of the family and for young servants, or when addressing a second person in anger or deliberate disrespect.

Both *aku* and *engkau* are very rude if used to superiors and older persons, and even between equals or by a superior to his subordinates, unless the two are specially intimate or familiar friends from their childhood days, or the seniority in age on the part of the superior is very great. However, in invoking God *aku*, *engkau*, and *-mu* (from *kamu*) are always used as He is above all these artificial human relations.

(3) *Hamba*, meaning 'slave' is used for *saya* (1st person) only in certain dialects such as that of Kelantan and Minangkabau (Sumatra). In this use it conveys exactly the same degree of politeness as *saya*.

The corresponding words for the second person in Kelantan, are also the same as those corresponding to *saya*. But in the Minangkabau dialect the second person is *engkū*, which in Malaya is used only to address persons of royal descent.

In most parts of Malaya *hamba* is used with some additional word according to the particular class of the nobility to which the person addressed belongs, e.g.

hamba datok (meaning 'the chief's slave' = I) used when speaking to a titled or territorial chief not of royal birth, who is styled *datok* which means chief or grandfather.

hamba habib (meaning 'slave of the loved one' = I) when speaking to a true and respectable descendant of the Prophet known as a *Syed*, which means 'lord or master'. Such a person is always affectionately addressed by Malays as *Habib*, an Arabic word which means "the dearly loved."

hamba engku or *hamba têngku* (meaning 'the prince's slave' = I), used in Johore and sometimes in Pahang as pronouns of the first person when speaking to persons of royal blood,—*h. engku* to those who are distant relatives of the reigning royal family, and *h. têngku* to the very near

relatives, e.g. children, brothers, sisters. The corresponding second person is of course *engkū* or *tengkū* which means "prince." (Sometimes prominent *syeds* also are addressed as *engkū* or *tengkū* instead of *habib*, and so *hamba engkū* or *hamba tengkū* is also used for the first person when speaking to them. In Perak the four major commoner chiefs are also addressed as *Tengkū*, and accordingly *hamba tengkū* is used for the corresponding first person).

(4) *Patek* (meaning 'humble slave' = I) is generally used by Malays in most parts of the Peninsula for "I" (first person) when speaking in Malay to a *raja*, that is, a person of royal blood, whether he is the reigning Sultan himself or only a distant descendant of some royal house.

This is only a general statement of the correct practice. It is not uniform throughout Malaya. In Johore and to some extent in Pahang also, the use of *patek* is reserved only for speaking to the Sultan and his immediate prospective heirs, e.g. his children. For the rest of the 'royal' race *hamba tengkū* is used when speaking to the first grade princes, i.e. those most closely related to the ruling house; and *hamba engkū* when speaking to the second grade or those more distantly related.

The second person corresponding to *patek* are:

tuankū (meaning 'my lord'), for the reigning Sultan, and his consort if installed and of royal blood. And in Perak, for the three highest *rajas* after the Sultan also, namely the *Raja Muda* who is the heir-apparent, and the next two in the line of succession—the *Raja Bēndahara* and *Raja di-Hilir*. In Kelantan, for the *Raja Kēlantan* who is the heir-apparent to the Sultan.

Tengkū, for other princes of the highest rank or first grade *rajas* as mentioned above.

engkū, for *rajas* of the second grade or more distant relation of the reigning Sultan.

(5) *Kami*, *kita*, *beta*: all three meaning generally 'we'. But the first properly implies *I* + he (or + *they*); the second *I* + *you*; and the third, originally meaning 'your servant' in Sanskrit (i.e. *I*), has come to mean in Malay more or less 'I of noble rank' and used as the royal 'we'.

(i) *Kami* is used for both singular and plural, meaning 'I alone, or 'I + he or they' according to the context. If the plural sense is to be made definitely clear, a word like *sēmuā* (shortened in Perak into *ma*) or *sakalian*, both meaning 'all', is added to it

making it *Kami sēmua* or *Kami sakalian*. There is no special sense of politeness attached to it nor any sense of impoliteness. It is just a familiar and neutral term.

The second person corresponding to it is *kamu*, *awak*, or the personal name of the person addressed, or *Che* + the personal name, or *tuan*, — which are in ascending order of politeness. And if the plural sense is intended for the second person, the word *sēmua* or *sakalian* is added as above.

Some (Malay) royalty when speaking to their Malay subjects always use *kami* as the royal 'we'. But more often they use *saya* only, especially if speaking to foreigners or to respectable Malays with whom they are not very familiar.

(ii) *Kita* is always used among the common people in the plural sense of 'I + you', and only rarely does one hear it used for the singular. But it is also often used as the royal 'we', and is the common term used by Malay newspapers for the editorial 'we'.

As the royal 'we' it is used usually in written epistles from a Malay ruler to a member of foreign nobility or to representatives of a foreign power; it is also employed in documents bearing the royal signature and seal. The second person, if used for a foreigner, is always *sahabat kita* which means 'our friend'.

(iii) *Beta*: This is specially reserved for use by a reigning Sultan or some high-ranking member of the royalty when referring to himself in letters to his equals or to the Chief Ministers. It is also found used in the same way in Malay classical literature. It is not used in ordinary conversation to-day.

The words for the second person corresponding to *beta* are, if formally and in letters, *sahabat beta* which also means 'our friend'; or if familiarly, and in the sense of endearment as in old Malay romances, *tuun* or some terms of fictitious relationship.

(6) No particular words are used for the third person to mark rank or degree of politeness. This is because the third person is presumed to be normally absent when the first and second persons speaking refer to him in their discussion.

Dia and *-nya* (he, his, him, she, her) are the third person words for everybody; and if clearness is desired as to who is meant, then the respective 'second person' words for the individual meant are used as 'third person' words referring to him or her; that is:

tuanku for a Sultan (and *tuanku* + his *title*, for the other three principal rajas in Perak).

těngku and *ěngku* for other persons of royal blood.

habib, or *habib so and so* for a Syed: (*Sharifah* or *Sharifah so and so* if feminine).

tuan or *tuan so and so*, for a foreign superior, and for a learned religious teacher.

énche', for any respectable Malay gentleman or lady who is far senior to the speaker in age and respectability or far superior in social position.

Che' so and so, for any Malay more or less the speaker's equal, and familiar with him.

Some term of relationship such as *abang* (elder brother), *ayah* (father) etc., for such relations of the speaker.

Such term of relationship, real or fictitious, plus the personal name, (e.g. *Abang Mat*) when special affectionateness is meant to be conveyed as between the speaker or the second person and that third person.

The proper name only without prefixing *Che'* or any term of relationship, when the third person is very familiar to both the speakers, or when he is very much the speaker's junior or inferior.

si + proper name, when it is meant to be derogatory or even contemptuous to that person. Quite often too this form is used when referring to one's junior or inferior or even one's equal merely to express familiarity with no derogatory sense in anyway. However, if used to refer to a superior or to any one senior in age or position it can have no other meaning than that of being derogatory.

Malays are always careful to use these various terms of address correctly with the proper persons and on the proper occasions. Incorrect use of them may cause offence, the fault being reckoned as an act of churlish rudeness or crass ignorance.

Finally it is useful to note that when addressing a crowd or an assembly of audience, the phrase *Enche'2 dan Tuan2* (literally, Gentlemen and Masters, including ladies) is often used irrespective of the ranks of the people present. The only exception is when the Sultan himself is there, in which case obeisance is first made to him before proceeding. Nevertheless, it is not unusual to hear some meticulous speakers begin their address by exhausting the list proper to the occasion, such as *Tuan2* (or *Duli Yang Maha Mulia*), *tengku2*, *datok2*, *énche'2 dan tuan2* and so on.

Tuan2 dan Nyonya2 (Gentlemen and Madams), a form which comes from Indonesia, is also occasionally used, though in Malaya the word *nyonya*, meaning 'lady', is only reserved for Chinese ladies.

both married and unmarried. In Indonesia, however, it is used for all married ladies of any nationality, and *nona* for all unmarried ladies.

In a mixed audience of Malays and Europeans *Mem2 dan Tuan2* (Ladies and gentlemen) is usually used when many Europeans of both sexes are present.

8.—Speaking to Superiors

It may be observed that a Malay when meeting or speaking to a Sultan always begins by raising his hand to his forehead with the palms together and fingers stretching straight outwards. So, too, though not necessarily when he expresses assent or when answering to any remarks by the Sultan. It is an unwritten rule of court etiquette to do so. In Perak, the three principal *rajas* below the Sultan are also given this form of obeisance—only with the hands raised lower to a level below the forehead, above the nose, and below the nose respectively.

This form of obeisance to the Malay Ruler is observed in all the Malay States, except Johore which has abolished it for some considerable time as an antiquated custom.

In general intercourse, when speaking to a chief or official superior, a Malay always assumes an attitude of quiet respect, especially if the superior is one with whom he is not yet quite familiar. It is, for example, considered disrespectful to speak to a superior with arms akimbo, that is with the hands pressed on the hips and elbows turned out (*běrchěkak pinggang*)—an attitude generally thought of having been copied from low class Europeans and symbolic of European arrogance and haughtiness. Nor is it good manners to speak in a loud voice to a superior, and for that matter to an elderly man or to a guest. It is also rude for the manner of speaking to be snappish or irritated.

To a high superior an attitude of semi-prayer, with the head rather bowed and the hands gathered in front opposite the middle, is the most polite if standing. If sitting down, however, whether on a chair or squatting on a mat which is often the case for an ordinary Malay, the hands are gathered on the lap while the body is inclined slightly towards the superior.

9.—Conversation

When conversing with any one, it is bad manners to speak in an unnecessarily loud voice. It amounts to shouting at the person addressed or to suggesting that he is hard of hearing. And shouting is generally expressive of anger or impatience, while presuming a person to be deaf is itself impolite.

Some people have the bad habit of speaking loudly and boisterously, of expressing themselves in a raised voice as if in anger even though the person they are speaking to is right under their nose. For instance, when they do not hear distinctly something said to them by a companion close by their side, they enquire by shouting out "Eh!" or "Ha!" as though they are trying to scare the speaker. A Malay regards this manner of speaking as little short of insulting, and the person doing so nothing less than a fool.

Similarly in town or in office when speaking on the telephone such a person cannot keep his voice low, so that he disturbs other people working around him. To a Malay, as to every well-mannered gentlemen of any race, this is again bad manners, very irritating in its effect owing to the lack of consideration displayed.

Another very disagreeable piece of bad manners in the eyes of a Malay is for a person to break suddenly into the middle of other people's conversation without first excusing himself, or to cut in abruptly with remarks on another topic before that being discussed is well through. To a Malay, the person thus interrupting deserves a slap in the face. The proper thing to do according to the dictates of good manners is to listen to the conversation quietly if such is permitted, that is if it is a subject of general interest and not a secret or of a private nature. Wait till one speaker is finished, and then join in politely. If, however, for some very urgent reason it is absolutely necessary to break in abruptly, one must excuse oneself with proper apologies before making the interruption, such as *ma'afkan saya tompang b'rchakap*, i.e. excuse me interrupting or joining in.

Again, it is bad manners to monopolise the whole or most of the conversation, giving little chance to the other people to have their say. A Malay who does so is carefully shunned, unless he is an entertaining or instructive speaker whose witticisms are always enjoyed or whose discourse always appreciated as being informative or edifying. Otherwise, in any company he will be looked upon by every one present as an intolerable bore.

An argumentative manner of speaking carried to the point of heat and rudeness, as though one is trying to force one's point of view down the other's throat, is also bad manners. A well-mannered Malay always states his view quietly as merely his own personal opinion, and he does that in such a way as to show that he is not trying to impose that opinion upon his listeners. If he does it otherwise it will not be surprising if he gets a cold scornful look, a frank snub, or even a sharp rebuke from his hearers.

Another offence to be avoided in conversation is to speak too much of one's self and one's own affairs. To be continually referring to one's own work and worries without being asked to do

so is annoying to any listener; and to mention on every possible occasion one's own attainments, what great things one has done or intends to do, what wonderful little antics and mischiefs one's own children are always up to, how good and cultured one's own family is, and so on and so forth, is certainly a mark of the unconscious boaster. It is a form of selfishness which is nauseating to everybody except the speaker. And a Malay generally puts it down to bad breeding.

Self-praise and boasting is always detested by all sensible people of any race or nationality. But to a Malay it is generally a sign of low breeding, and the boaster is looked upon with amused scorn and pity. "I write the best hand in all this city, you know?" a certain boastful young man said one day; and again "Let any translator into my language compete with me and I'll show that I am the ablest!" This particular young man was not a Malay. His Malay listener only smiled to hear him, remarking inwardly, "What a fool you are!" To the Malay mind, even if the claim is perfectly true, it is not seemly to shout it out to the world and in such a brazen-face manner. A Malay would prefer to be reserved in all such matters of personal merit and would leave it to others to judge of his ability from the result of his actual work. In his view, it is the estimate formed of him by others that is of real value, not his own estimate of himself.

Of a piece with this, and classified by Malays also as bad manner in conversation, is the conscious attempt on the part of a speaker to impress the listeners with his own importance. To dwell or lay special stress on one's own academic qualification, the brilliant career one had at school or College while still at a tender age, the high company one is keeping, the amount one is spending daily on kitchen marketing alone, and so on, is against the canon of good breeding. Such is not the Malay way, and a boaster of that kind among Malays can usually be found to have foreign blood in his veins.

With the real Malay, self-depreciation is a key-note of politeness and good manners. "Follow the way of the *padi* (rice)," says one of his proverbs, "the more seeds you have the more bowed your head is". "Do not follow the way of the maize (Indian-corn)," the same proverb continues, "the more seeds it has the more haughtily upright it stands!" To him it is not the academic degree or the high standard one has got through in school or College that matters, but the action, the doing, the ability to make use of life properly and to produce or accomplish some great result of enduring usefulness to others, some superior work which few other people can do. If the boasting University man is unable to do some such great thing, he is not of much use after all.

Some people, too, are fond of showing off whatever little scrap of knowledge they have, and pretend as if they know everything under the sun. A person of this kind would have nothing unknown to him in the world. He has had experience of everything, always claims to know a good deal about anything, and is ever eager to impart to you some knowledge on any subject even if you never care to learn from him. If you talk about the art of boxing, for example, to be sure he knows all about it: and would start at once expounding to you that such and such is the correct way of dealing out the various kinds of punches and blows, although he himself has never been a boxer. If you have some knowledge of French, he will come to you and begin to bring out the few French words he happens to know and start telling you how promising he was in the study of French when at school!

All this is not the Malay way. To the real Malay, as to every sober-minded person, such behaviour is disgusting to the last degree. Sooner or later he would snub the all-knowing braggart and put him in his proper place. A Malay would keep his knowledge to himself, whether he be an artisan, a mechanic, a musician, a scholar or something else. Even if he is an expert in his line he will never say so or claim that he knows much about it. Not he himself but other people will talk of his special ability, and in that way he comes to be known everywhere. As for himself he would rather go on assuming the humble ways of a student and learn more, than put on the airs of teacher in all things.

10.—Snobbishness

Malays regard snobbishness as a form of bad manners on a large scale—and also the result of bad breeding. The snob's behaviour, ideas, and outlook in life are generally ruled by his inordinate desire to be considered socially superior, or by his eagerness to bask in the brilliant sunshine of the high and the great. This attitude often leads him to infringe the rules of refined conduct in society.

For instance, a snob is fond of trying to appear as the special friend or favourite of those in high places. He has an exaggerated idea about the importance of birth, wealth, rank and position. He imitates the ways of the wealthy or the nobility. He prides himself on his occasional association or casual acquaintance with members of the upper classes, or on his being a protégé of some "big men." He tells his friends, for instance, that he knows this and that "big man", is specially friendly with such and such high officials, and has often been invited to dine by one or other of them.

One also sees him pushing himself forward on all possible occasions in the scramble for position and honour, for applause and recognition. He makes himself conspicuous when in the presence of

some high personage and takes every opportunity to be taken notice of by such a personage. If he is not taken notice of, he keeps on hovering around, passing and re-passing in front of the "big man" in order to be noticed, or to have the chance of being introduced. He even makes a noise sometimes or speaks loudly or bustles about unnecessarily to attract people's attention to himself. In short, he would do all sorts of childish things to get into contact with such "big men", to be near them, to speak to them, or be spoken to by them, in order to appear to the onlookers that he is, or means to be, a special favourite with them. Once he gets into contact with these men of rank, he tries to ingratiate himself with them by giving them servile attention and showing needless solicitude about their needs and comforts.

All this kind of snobbery is contrary to the Malay rules of good manners, just as it is to similar rules among other peoples. It impresses the ordinary Malay as a manifestation of the slave mentality, and the person displaying it is held in despire secretly.

Then there are others of this snob type who set a standard as to who should be their friends and associates and who should not. They accept as such only people of their own station in life and higher, and regard all others as beneath them and quite unfit to be associated with in friendly intercourse. Frequently they even disdain to cast a glance at such low class people when passing them on the road. On the other hand, they welcome the least chance of getting acquainted with those higher than themselves. They readily claim relationship or kinship with any distant cousins who have made good in life, or attained to high position, wealth or fame, and they take pride in proclaiming that relationship to any one coming into contact with them. But truly close relatives, if poor and undistinguished, are ignored.

It is true that snobs are found among all peoples and nationalities and equally despised everywhere. It is also true that this sort of behaviour belongs rather to the province of ethics than of manners. But among Malays the characteristics of the snobs are attributed largely to lack of what is called "good breeding",—i.e. the proper atmosphere of social upbringing and education by parents at home in early childhood to make the true gentleman.

11.—Sycophancy and Similar Faults.

Other forms of behaviour, which are actually rather faults of character than of manners, though vaguely classed by Malays in the same category with bad manners, include such ways of conduct as sycophancy or the tendency to indulge in flattery, a cringing attitude towards superiors, arrogance and haughtiness to inferiors, officiousness and fondness of minding other people's business, the habit of prying into other people's private affairs, of eaves-dropping

on their secrets or of opening their letters for instance, and a too pronounced personal vanity.

But as these are fundamentally faults of character more than they are faults of manners, and are moreover universally condemned by all people and not by Malays alone, we leave them out of discussion here.

Sycophancy is called in Malay *tabi'at suka mēngangkat* or *suka mēngampu* (literally fond of lifting people up) meaning to flatter, or *mēmuji bērhadapan* "praising face to face". It is intended in the first place to please the person thus flattered and thereby win his favour. But very often instead of pleasing, it results in causing him unnecessary embarrassment and inward displeasure. And even if it does not do this, the flattery is always felt both by the one flattered and by the others present, however mild or subtle it may be. Consequently, the flatterer is much disliked and his sincerity in anything that he does is always doubted.

12.—Turning one's back on any one.

This is really another act of bad manners according to Malay customs, if it is done purposely and without any real necessity while the person to whom it is done is sitting or standing near in the same place. It is especially bad to do it if the person we turn our back on is our elder or superior.

In fact, even Malays of the highest social standing do not purposely turn their back towards any one, even their inferior, when speaking to him or spoken to by him. According to Malay etiquette, to do so is more than rudeness; for it is an attitude that can only mean or suggest a contemptuous disregard for that person, an implied ignoring of his presence—a way of intentionally affronting or slighting him. Such an action is only in place when one is really on very bad terms with a person and regard him as a hated enemy.

For instance, two persons hating each other and continually talking ill of each other, unexpectedly meet at a friend's party. One of them, who is already sitting there when the other arrives, would change the direction of his sitting and face another side or completely turn his back upon the new arrival. This means that he does not care even to look at that hated face, much less to speak to the owner of it. If the situation becomes intolerable he would even rise and go to look for another seat elsewhere to relieve the strained atmosphere.

The correct thing to do, when sitting or standing near some person or persons with whom one is not particularly familiar as friends is that the sitting must be face to face with him or in the

same line with him facing more or less the same direction. If while you are sitting some one who is your equal or senior comes up and sits somewhere nearby towards your back, you must at once change the direction of your seat, making it to be in the same line with his and facing the same direction; or else face him right round if something is to be spoken to start a conversation.

On the other hand, if you are obliged for some reason or other to sit or stand with your back towards a person who is a stranger or not very familiar to you, it is best to offer him some polite apology such as "*Minta ma'af, saya mēmbēlakang sahaja!*" "Please pardon me, I am sitting with my back towards you."

Exception to this rule is only permissible if the seats are so arranged that the front rows have their backs towards those behind such as in the theatre or a stadium. In this case, of course, no idea of bad manners or impoliteness enters into the question.

Similarly there is nothing wrong if the sitting is arranged back to back such as is done sometimes at a Malay banquet where large numbers of guests have to be accommodated.

13.—Passing in front of Other People

When passing in front of other people, especially superiors, elders or strangers, sitting in a row on the mats, one has to walk with the knee slightly bent and the body bowed a little, and the right hand stretched to the floor as if to open a passage while at the same time the face showing an apologetic expression. If there is a long line of such people sitting or even standing in front of whom one has to pass, this attitude of bowed walking should be adopted all the way, and if need be should be accompanied with a verbal apology, *Minta ma'af, saya mēnom pang lalu.* "Excuse me, I beg leave to pass in front of you."

Any one failing to do this would be considered lacking in manners.

Otherwise, where it is possible to pass behind them, then by all means one should do so, and avoid passing in front. In that case, it is not necessary to walk with the bowed-and-hand-stretched-down attitude or to apologise, unless the persons in the row turn to look behind.

14.—Passing Things Over Another Person's Head

When one has to pass something over the heads of other people who are sitting, there being no other way to pass it from one side to another, one must always apologise to the person or persons concerned by saying, *Tabek sahaja-lah saya* "Only please accept my respects and apologies," or *Minta ma'af saya* "I crave your pardon," "Please excuse me."

It is unmannerly not to do this, however young or inferior the person concerned is as long as he is a grown-up and a stranger. With a familiar person who is younger or inferior there is, of course, no need to apologise; but a warning is necessary, so that he may look out lest the object passed over his head should by accident drop on top of him.

A quaint joke to frighten children not to sit in the way when servers are busy carrying out trays and dishes or clearing them out at a Malay feast is to tell them that children over whose heads trays have passed will never grow to a man's stature!

15.—Spitting, Expectorating and Blowing the Nose

To Malay ideas spitting, expectorating, and blowing the nose—all admittedly a bad habit—are only objectionable when in the company of superiors or strangers, or when at meal in company. Expectorating and blowing the nose are considered most objectionable if done when other people are having their meals even if they are one's inferiors, juniors and familiars; and naturally the action is much more to be condemned when the people at meals are one's superiors, elders, or strangers.

Usually spitting, if deliberately done with a certain amount of force and impatience and accompanied with an angry irritated look, is an emphatic expression of hatred and contempt for a person present or absent, even if nothing is said or spoken to that effect. And spitting at a person or in his face is, in Malay eyes, one of the worst insults that can be done to him. So, according to Malay rule of manners, a Malay must always be careful not to do any spitting that could even in the remotest way be interpreted as slights or intentional show of disrespect to the people near him. When a Malay in company finds himself under an absolute necessity to spit—as for instance during fasting when some people believe that even the spittle may not be swallowed—he must be careful to do so in as quiet and unobtrusive a manner as possible with regard to the company present.

Expectoration if done artificially and in a forced manner also falls in the same category, with the bad meaning intensified. Even if it is due to a really natural and uncontrollable physical cause, it is always disliked in a company, and one who is constrained to expectorate because of cold or coughing must, in all cases, excuse himself first and then detach himself from the company to do it quietly by himself.

Blowing the nose is never taken to suggest any ill-meaning. But it is discouraged and in fact regarded as a form of bad manners when in company. The European habit of blowing one's nose into a handkerchief is highly disapproved, being considered dirty. It

is far more preferable to a Malay to blow his nose on to some place of dirt such as the drain, the rubbish heap, or the road side. It is done by closing one of the nostrils, blowing the other hard, and then wiping it with a handkerchief.

Some people have the bad habit of catching the running from their nose in their fingers and rubbing it on to walls, railings, or the edges of tables and chairs, or even to their clothings. This is, of course, very bad and condemned by all Malay code of conduct. Such offenders usually belong to the unenlightened and unrefined classes of society. The idea of the possible spreading of disease germs, tuberculosis, etc. through indiscriminate spitting never entered the calculation of the average Malay until quiet recent years as the result of Medical Dept. propaganda and hygiene instruction in the schools.

16.—Passing Water Standing or in Public

It is always regarded as being against the requirements of common decency, more particularly among Malays of the kampong side, to pass water standing. So much is this the case that the idea has crystallised into a very well-known proverb about the ill-behaved teacher and the "improvements" made by his pupils upon his example. It runs, *Guru kěnching běrdiri, murid kěnching běrlari*, that is, "If the teacher passes water standing, the pupils will pass water running."

This prejudice is the result of conditions and habits engendered by the peculiar style of clothing Malays are accustomed to in their social and religious life. The whole idea behind it is cleanliness and is based on the religious injunction to be always scrupulously clean in matters of personal and bodily toilet when performing the daily prayers. A standing posture in passing water does not conduce to this, nor facilitate washing without soiling the lower parts of the limbs and clothings by the resulting sprays. The posture dictated by custom is therefore to squat with the legs folded and buttocks not touching the ground (*měnchangkong*), pass water and wash.

But in the towns and cities where most people go about for work or for pleasure wearing non-Malay forms of trousers during the greater part of the day and night, and where only facilities for the standing posture are available except at the mosque, this rule has had generally to be disregarded. Moreover, in the cities only the more religious regularly observe the daily prayers. The rest, therefore, do not trouble themselves very much if now and then their lower garment gets tainted with the slight drops and sprays.

However, if passing water standing is, in Malay eyes, a breach of decent manners, doing it on the roadside or in the open in full

view of the passing public is a worse offence against his sense of decency. To him it is always a mark of low breeding or low origin for a Malay to do so, and one very seldom sees a Malay even of the coolie class doing it, unless it is at some lonely part of the road away from human habitation. Even so, he does it behind some cover, some bushes or scrubs or long grass—anything that affords some sort of privacy—where he is not fully seen.

17.—Dress and Covering Immodest Parts of the Body.

To dress in such a way as not to cover the 'immodest' parts of the body is another "sin" against the unwritten rules of Malay propriety. According to Malay ideas, following the rules of Islam, the immodest part of the body *for a man* comprises all the area between the navel and the knees; and *for a woman* the whole of her body and limbs except the face, hands and feet. These parts must always be covered in public and in all ordinary intercourse with fellow-men and during prayers. Their exposure to strange eyes is strictly and religiously forbidden.

Some religious fanatics even object to the use of shorts open at the knee, because such form of dress often leaves a part of the lower thigh exposed to view, and so gives offence to pious eyes.

In the privacy of one's own home and among members of the family, there are exceptions limiting this general rule for the respective sexes among themselves and in their contact with the opposite sex. But even in that case the sense of modesty remains strong.

Thus even in the privacy of the bath-room it is at least theoretically forbidden to strip oneself completely naked when washing the body. 'The angels refuse to look in and bless a bath-room where such a thing is practised.' When a guest stays overnight during a visit, the bath-room is always provided with a *kain basahan* ("cloth for wetting") in the form of a clean old *sarong* or plain *chukin* (calico towel), to be used not as wiping or drying towel but for covering the forbidden parts during the bath.

This practice of wearing the 'bathing suit' or bathing costume as it were, is strictly observed if the bath happens to be in an open place, such as a road-side pipe stand or the family wells in the *kampong* which are often only indifferently sheltered from view. But the 'bathing suit' must cover the immodest parts, and for a woman not only that but must also hide the outline of her figure and form. The real bathing suit worn by European ladies is of course immodest in itself and held by Malays in horror.

In the extreme of anger and contempt, the worst form of insult that one can offer to any Malay of the opposite sex is purposely to

uncover to him or her the private parts and calling his or her attention to the exhibits. Such an action amounts to saying to him or her: "That face of yours is equivalent in dignity to this shameful part of mine!"

18.—Special Prejudice against Dogs and Pigs

For foreigners who are non-Muslims it is always advisable to know that dogs and pigs are objects of particular abhorrence to the Malays. Many of the ordinary Malay's scruples in connection with food, cooking, and washing done by foreigners, the bringing of dogs into the house and in a car, and other similar things in his social contact with the non-Muslim foreigner, are ruled by this prejudice.

However, his repulsion is not so strong in the case of dogs as of pigs. He does sometimes keep dogs to watch the house and for the purposes of wild game hunting, though his treatment of them being purely utilitarian is more as slaves than as pets. He likes any good healthy dog, especially one that has been taught to understand and behave loveably like human beings. He would have liked to pat and fondle such a dog if he could: but his respect for popular opinion and for the ingrained prejudice of his friends against such action prevents him from doing so. As for the pig, on the contrary, he detests even to touch it, however clean, sleek, tame and domesticated the animal is.

Both animals, however, are equally regarded as unclean, the mere touch of which, if wet, would necessitate the special washing known as *sértu* (i.e. disinfecting wash) ordained by religion. This consists of washing six times with water in which clean earth has been kneaded and mixed, and the seventh washing with plain pure water. The uncleanness is much more repellent if it is from any secretions of these two animals—their saliva, perspiration, urine and excrements, and of course their flesh, usually pork. A Malay, and in fact all Muslims, always abhor pork as food and will on no account eat it knowingly. To say nothing of eating or even touching it, the mere sight of pork, ham or bacon is enough to nauseate him.

This particular prejudice against the two animals has a religious basis in Islam, which in several places in the Koran plainly cites the flesh of swine among other things as unclean food, and in a saying of the Prophet indirectly implies that the dog is an unclean animal. The dogs in the starving Arabian Desert were and have always been dirty, mangy, and sickly, emaciated brutes such as are known elsewhere to-day as "pariah dogs". Accordingly, the objection against the dog has been maintained from the early days on these hygienic grounds. But the pigs were worse, and have in addition very ugly appearance and much more filthy ways and habits. So,

believing that man's moral and spiritual qualities follow to a great extent the nature of the animals or vegetables he takes as food, building his body and blood, on, can easily see why pork, the meat of swine, has been expressly listed among the prohibited articles of food in Islam.

However, the Malay's aversion for pork as food, like that of all Muslims, has become rather more of an inherited and instinctive repugnance than one solely due to respect for religious injunction. Many Malays take without qualms or compunctions other things equally prohibited such as wine, and do many other things worse than the eating of pork and more severely condemned by their religion. And yet where pork is concerned every one of them becomes particularly pious.

As to the dogs, the Koran itself has no mention of any objection against them. So even from the very early days of Islam there have been Sects dissenting from the general attitude, giving the interpretation that dogs are not all so horribly unclean: only the saliva and such other internal secretions are so. Among the early doctors who held this view was Imam Malik b. Anas (715-795 A.D.) founder of the Maliki persuasion, one of the four orthodox schools of thought in Muhammadan canon law. But Malays do not belong to such sects, and so almost without exception they all hold the dog as unclean, only slightly less so than the pigs.

Accordingly, the words "dog" (*anjing*) and "pig" (*babi*) which are very common terms of abuse in most languages, even of the West, have acquired a more objectionable connotation as such in the Malay language. A Malay is always careful not to use these terms in scolding or rebuking a wrong-doer unless he is very angry and ready for a fight. If on the other hand he himself is called a dog or a pig he will "see red" at once and will, if he can, commit violence on his reviler to show that he is not such an animal.

19.—Relations and Mutual Attitude between the Sexes.

In accordance with their religious precepts and their strong sense of decency, Malays always regard it as violation of propriety to behave too familiarly with the opposite sex. The two sexes are generally more or less segregated; there is no free mingling between them except when they are very close relations and friends. Any tendency to such free mingling outside this limit is highly disapproved of and discouraged.

Even husbands and wives seldom walk or go out together unless it is absolutely necessary and in a strange place. Only among the more modernised young people who are fond of aping the West is this rule beginning to be slackened. The old-fashioned folk still keep on to the traditional ways and customs. Accordingly one

often sees, especially in town, the younger women coming out for shopping at night in company or groups all by themselves, with one or two elderly ladies as chaperons and perhaps an elderly man, their nearest relation, as guard and protector. Similarly when going out to see the pictures, the operas, and other amusements, they come out in groups by themselves. Otherwise, if only a husband and his wife form the company it is considered more seemly if they take with them at least a child to show that they are husband and wife. Only husbands and wives more or less influenced by the modern ways often dispense with this rule and go together alone by themselves.

In the up-country districts there are places where one sees a greater degree of freedom in the social movement and relations between men and women, such as in the interior of Malacca, Negri Sembilan and in Kelantan. This is because in the case of the first two, the people are influenced by the traditions of their more free Minangkabau ancestors, who were among the early settlers there; and in the case of Kelantan they have been influenced perhaps by Thai (Siamese) example. But in Kedah, Selangor, Johore, Pahang and the coastal districts of all the other places, the general rule holds good with only varying degrees of strictness. Among the Malays of Arab and Indian Muslim extraction in Singapore and Penang the custom of female seclusion and segregation is most rigidly observed.

Intimate behaviour or a display of amatory conduct in public even between husbands and wives is a flagrant breach of decorum in Malay eyes. It is only fit for the fallen women of the street and they equally degraded patrons among the men. Otherwise, endearments and amative behaviour are reserved for the seclusion of the lovers' bower or for the privacy of the bed-room. Such actions as walking close side by side with the opposite sex, holding each other's hand endearingly when meeting, kissing good bye when parting, placing one's arm around the lady's waist when walking or ascending the stairs, playful jokes and flirtations, etc., as is the custom among the Europeans and Eurasians, make the uninitiated among the Malay onlookers blush and feel scandalised. If the parties doing so are husband and wife, he thinks it highly insolent to behave thus in public; if they are not husband and wife, he can never believe the two to be other than unchaste in their relations with each other.

An amusing but true story of what actually happened is told of a middle-aged Malay lady of the *kampong* who, not long before the Japanese occupation, was taken by her grown-up children to see the talkies at a picture house in Kuala Lumpur. She had never been to the pictures all her life. When the kissing and love-making scene, so much enjoyed by all the youngsters, appeared on the screen, this lady suddenly burst out cursing and spitting her

disgust amidst the stillness of the large audience all around her, to the great mortification of her children who had a hard job to keep her silent.

Thus, generally speaking, the correct relations and attitude between the two sexes as observed by Malays are patterned on the best traditions of the East. In common with all Eastern peoples and in accord with the spirit of their own religious precepts, their standard of conduct as between men and women is based on the idea of modesty on the part of the woman and of solicitude for her safety and honour on the part of the man. Woman is, so to speak, the sacred treasure and man the guardian protector and supporter—not as the West has so often charged the East with, that woman is regarded as a mere plaything, chattel and slave, and man the lord and master—though abuse has corrupted that pure ideal as it has corrupted many other ideals in human relations.

In the ordinary business of life the Malay man and woman regard and treat each other as equal partners. The only difference recognised is that men are the stronger of the two physically, and women the more delicate and refined. They each have a different part to play, different social duties and different spheres of action, each complementary to the other. The Koran says: "The women (wives) have rights against the men (the husbands) just the same as the rights (which men have) against them, with fairness" (II; 228); and "The women are (as) garments to cover you (men), and you are (as) garments to cover them" (II: 187); and, "The men are a degree above them (the women)" (II: 228); and "Men are protectors over (maintainers of) women on account of what God has given of superior qualities to some of them over the others (women), and on account of what they spend of their wealth (for the women)." (IV:34); and the Prophet says "Paradise lies under the feet of mothers." These are among the religious directions which regulate the Malays' attitude towards their women.

As is the common instinct among most Eastern people everywhere, mothers, sisters, wives and daughters, both one's own and those of others, are treated with respectful modesty and bashfulness by the men. The mothers, sisters, daughters and wives of friends and relatives, to say nothing of one's own, are jealously guarded liberties of any kind taken with them by others are intensely resented. Very often such taking of liberties with their women have led the Malay men to free fights and broken heads if not to more serious consequences.

It is, therefore, always considered *the* proper thing to do to avoid showing familiarity or taking liberties with the ladies, even in jokes. Respectful nods and bows are all that is needed when meeting acquaintances of the opposite sex or when introduced to

them. But on the street even such marks of cordiality are not shown. One simply pretends not to see the other, and passes on quietly.

20.—Concluding Notes

It is only fair to add that, like the conventions, customs, and prejudices of other peoples most of which naturally applies only to the natives themselves, those which have been described here are the rules of manners among the Malay people, apply, strictly speaking, only to the Malays. A foreigner is not expected to know or observe any except the most obvious and common-sense ones. Otherwise, he is never taken to task for any breach of these "unwritten rules" unless he has made himself as one of the Malays by intermarriage or by adoption, or at any rate by long and constant association with Malays. Even a foreigner who has become conversant with Malay ways and customs by study or long sojourn but not mixing freely with Malays are exempt from observing the more peculiarly native rules of conduct.

A Malay guilty of any form of bad manners is described rather abusively as *kurang ajar* (literally, 'not sufficiently taught by his mother'), meaning actually ill-bred, not brought up in the atmosphere of good breeding, boorish, impertinent; or *ta' tahu adat* (literally, 'ignorant of customs') meaning ill-mannered, lacking in good breeding; or *bi-adab* meaning without manners, lacking politeness, discourteous. All these epithets imply objectionable conduct and the qualities of bad breeding. However, if a foreigner is guilty of any such breach, especially if he or she is a new arrival or is honestly ignorant of Malay manners, he is only described as *ta' tahu bahasa* which means 'not knowing the language (of good manners)', and is readily tolerated and excused, even though in the case of very gross breaches he is regarded perhaps with a slight feeling of pity. *Ta' tahu bahasa* is a mild form of saying *ta' tahu adat*. But *kurang ajar* is a very strong term amounting to something like an abuse.

An incident is on record in the *Sējarah Mēlayu* (Malay Annals) which illustrates this tolerance in the old Malacca of 1509. The captain of the first Portuguese flotilla to visit that Malay port called on the Bendahara, the Chief Minister of State under Sultan Mahmud Shah, last Sultan of Malacca, and presented him with a gold neck chain. Instead of simply handing the present to the venerable Minister, the captain who of course did not know Malay volunteered to put it round the Minister's neck by passing it *over his head*. This was gross disrespect, unintentional though it be—a violation of one of the cardinal rules of Malay good manners. The Minister's attendants and friends present were greatly enraged to see such slighting action; all wanted to castigate the ill-mannered

foreigner on the spot, each having his hand on the hilt of his ever-ready *këris*. But the Bendahara gently calmed them down saying, "Never mind! He knows not our manners." (*Biarkan; dia ta' tahu bahasa*).

Similarly at the present day when a foreigner not knowing the customs does anything in contravention of any of the unwritten rules, he is always treated with good-natured tolerance. For instance, one of the most impolite attitudes in sitting is to stretch the legs in front (*bërlunjor*) when squatting on the floor or mat while some one else is present. And worse still if when sitting on a chair, the legs are stretched forward on to the table, as some office *tuans* have been observed to do sometimes in the presence of their Malay subordinates. Not even the highest Malay superior or even the Sultan would sit *bërlunjor* in the presence of any one, even his humblest servant, especially if older than himself, without being considered coarse and ill-mannered. As for the "leg-on-table" attitude, not even an aged Malay father or grandfather would do it in the presence of his children or grandchildren. To the Malay mind it is very bad manners.

And yet it is not infrequently done, presumably in ignorance, by certain foreign "bosses" in the presence of Malay clerks or other native subordinates whom they appear to look down upon as very far below them, and the latter simply say nothing. In fact some of the subordinates even imitate the example when in the presence of their own juniors or inferiors! Thus, one way how they become corrupted in their manners through the influence of foreign example.

However, if the breach is committed knowingly or purposely repeated after the first one or two occasions when it has been duly explained to the offender, his action is bound to be resented, with no more toleration or pity, just as if a Malay is committing it.

Thus it will have been seen that the Malay as a typical member of his race is just as sensitive where good and bad manners are concerned as any other race in the world. The Western proverb which in English is worded "Manners maketh man," and which for centuries has been made the slogan and motto of one of the Colleges (New College) of Oxford University, and also the famous school at Winchester has its equivalent in a number of equally pregnant Malay proverbs. Among these are:

Usul mënunjokkan asal, Bahasa mënunjokkan bangsa, which literally means "One's general deportment shows one's origin, one's speech and manners indicate one's descent or lineage."

Këroh di-hulu këroh-lah di-hilir-nya, "If it is muddy at the source it must also be muddy downstream."

Bèneh yang baik, jika hanyut ka-laut mēnjadi pulau, "A good seed if washed down to the sea becomes an island."

Ma'nikam itu jikalau jatuh ka-dalam limbahan sa-kali pun tidak'kan hilang cahaya-nya. "A precious gem even when fallen into the dirtiest drain does not lose its brilliance."

In the view of the older Malays, only good birth, good social stock, and association from childhood with the upbringing of a well-born and well-bred family can give a person the polished manners of the well-behaved gentleman. Failing that, not even high school education and great learning can entirely erase the marks of a vulgar origin or of a slave bringing-up in the manners and general deportment of the individual.

This contention hardly holds water in the changing social standards that have come to Malaya to-day. We find now many, even from among the scions of the high-born *raja* and *syed* families, who do not know how to behave themselves. On the other hand, many of those of lowly origin but better educated both at home and at school conduct themselves faultlessly everywhere—a paragon of good manners and good breeding.

The Malayan Purse Seine (Pukat Jerut) Fishery

by K. GOPINATH

Senior Research Officer,

Fishery Development Scheme, Travancore.

(Received, June 1949).

The material for this paper was obtained in 1948 during a four month's visit to the Malay states. The tour was sanctioned by the Travancore Government, at the suggestion of the Government of India. Its object was to study the method of ring-net fishing practised in Malayan and Siamese waters, and to investigate the possibility of introducing it in Indian waters. The author was assisted considerably by the whole-hearted co-operation of Mr D. W. Le Mare (Director of Fisheries, Federation of Malaya and Singapore) and the members of his staff, and by the many facilities afforded him by Mr C. P. Chen, proprietor of the Malayan Fisheries, Pangkor.

Both fresh and preserved mackerel are in great demand in Malayan markets, and the industry is one of the most important fisheries in the country. Before the war the annual output per head of the Pangkor purse seine fishermen was about 10 tons. This compares favourably with the 8.3 tons of the Japanese Bream fishermen during the same period, and the 1.5 tons of the Malay fishermen of the east coast. In 1947, 134,580 piculs¹ (159,804.82 cwts) of mackerel were landed in Pangkor by the seine nets. This formed 58% of the total catch for Perak, which produces more fish than any other state in the Federation. The greater part of this was sent to the Singapore markets, and the remainder to Telok Anson, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur. 38,859 piculs of fish were landed at Kuala Kedah in 1947, more than 65% of which was made up of landings from the purse seine boats. This also found its main market in Singapore, some 560 miles away, while a small portion was distributed in the neighbouring towns of Alor Star, Sungei Patani and Penang.

HISTORY OF THE PURSE SEINE IN MALAYA

About 1877 a group of Chinese fishermen from Pakhoi in South China migrated with their boats and nets to Siam, where they began fishing for mackerel (*Kēmboṅg*). Later the majority of them moved farther south to Malaya and settled at Kuala Kedah, while a few went as far as Pangkor, an island off the coast of Perak.

(1) A picul = 100 katies. One kati is equivalent to 1 1/3 lbs.

A tahlil is 1 1/3 oz.

Still later, when salted fish was made a duty-free commodity in the Federated Malay States, the men who had settled in Kedah followed the others down to Pangkor. Thirteen years ago the purse seine was taken back to Kuala Kedah by a Chinese fisherman, and was subsequently adopted with slight modifications by the local Malays. Kuala Kedah and Pangkor are still the only places in Malaya where purse seine fishing is carried on on a large scale, though this net has recently been tried at Mersing on the east coast of Johore. Originally the nets were operated from sailing boats, but in recent years, at the suggestion of the Department of Fisheries, these have been replaced by power-driven boats.

When power fishing was started there were only 14 boats operating from Pangkor, but the number subsequently increased to 44 during the pre-war period. In 1948 there were about 30 purse seine boats on Pangkor Island: 19 in the village of Sungai Penang Kechil and 11 in the village of Pangkor. All were owned and worked by Chinese fishermen. In the Kedah area there were 24 purse seine boats in the village of Kuala Kedah, 3 in the village of Kuala Perlis and 2 in the village of Yen. Six of the 24 nets in Kuala Kedah were owned and worked by Malay fishermen. The remainder were owned by Chinese merchants. Six of these were being worked by Chinese fishermen in the Chinese style and 12, though Chinese owned, were being worked by Malays in the Malay style.

Two purse seines which were introduced into Singapore waters immediately after the war were later transferred to Mersing, on the east coast of Johore. These nets are similar to the Pangkor and Kedah nets, but they are being used for other local shoal fish in addition to mackerel.

SPECIES, SEASONS AND GROUNDS

On the west coast of Malaya the purse seine is used exclusively for fishing for mackerel (*Kembong*, *Tēmēnong*), mostly *Scomber microlepidotus* and *Scomber kanagurta*. The hardtail, *Caranx rotterui*, and also *Clupea* and *Opisthopterus* spp. are occasionally taken in this net. As it is operated on the Mersing coast, with slight alterations in the yarn and the seize of the mesh, it can also be used for tunnies, ribbon fish, horse mackerel and other fish which are found in large shoals.

Mackerel occur on the west coast throughout the year, but there are seasonal variations in the numbers taken. The monthly totals of fish landed at Pangkor during 1947 show a small peak period during April and May, followed by a higher peak in November and December. In Kedah on the other hand, poor catches are usually recorded in June and July, when fishing activities are restricted by the south-west monsoon. The numbers of fish present

vary through the season, and they may appear on the grounds for a number of days together and then disappear for several weeks. On the Pangkor fishing grounds they generally stay for only a short time, but on the Kedah grounds they remain for longer periods. Excessive rain, or a great influx of fresh water into the sea from the rivers, probably has a considerable influence on their movements.

Quantities (in piculs) of mackerel landed at Pangkor during 1947.

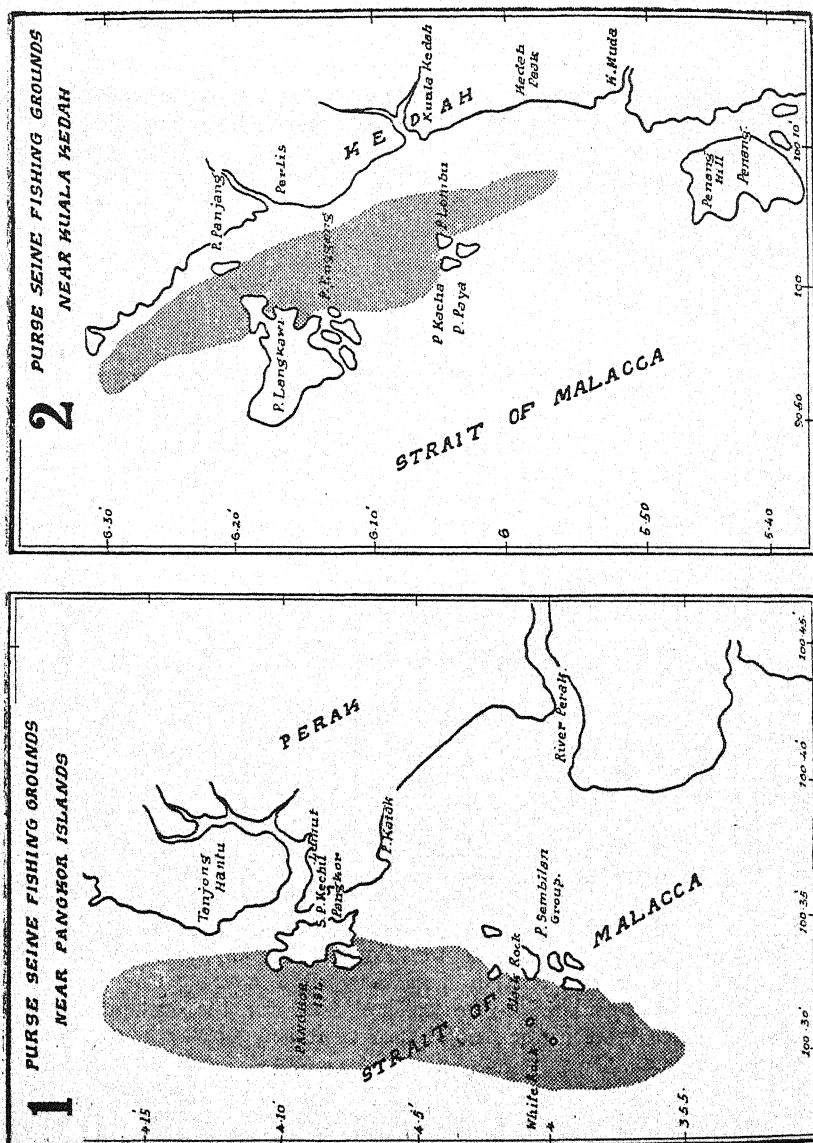
<i>Month</i>	<i>Piculs</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Piculs</i>
Jan.	7,970	July	5,211
Feb.	13,735	Aug.	4,100
March	8,860	Sept.	4,340
April	19,480	Oct.	17,000
May	11,684	Nov.	20,000
June	2,200	Dec.	20,000

The shoals are usually located by the phosphorescence thrown up by their movement. Their depth can be judged by the intensity of the luminance produced. In general a typical mackerel shoal moves in an arrow head formation; sometimes it may be roughly semi-circular in shape. Experienced fishing skippers say that each species has its own characteristic shoal formation and that they can identify the shoals at a distance. Naturally, fishing operations are conducted only on dark nights. This does not mean that fish are not present on moonlit nights, but their detection is rendered difficult by the light on the water.

A fishing season starts about six days after the full moon and extends to about ten or eleven days after the new moon. During the waning phase the fishing is done in the dark period preceding moonrise, and in the waxing phase in the hours following the setting of the moon. In the early part of the season, therefore, the fishermen start from their base at about 5 p.m. and return by about 1 a.m. The starting time is gradually delayed as the season advances, and by the day of the new moon the men are fishing all through the night. Towards the close of the season they start at about 11 p.m. or midnight, when the moon is well down in the sky, and fish until the morning, getting back to their base at 7 a.m. or even later. Slack tide is considered to be the best time for the operation of the net, since there is then no chance of it being carried away by strong currents.

No definite boundary can be given to the mackerel fishing grounds on the west coast, but at least the majority apparently lie

off the mouths of broad estuaries and big rivers. The Pangkor ground is situated beyond the 10 fathom line opposite the mouths of the Perak and Lumut Rivers, south and north of the Pulau Sembilan group of islands and north-west of the Island of Pangkor (Fig. 1.). In the course of a survey conducted by the Fishery



Department's motor vessel *K'embong* in 1937 it was found that the largest catches were obtained within the area bounded by $4^{\circ} 01'$ and $6^{\circ} 10'$ North Latitudes and $99^{\circ} 53'$ and $100^{\circ} 21'$ East Longitudes. The main ground is rather muddy in nature. It varies in depth from 25-35 fathoms, except in the vicinity of the Sembilan group where it reaches 50-60 fathoms. The fishermen operate in this area with the White Rock Lighthouse, Pulau Katak Lighthouse (at the southern entrance to the Lumut River) and Tanjong Hantu Light (on the northern entrance) as their important navigation marks. At certain times, especially during heavy seas, mackerel have even been caught close to Pangkor Island, well inside the entrances to the two rivers.

The Kedah fishing ground lies within the 10 fathom line opposite the mouths of the Kedah and Perlis Rivers. It is considered to be richer than the Pangkor ground. The main fishing area lies between the islands of Pulau Panjang and Pulau Langkawi to the north, and the Pulau Paya group to the south (Fig. 2). The fishermen seldom go beyond the latter group of islands, but occasionally, when the catches are poor on the Kedah grounds, they go as far south as Penang Island and north to the Siamese coast. Near the Paya group the water is about 15-16 fathoms deep, but where the main ground lies it varies from 5-6 fathoms; farther north it is only 4-5 fathoms. The sea bottom in this area is again muddy. Often the men fish within sight of Kedah Lighthouse, Pulau Panjang Lighthouse off Perlis and Pulau Enggang Light on the Langkawi group.

In December 1947 and January and February 1948 mackerel were scarce on the Pangkor and Kedah grounds, and fishing was extremely poor. At the same time large shoals were reported from further north, off Stoel on the Siamese coast where some of the Kedah boats were operating. The March season in Pangkor showed a definite improvement, and large catches were made.

EQUIPMENT

1. Nets.

The purse seine used in Malaya is roughly similar to the American purse seine, except that it is much shorter. In the Malayan net the length and depth depend largely on the locality in which the net is to be used. The nets at Pangkor are longer and deeper than those at Kuala Kedah, where the sea is shallower. There are also minor differences between the nets used by the Chinese and the Malay fishermen.

The purse seine owned by the Cheng Hai Co., at Pangkor, is 150 fathoms long and 25 fathoms deep, the Malayan Fisheries net is 152 fathoms by 25 fathoms, and the net owned by the Marine

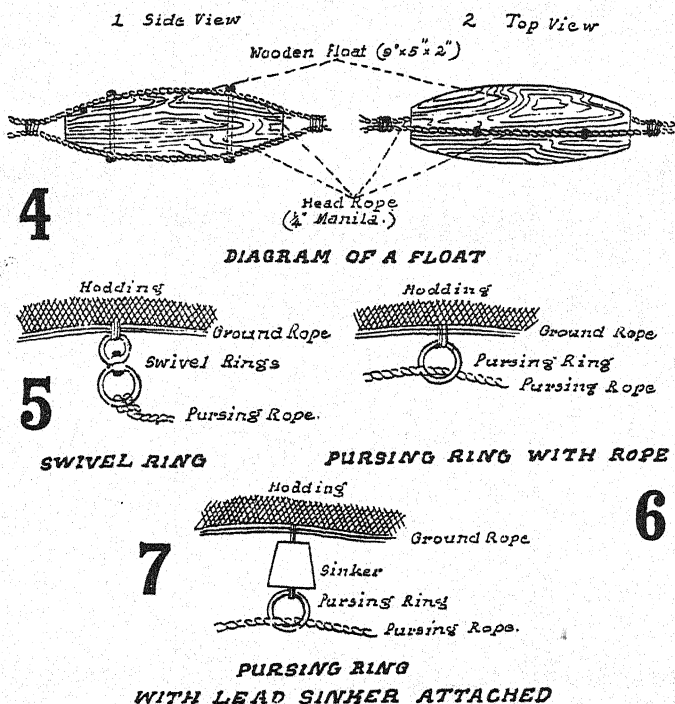
Products Association 180 fathoms by 30. In Kedah, the net owned by Ban Hock Lee Fisheries was found to be similar to the Pangkor nets, measuring 160 fathoms in length and 30 fathoms in depth, while the net owned by Ahmed Majid, a Malay fisherman, was only 140 fathoms by 25 fathoms. The Chinese nets show a rather uniform depth with a slight decrease at the tips of the wings. The Malay nets decrease gradually in depth from the centre piece to the wing nets.

(a) **Chinese net.**

A typical Chinese net consists of a centre piece (or Codend) of strong net with a number of pieces on each side. A net measuring 152 fathoms has a centre piece of 12 fathoms length and 25 fathoms depth, with 10 7-fathom pieces on each side. The length of the centre piece varies in different nets. A Pangkor net 180 fathoms long was found to have a centre piece of 20 fathoms length, while in Kedah a net of 160 fathoms length had a centre piece of 30 fathoms. The centre piece has a half inch mesh of 12/20S yarn (3 x 4 ply), the adjoining pieces on each side have a half inch mesh of 9/20S yarn (3 x 3 ply) or 8/20S, and the remainder of the net a half inch mesh of 6/20S yarn. Sometimes 4/20S yarn is used for the wing nets. The mesh measures slightly more than half an inch when the net is new, but it shrinks to the exact size after treatment in cutch and long use. The centre piece and the adjoining nine pieces have a uniform depth of 25 fathoms; the last piece has a reduced depth of 22 fathoms (Fig. 3.).

The two head and two foot ropes are usually of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch manila. Sometimes they are slightly thicker. Along both head and foot rope is a hodding of about 25-30 meshes which runs the entire length of the net. This is made of 12/20S yarn and serves to increase the strength of the net. In a short report of the Pangkor purse seine prepared by the Fisheries Department it is stated that the hodding shows a variation in breadth towards the centre of the net. This variation was not seen in any of the nets examined. Wooden floats, each measuring 9" x 5" x 2" and biconvex in shape, are fastened along the head rope at intervals of about 10". They are made of *Utong* wood and are attached between the two ropes in such a way that they always float with their flat surface upwards (Fig. 4.). The last piece of the net is devoid of floats. The purse rings, about 76 in all, are attached along the foot rope at intervals of $1\frac{1}{2}$ —2 fathoms. About 2—3 fathoms of the centre of the net and the last piece in the wings have no rings. The first two rings in the centre are large and heavy. Each is actually a combination of two rings; a large one and a small one rotating on a swivel (Fig. 5.). The large ring is attached to the net, while to the small one is attached the end of the pursing rope of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch manila. The rings are made of brass with an internal

diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ —3 inches and an external diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ —4 inches; each one weighs roughly one pound (Fig. 6.).



Except for the central swivel rings and the next two or three rings on each side, all the rings have lead sinkers attached to them (Fig. 7.). These sinkers weigh from 8 tahils (11 oz.) to one and a half katies (1.9 lbs.). It is said that roughly one picul of lead is used in making 70 sinkers. The smaller sinkers are attached near the centre of the net and the heavier ones towards the outer edge in order to prevent it from lifting when the pursing rope is drawn taught.

(b) Malay Net.

A Malay net ordinarily varies in length from 120—150 fathoms. A net of 140 fathoms length has a centre piece of 20 fathoms length and 25 fathoms depth. This is followed on each side by 6 pieces of 10 fathoms length, which show a gradual decrease in depth from 25 in the centre piece to 16 fathoms in the last piece on the wing. This centre piece has a half inch mesh of 10 ply (2×5) yarn, the adjoining pieces on each side have a half inch mesh of 8 ply

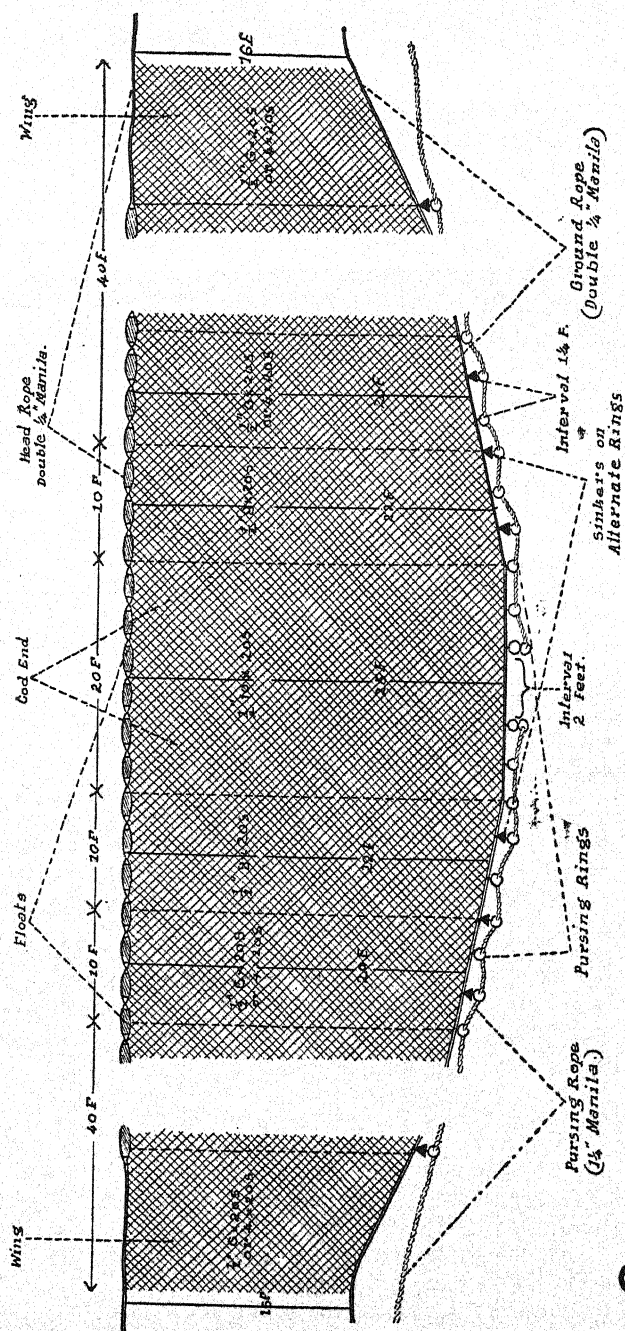


DIAGRAM OF A MALAY PURSE SEINE

(2 x 4) yarn and the rest a half inch mesh of 6 ply yarn. The hoddling is not so prominent as in the Chinese net (Fig. 8).

The floats measure 8" x 4½" x 2" each and are placed at intervals of 6—8 inches. These floats are also of wood and are similar in shape to those on the Chinese nets. The swivel rings are placed about 20 feet apart at the centre of the net and the other rings are attached at intervals of 7½ feet. These rings have an external diameter of 3¼" and internal diameter of about 3". Sinkers are attached only to alternate rings, and weigh about one kati each (1.33 lbs.). The tips of the wings for a distance of about 6 fathoms are devoid of floats and rings, as in the Chinese net. The head ropes, foot ropes and pursing rope are also similar to those of the Chinese net.

(c) Treatment of Nets.

The only material used for the preservation of the net is the bark of the mangrove tree, which is abundant in the swamps lining the coast. It is used both fresh and after drying. The fresh bark is soaked in water for about 1—2 weeks, while the dry bark is soaked for 2—3 weeks, or until the solution turns deep red in colour. The net is then steeped in this brew, section by section, until it acquires a dark red tint. After being steeped, the net is rinsed, wrung out and dried in the sun. All these operations are usually done by hand. Sometimes, to facilitate the process, the bark is boiled in water and the net steeped in the hot solution.

(d) Drying the Net.

A special platform and framework are generally erected for hanging the net to dry after use. This frame is always situated near the factory building and within easy access from the fishing boat. It consists of two rows of 4 long poles, each about 40 ft in length. The upper ends of opposite poles in the two rows are connected by horizontal beams, and the sides are strengthened by cross struts. The whole structure has rather the appearance of a rectangular tunnel. Below, at a height of 3—4 feet above the high tide level, is a stage of split *Nibong* or *Penang*, running the entire length of the drying platform. There are usually 10 horizontal poles with a pulley at each end, from which ropes run to blocks on the topmost rail, for raising the net on the frame.

The movable short poles are dropped to the platform and the net laid on them, with the codend towards the shore and the wings at the seaward end of the drying stage. Then they are raised about four feet above the platform and the net spread uniformly and properly. Finally they are pulled up and secured, so that the net hangs in the air from the top of the scaffolding.

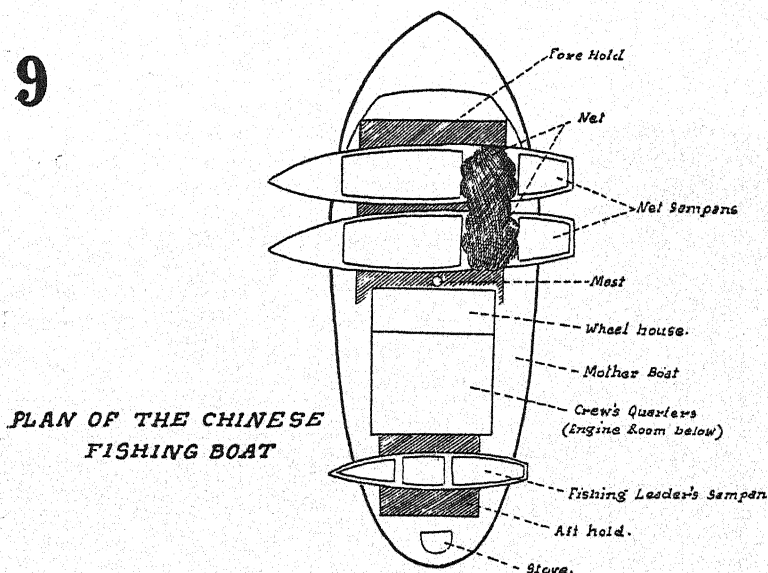
2. Boats.

(a) Chinese.

In recent years the sailing boats originally used by the purse seine fishermen have been replaced by power boats. These are mostly diesel driven, but one or two at Kuala Kedah run on petrol. The Pangkor boats are fairly uniform in shape and construction. They have blunt-nosed bows, rounded sterns and a low freeboard to allow for the easy launching of the dinghies (*Sampans*). They vary in length from 30 to 50 feet and are fitted with engines ranging from 15 to 50 H.P.

The boat belonging to Malayan Fisheries (Pangkor) is typical of the Chinese boats in most respects, though it is considered to be the most powerful of them. It has an overall length of 56 feet, and a beam of 12½ feet and a draft of 4—5 feet. It is constructed entirely of wood. The engine which is placed amidships², develops 50 H.P. The wheel house is situated above the engine room with the crew's quarters behind it. In front of the wheel house, amidships, is a slightly tapering mast with a diameter of 12 inches at

9



deck level. It is held in position by four ¼-inch wire stays running to the forecastle and stern. The mast has two crow's nests for the fish watcher, placed about 6 and 10 feet above the roof of the wheel house. The crow's nests are merely wooden platforms,

(2) A boat under construction for Mr. C. P. Chen of Malayan Fisheries, Pangkor, has the engine in front near the bow, like the American boats.

12" x 18". They are reached by steps made of wooden blocks nailed on the mast at suitable intervals. A direction pointer, operated by two wires from the crew's nests, is pivoted to the mast on a level with the window of the wheel house.

In front of the engine room there are two holds each with a floor space of roughly 10 x 12 feet. In the bow is a third hold which serves as a store and as a temporary shelter for the crew during heavy rain. There is also an auxiliary hold below the crew's quarters, behind the engine room. The holds are not insulated. The catch is kept on the floor, or in circular tubs with ice or a little salt. There is no galley, but the boats usually carry small charcoal stoves for cooking light meals. No navigation lights are used, except on entering the Port limits on the homeward journey. There are no davits or winches to lighten the work of the fishermen in hauling in the nets and sampans.

Two wooden dinghies, propelled by means of a single oar from the stern, are also used in fishing with the purse seine. They are ordinarily flat-bottomed boats with transom sterns, and have a length of 25 feet, a breadth of 8 feet and a depth of 2½ feet. The ribs are made of hard wood and the hull planks of *Méranti*. There is a platform built amidships over which the net is flaked down (half in each dinghy) preparatory to fishing. These two dinghies are carried in front of the wheel house, with their bows to the port side and their sterns to starboard (Fig. 9.). A third dinghy, much smaller than the other two but similar in lines, is also carried for the use of the fishing leader. It is slung aft of the crew's quarters and serves as a general purpose craft as well.

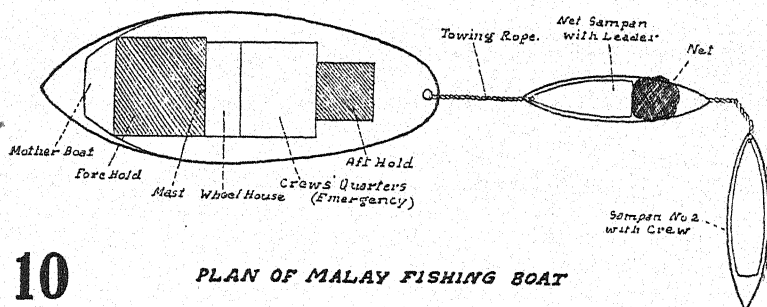
The full complement comprises about 24 men. It consists of one fishing leader (*Hang Kong*, or *Tai Kong*), one engine driver, one assistant driver, one helmsman, two fish-watchers, two fishing helmsmen, fourteen fishermen and one or two cooks.

(b) **Malay.**

The Malay boats, as used on the Kedah coast, show no uniformity in size or shape. The majority are diesel engine boats, but one or two are driven by petrol. They vary in length from 25 to 40 feet and are fitted with engines ranging from 10 to 30 Horse Power, except for one boat brought in by a Chinese merchant in 1948 which is 60 feet long and powered by a 120 H.P. engine. The other vessels range from a low-powered ferry launch to a large clumsy-looking Japanese craft.

In place of the three flat-bottomed dinghies used by the Chinese, the Malays use two large keeled rowing boats (*Kolek*). Each measures about 48 feet in length, 7½ feet in breadth and 2½ feet in depth, and is propelled by 3—4 pairs of oars. They are

not carried on the deck of the parent boat, but are towed one behind the other. The fishing leader and thirteen or fourteen fishermen sit in the first, with the whole net flaked down near the stern. In the second boat are ten or eleven fishermen (Fig. 10.). The complete complement comprises 27-28 men. It consists of one fishing leader, one helmsman, one engine driver, one assistant driver and 23-24 fishermen, of whom 3 or 4 are apprentices. The latter do not receive any regular pay but are given a portion of the catch.



PLAN OF MALAY FISHING BOAT

3. Shore Establishment.

The Chinese fishing units in Pangkor and Kuala Kedah are operated by small companies owned by single individuals or two or three men in partnership. The Malay fishermen of Kedah have no company or shore establishment of their own; they sell their catches to Chinese firms, which do all the curing and marketing.

A typical fishing unit, as exemplified by the Malayan Fisheries Company at Pangkor, consists of two different sections, the factory and the fishing vessel. Each has its own establishment. The factory is usually a fair-sized plank building with a thatched roof on a cement or plank floor. It is situated near the shore with the net drying stage and fish drying platforms projecting over the water so that the fishing vessel can conveniently come alongside. The building usually has an office, a store, a curing section, a boiling oven and a kitchen. An average-sized factory has about 15-20 big curing tubs, 15-20 large baskets for carrying fish and about 4,000-5,000 baskets for boiling fish. Arab or Siamese salt is used for curing fish, and a large supply of this is always kept in stock.

The employees also operated in two sections, the factory establishment and the ship's crew. The former consists of the manager, who looks after the affairs of the factory as the representative of the proprietor, the assistant manager, who also does the clerical work, the foreman, three or four labourers and the cook. The ship's crew consists of the engine driver, assistant driver and the helmsman, all of whom receive regular wages, and the fishing leader

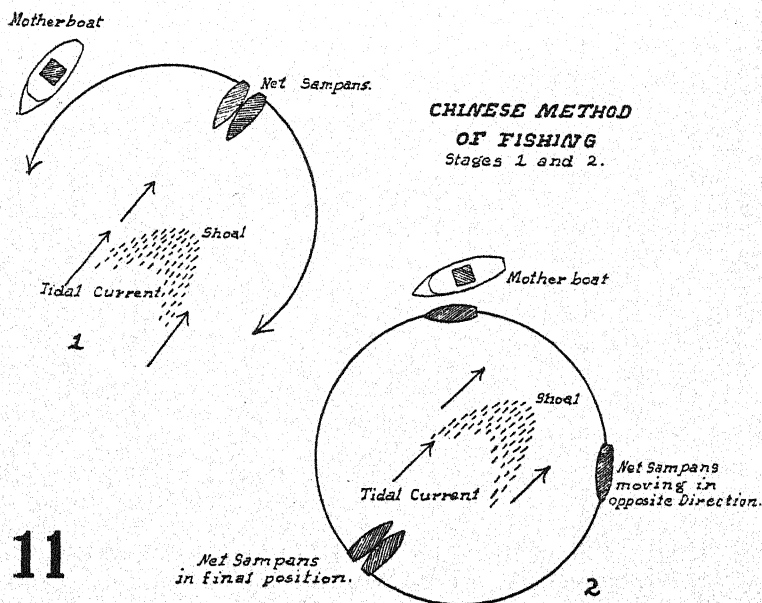
and 19—20 fishermen including the cook, who are paid on the basis of the fish caught by the boat.

OPERATION

(1) Chinese style.

The fishing boat, when not at sea, is usually moored alongside the drying stage. On a typical fishing day the two net—dinghies are hauled on board by about 4 p.m. and secured in position. The net is then lowered from the drying frame and flaked down on the platforms in the dinghies, half in each.

The time of departure depends on the phase of the moon. When the boat is well on its way to the fishing grounds, the fish watcher goes up to the crow's nest and the wheel is handed over to the fishing helmsman. The course of the boat is then directed by the fish-watcher, who searches for areas of phosphorescence on the water. As soon as a fairly large shoal is sighted he blows a whistle to signal the news to the men below. The boat is then brought to dead slow and the wheel handed back to the boat's helmsman. The fishing leader's dinghy is launched from the stern and the leader is paddled towards the shoal to ascertain the direction in which it is moving. The information is signalled back by flashing a torch towards the boat and then in the direction in which the net-dinghies must go. As soon as this message has been received



the ropes securing the sterns of the dinghies are eased, and eye-splice ropes keeping the bows together are slipped off. The dinghies are pushed across the deck of the boat and into the sea together, stern first. As they slip out the fishermen jump into them, holding on to whatever comes their way. The dinghies, still lashed together, are then propelled in the direction indicated by the leader. When they reach the vicinity of the shoal, the ropes fastening them together are untied and they move in opposite directions, dropping the centre portion of the net first and then paying out the remainder as they encircle the shoal. When it has been surrounded and the dinghies have come together again they are once more lashed side by side (Fig. 11). The two pursing ropes are then drawn into them. After this their bows are untied again and the head ropes together with the net are gradually hauled on board.

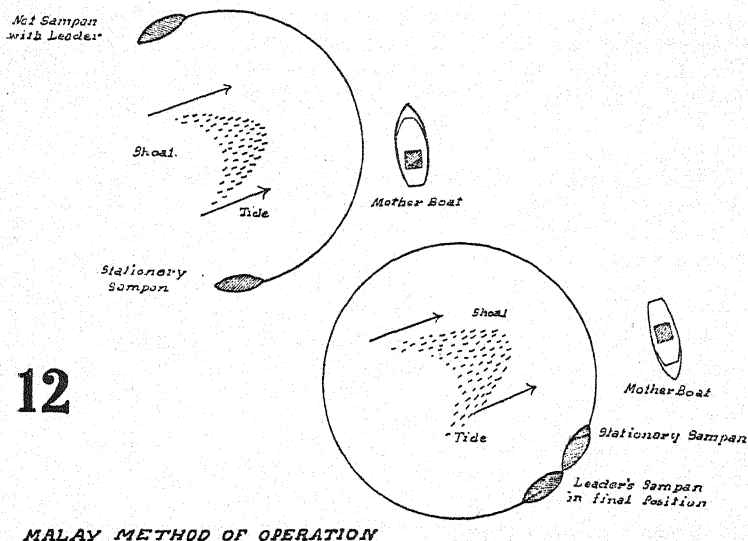
In order to prevent the fish escaping while the pursing rope is being pulled in, steps are taken to drive them towards the centre of the net. In the case of fish like the hard-tail, the fishermen tap on the sides of the dinghies producing *tap-tap*, which scares the fish and keeps them well inside the net. With mackerel, a bright electric bulb, enclosed in a water tight glass case and attached by a long flex wire to a dry battery, is lowered one or two fathoms into the water at the junction of the two ends of the net. This technique, which is of recent origin, is considered to be very effective.

The parent boat is called over to the dinghies as soon as the circle is complete and some of the fishermen board her. The net is next hauled into the boat and dinghies by the light of three or four flares fixed to the side of the ship. When the greater part of the net has been drawn in and only the centre with the fish in it remains in the water, the fish are scooped into the boat's hold with cane baskets attached to ropes and operated by two fishermen standing on the gunnel of the boat. If the catch is small and can be handled easily, the net is hauled straight into the boat. The net is then run on to the deck, shaken and re-arranged in the dinghies. The fishing leader's dinghy is tied to the stern of the boat, and the net-dinghies are lashed together and attached to a boom for towing. The fishermen return on board the boat, the fish-watcher goes up the crow's nest and the unit is ready for further operations or to return to its base.

(2) Malay style.

In the Malay operated purse seine the rowing boats are not carried on the deck of the parent vessel but are towed by it one behind the other. The whole net is flaked down near the stern of the first one, in which sit the fishing leader and 13—14 fishermen. About 10—11 fishermen are in the second boat. Only the crew and the fish-watcher travel in the parent vessel.

A whistle is blown by the fish-watcher as a signal as soon as a shoal is sighted. The boat then slows down and the rope towing the rowing boats is untied. The latter move quickly on to the shoal. The second boat without the net is anchored near it and one end of the net is given to the men in it while the other boat rows round the shoal, paying out the net as it goes (Fig. 12). When the two are again together the ends of the net are crossed and the pursing rope is drawn. The net is hauled on to the



MALAY METHOD OF OPERATION

parent boat in the same way as in the Chinese method, and the fish are bucketed or dumped into circular tubs in which they are kept on ice. When the tubs are full, or when the fishing is heavy, catches are also stored in the second rowing boat.

(3) **Shooting the net in relation to shoal movement.**

As soon as a shoal of fish is sighted the fishing leader must find out the direction of the tidal current, which may be very strong in these areas, and the size and direction of the shoal. These are the external factors which affect the fishing efficiency. When the fishing leader's dinghy sets out from the parent boat it follows the shoal for some time, and only after ascertaining these conditions does the leader signal to the fishermen to lay the net.

Experience has shown that the best conditions for fishing are when the fish are swimming with the current. Here the net is laid some distance downstream. This keeps it fully distended, and also enables the fishermen to trap the whole shoal since the fish are

unable to turn away quickly against the current. On the other hand, if the fish are moving against the current the net has to be laid a considerable distance upstream in order to allow it to drift towards the fish. Much care must then be taken to prevent the current closing the net. An even more complicated problem is presented when the fish are swimming across the current. Here also, the net is laid across the direction in which the shoal is moving and due allowance must be made for the drift of the net in relation to the speed and line of movement of the fish.

The Chinese method of shooting the net appears to be more efficient than the Malay, even though the latter resembles the American technique. The pincer-like movement followed by the Chinese fishermen affords little opportunity for the shoal to escape the net, while the introduction of the light under the water helps further in trapping them. In the Malay method one boat is kept stationary while the other surrounds the shoal; if this boat is not fast enough, or if there is any slight error in the calculation of the tide and shoal movement, there is a chance of the shoal being deflected away before the encircling movement is completed.

COMPARISON OF NETS

(1) Differences between Malayan and American nets.

Malayan Net.	American Net.
Used almost exclusively for catching mackerel; other fish like <i>Caran rotlerii</i> & <i>Opisthopterus</i> sp. are obtained occasionally.	Used for mackerel, sardine, tuna, barracuda and even for herring from off the Alaska coast.
Varies in length from 150-180 fathoms.	The mackerel net varies in length from 180-200 fathoms and the sardine net from 150-180 fathoms. The tuna seines vary from 280-600 fathoms ³ and the length of the herring net ranges from 175-250 fathoms.
Varies in depth from 25-30 fathoms.	The mackerel net has a depth of 25-30 fathoms, the sardine nets 15-30 fathoms, the tuna net 25-40 fathoms and the herring net 12-30 fathoms. The depth of the herring net is adjusted according to season by adding new strips of webbing.
The Chinese net shows a uniform depth throughout whereas the Malay net shows a gradual decrease in depth from the centre to the wing.	The purse seine shows a uniform depth with square ends while the ring net has a tapering wing more or less like the Malay net.

- (3) The purse seine "*Santa Helena*," a 135 feet Clipper owned by Van Camp Sea Food Company, and commissioned in early 1948, measures 600 fathoms in length.

Malayan Net.	American Net.
The meshes are about $\frac{1}{2}$ " throughout.	The sardine net has a mesh of $\frac{1}{2}$ ", the mackerel net about $\frac{3}{4}$ ", the herring net from $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $1\frac{3}{4}$ ", and the tuna net from $3\frac{1}{2}$ - $4\frac{1}{2}$ ".
The largest thread used in the webbing is 12 x 20S in the centre, with the same count in the hodding along the cork and lead lines.	The largest thread is 54—thread in the tuna net with 106—thread for the lead line webbing.
Flat wooden floats are used along the cork line at intervals of about 10 inches.	Circular roller-like cork floats along the head rope are supported by Montara floats, glass floats or rubber floats in order to prevent the cork line from sinking when the purse line is pulled.
Operated from motor vessels varying in length from 25-50 feet fitted with engines of 10-50 H.P.	Ordinarily used from vessels varying in length from 30-90 feet, though recently attempts have been made to introduce vessels of 100 feet and more in length.
Set from two sampans moving in opposite directions and encircling the shoal (the Chinese style), or one remaining stationary and the other encircling the shoal (the Malay style).	The net is flaked on to a turn table at the stern and one end of it is taken to a heavy skiff, the weight of which pulls on the seine, which in turn commences to play out over the roller in the turn-table. The man in the skiff pulls backward to keep the cork line straight while the seine boat sets the net in a circle.
Hauling of the net and the bunched purse rings is done manually by the fishermen.	Hauling the larger nets is done by winches geared on to the auxiliary engine and the bunched purse rings are drawn up by a boom and rope-sling tackle.
A crew of 24 men is used by one unit.	A much smaller crew of 8-14 men, the latter being used in the larger clippers.

(2) Efficiency of the Malayan net.

The catching capacity of the Malayan net is fairly high, in spite of the fact that it is operated from dinghies propelled by hand, and that no mechanical contrivances are used for hauling. As stated earlier, the annual output per head by the Pangkor fishermen during the pre-war days was about 10 tons. Though the number of fishing boats has been reduced during the post-war period, the landings during 1947 showed an output of 11.8 tons per head. Landings of fish by one single vessel after one night's absence range up to 200 or more piculs, while as much as 90—140 piculs may be obtained in a single haul.

The American purse seines show a much higher landing average. During June 1947 30 mackerel seines in 93 combined trips landed 3,930,040 pounds of fish in Boston market, and during July 1947 33 mackerel seines in 84 trips landed 3,299,390 pounds of mackerel. This gives an average catch of 18.8 and 17.8 tons per boat per trip for the two months. Single hauls of as much as 13—15 tons have also been reported from Californian waters. The record catch so far in a single haul by the Pangkor fishermen was about 142 piculs. When the night's catch exceeds 150 piculs the fishermen usually hoist a red flag on the mast of their vessel to show the success of their trip.

During the time when the writer was out with Mr C. P. Chen's fishing unit its catches amounted to 15 piculs in two hauls the first night, 50 odd piculs in four hauls the next day, 25 piculs in a single haul another day and about 100 piculs on the penultimate day of the season. During the other days the catches were very small or nil. These catches were considered poor in comparison with the previous seasons. At Pangkor during 1947 28 boats with a total net tonnage of about 700 tons and employing about 672 persons landed 7,990.25 tons of mackerel. This is equivalent to 285.36 tons per boat or 11.41 tons per unit tonnage of vessel.

Even this is much lower than the totals of American landings. During 1931 58 sardine seiners with a total net tonnage of 2,522 tons and employing 588 men landed 28,290.4 tons of sardines from the San Pedro region. In the Monterey district 12 sardine seiners with a net tonnage of 504 tons and employing 127 men landed 28,224.5 tons of sardine during the same year⁴. These yields work out at 487.8 and 2,352 tons per boat respectively or 11.21 and 56 tons per unit tonnage of vessel employed. While the Monterey catch average was exceptionally higher than the Malayan average, the San Pedro average almost equals it. The mackerel landings by lampara nets in California during the same year also showed 12.95 tons per unit ton of vessel employed. The Californian tuna and mackerel seines of 1947 showed still higher averages. 169 tuna vessels with a net tonnage of about 7,605 tons in 789 combined trips landed 116,837 tons, while 192 mackerel boats each with a net tonnage of 35 tons landed 87,052 tons⁵. It must, of course, be realized that such large yields by American vessels are obtained as a result of the complete mechanisation of the industry. This includes the use of modern high powered and well designed vessels, turntables for laying the nets, winches for hauling them in and efficient navigational aids like the gyroscope compass and echo-sounders.

(4) Fishery Industries of the United States, 1932., Ann. Rep. Ser. No. 13.

(5) Pacific Fishermen, June 1948.

PRESERVATION AND MARKETING

(1) Salting and Drying.

As soon as the fish have been landed from the vessel they are gutted, split and stacked with alternating layers of salt in circular wooden tubs of about 20 picul capacity. Arab or Siamese salt is commonly used; about 35 katies (46 lbs.) are required for one picul of fish. When a tub is filled with fish and salt the fish are prevented from floating to the surface by large stones. They are kept submerged in the solution for two to three days. At the end of this period they are removed, washed in sea water and dried in the sun by spreading them on the *Nibong* stages in front of the factory building.

(2) Boiling.

In this process the fish are transferred from the boat's hold without gutting and cleaning and put into cement and brick tanks each measuring roughly 5 feet by 4 feet. As the fish is put into the tanks salt is sprinkled over it, about 20 katies being used for every picul of fish. After salting, the fish are transferred to small circular baskets 17—18 inches diameter and 4 inches in height. The layers of fish in the baskets are uniformly arranged and the baskets are covered with circular bamboo net lids. When a sufficient number are ready they are taken to the oven for boiling.

The oven is a rectangular cement and brick structure, approximately 30 feet long, 3½ feet wide and 4 feet high, with a metal-lined shallow trough running longitudinally along its upper surface. The trough is about 20 inches wide and long enough to accommodate about 18 baskets. There is a brick and cement chimney at one end. Strong brine is poured into the trough and brought to the boil. Any impurities rising to the surface of the liquid are skimmed off until the foam is white in colour and free of dirt. The circular baskets filled with the fish are then placed in the boiling brine until the fish is cooked, unburst and softly peeling skin indicating the right condition. Two methods are followed for placing the baskets in the liquid. In one, the baskets are arranged in pairs one above the other and removed after cooking. In the second case, one basket is placed in the trough near the inner end and then pushed towards the outer end and a second basket placed in its place. These two baskets are again pushed outwards and a third basket placed near the chimney. This procedure is continued until the first basket of fish reaches the outer end of the oven, when it should be fully cooked. The baskets are removed after cooking and placed in a slanting position to drain off any excess fluid in them. Then they are ready for marketing.

(3) Transport and marketing.

Salted fish are packed in soft wood cases or bamboo baskets and transported by lorries or launches to the markets. The cases measure $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and have cleats to facilitate handling and transporting. The bamboo baskets have a diameter of about 2 feet, and almost the same height; they hold up to 2 piculs of fish. Boiled fish are sold in the small circular baskets in which they have been cooked. The baskets are not returnable. Boiled fish keep good for only three to four days at the most.

Boiled fish from the Kedah area are sold in Alor Star, Sungei Patani and Penang, while a large proportion goes as far south as Singapore, some 560 miles away. The Pangkor fish, both fresh and boiled, are distributed in Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur, Teluk Anson and Singapore, whence they are re-distributed to retail merchants in other places. Along the coastal towns the fish are supplied in special carrier launches or in the fishing boat itself during the off season. The fish are sold by the merchants to wholesale dealers in the large markets, where the consignments are put to open auction during the early hours of the morning. The auctioned fish are immediately sorted out, packed and re-distributed to other secondary markets in the district. The retail price of mackerel normally ranges from 20—40 cents per kati of salted fish, 18—80 cents per kati of boiled fish and 15—35 cents per kati of fresh fish.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The following gives the capital outlay necessary for establishing a factory with all the essential stores and a fairly good fishing vessel and seine net. The present figures are about three to four times the pre-war prices.

Factory building with the two platforms ..	\$ 30,000.00
Fish boiling oven	2,500.00
Fishing vessel	20,000.00
Three sampans	1,500.00
Purse seine	10,000.00
20 wooden tubs at \$20. each	400.00
20 fish baskets at \$5. each	100.00
5,000 fish boiling baskets at 20 cents ..	1,000.00
Salt (Arab or Siamese)	4,000.00
Ropes, lights, oils and sundries	500.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 70,000.00

The following shows the approximate rates of pay and wages given during the time of my visit:—

Factory:—

Factory Manager	\$ 120.00	p.m.
Asst. Manager	..	..	..	100.00	"
Head cooly	..	..	..	120-140	"
Second cooly	..	..	..	90-110	"
3 coolies at	..	..	..	80.00	"
Cook	..	..	..	80.00	"

Ship:—

Engine driver	..	..	..	160-180	"
Asst. driver	..	..	..	100-120	"
Helmsman	..	..	..	80.00	"

The fishermen, including the fishing leader, are usually paid at the rate of \$5. per picul of fish caught; the total amount thus obtained is divided among them. In addition to this, the fishing leader often gets 5 per-cent of the total proceeds from the Proprietor of the Company as a bonus. It was reported that money obtained by the fishermen is divided as under, but this information was not fully verified.

Fishing leader	..	..	1 ½ shares	..	1 ½ shares
Two fish-watchers at	..	..	1 ½ shares	..	3 "
Two fishing helmsmen at	..	..	1 ½ shares	..	3 "
Fourteen fishermen at	..	..	1 share	..	14 "
All the cooks together	..	..			1 "
					—
					22 ½ shares
					—

In Kedah, Malay fishermen employed by the Chinese merchants are paid at the rate of \$4.50 per picul of fish caught. But the number of shares into which this is divided is not definitely known. Apart from these rates, each fisherman also takes about 15—20 katies of fish for his personal use on days when there is any fish. The shore establishment and the ship's crew are fed by the Company, the monthly expenses for this item coming to about \$600. for rice, firewood, vegetables, etc. For gutting and cleaning the fish female labour is commonly employed, and they are paid according to the number of fish gutted and cleaned. For boiling the fish a rate of 6 cents for every basket of fish arranged is usually given. Day labourers are also employed for other incidental items of work, as and when needed, at the prevailing rates of wages.

Some Notes on Kampong Officials in the Alor Gajah District of Malacca 1932-1935

by A. B. RAMSAY, M.C.S.

(Received February 1949).

The Alor Gajah district is divided in the proportions of about two to one into mukims where the matriarchal custom or *Adat Perpateh* prevails and those where the *Adat Temenggong*, also locally known as *Adat Laut*, is in force. These latter are generally speaking coastal areas and the *Adat Temenggong* is popularly stated to extend "Sengkat Kadengaran Gelombang" = as far as the sound of the waves.

The general set up in the *Adat Perpateh* mukims¹ is that the people are divided into four exogamous clans or *suku* as in adjacent Negri Sembilan districts. These *suku* are further divided into *charak* or *Chabang Suku*. These sub-clans or *charak* have an affixed name of some local or place significance eg:— Semelenggang Kampong Padang, Tiga Batu Nesan Tinggi etc.

The structure of Kampong officials was built up on this clan and sub-clan basis with the sole exception of the territorial Chief, the Dato Naning. In his case alone the appointment continued in the same clan and sub-clan and like most principles governing the customs in the *Adat Perpateh* areas is crystallized in a saying (in this case) "Yang besar menurun, yang kecil bergilir." "The principal office goes by descent, the smaller ones by rotation." I do not propose in these notes to put forward at length my views on the extremely contentious issue of the Naning succession. In the adjacent territories of Rembau and Tampin, though general acceptance was given to certain principles, in point of fact prior to the appointment of a British Resident similar office appears generally to have devolved on the most truculent and determined claimant to power.

The same no doubt applied to Dol Saiyyid's shadowy predecessors as Dato Naning. After the Naning war and Dol Saiyyid's deposition there appears to have been a policy on the part of the Colonial Government of suppression, or perhaps more properly speaking of neglect, of the Naning principality. When the matter

(1) I refrain from using the term *Adat Naning* because I am by no means convinced (a) that that this is properly separable from the main body of the *Adat Perpateh* (The *Adat* was more frequently described as *Adat Perpateh* than *Adat Naning* by the Locals) and (b) because it is by no means certain that the authority of the chief Seri Raja Mèrak Orang Kaya Dato Penghulu Naning was at any time co-extensive with the *Adat Perpateh* Mukims of Alor Gajah.

was taken up again, after the lapse of perhaps half a century or more, local tradition had become rather blurred and vague. In addition the problem was further complicated by the loss by fire of a red tunic which was one of the insignia of office and which had the convenient and charming quality of only fitting the rightful claimant. However, whatever other matters are debatable it has always been accepted that the Datoh must be of the Semelenggang *Suku* or Clan (which for this and certain other purposes has a seniority over the other clans and appears in this respect to be the equivalent of the Biduanda Clan in Rembau). He must also be of the sub-clan of Semelenggang Naning and is required to marry into the sub-clan of Semelenggang Taboh. Naturally as any children take their status and clan from his wife and not from himself he can never be succeeded in the direct line and the nearest acceptable blood relative would be a sister's son. A rather peculiar circumstance is that the appointment of Dato also carried with it the post of Kathi, whether the holder had any moral or academical qualifications or not. This was opened to criticism even in a less critical age and an old Malay remarked to me of a previous incumbent with a notorious addiction to the grosser pleasures that he was "Lebeh Kual deripada Kathi" or freely translated "More of a Pot than a Priest."

Under the Datoh, who is theoretically head of the *Adat Perpateh* mukims but whose influence fades perceptibly in the more outlying areas, there are officials in each mukim. These are the Penghulu and four Sidaugs.

The Penghulu whose functions are much the same as that of a Penghulu in the Malay States owes his appointment to a mixture of election by the people of the mukim and of selection by the District Officer. The practice when I was District Officer in Alor Gajah, and which represented a long established custom, was on the death retirement or dismissal of any Penghulu for the District Officer to repair to the most popular and convenient place of assembly in the mukim where the vacancy had arisen, and to ascertain the wishes of the *Anak Buah*. The first matter to determine was which of the four clans had a right to the post. Thus if, for instance, it was established that the previous three Penghulus had been Tiga Batu, Semelenggang and Anak Melaka men, then necessarily the rotation fell to Suku Mungkar. Fortunately office records in those days were sufficient in most cases to rebut non-veracious claims of interested parties. The proper rotation could usually be established, though very long periods were involved as Penghulus in Malacca continued in office "*Dum se bene gesserint*", and were not subject to age limits as elsewhere. It then became exclusively a matter for the adult males of the clan or suku which had established its right, and various candidates were pushed into prominence by their adherents. In certain but not all cases the system of rotation

was carried even further and the right not only of the clan but of the sub-clan required to be established. Thus while accepted that it was the turn of the Mungkar Clan the relatives claim of the sub-clans of Mungkar Bedara and Mungkar Kuala Ena might require adjudication. Then again only the clansmen or warris were eligible to vote. The eligible candidates were usually thinned down to three or four men. In doing this the Malays were prepared to accept the decision of the D.O. in winnowing out patently senile or weak witted persons, and to acknowledge the need for a certain degree of literacy and a reputation for regular attendance at public prayers and of having finally sown their "wild oats".

The remaining candidates then submitted themselves to a secret ballot and the winner, subject to the approval of the Resident Commissioner and the rejection of a large number of petitions, frequently of a scandalous character, was declared Penghulu. He thereupon received a letter of authority, the right to wear a Police belt and buttons, to allow a pair of handcuffs to rust in his house and to draw a small salary.

Under the Penghulu were four Sidang. Sidang is a Sumatran word which Wilkinson, I think, considered was adopted with rather too whole-hearted enthusiasm by administrative officers in Malaya. The term was, as far as I know, entirely confined to Malacca territory, but it has mysteriously cropped up and is now in general use in describing the Ketua or headmen in the new areas of padi cultivation in Tanjong Karang Kuala Selangor, mostly, it so happens, of Banjarese or Javanese extraction. Frequently, but by no means as of right or automatically, the post of Penghulu devolved on the sidang or lembaga of the appropriate suku. In cases where this did not occur the sidang accepted the verdict of the warris, but with the same kind of bad grace which Jacob exhibited when Leah was fobbed off on him after years service in the expectation of clasping the more comely Rachel to his bosom..

Sidangs

The Sidangs represented their respective clansmen and were responsible for the settlement of domestic disputes; *e.g.* if a preventible divorce was pending, or some person eligible for an invitation to a ceremony had been passed over (a major source of contention amongst the Adat Perpatih people), the Sidangs of the two clans involved would endeavour to heal the breach between the warris or clansmen. They were responsible for conduct of ceremonies at weddings, circumcisions etc. In the above capacities they fulfilled their functions as Adat Officials and were styled as Lembaga Suku and enjoyed those high sounding gelaran or titles, such as Dato Gempar, Dato Maulana Garang etc. which are characteristic of people of Menangkabau descent, though incongruous to their otherwise democratic outlook. They formed the major

elements of kampong tribunals adjudicating on cases of breach of Malay morals and etiquette not covered by law. The sentences were expressed in terms of the value of a bahara of tin at some previous epoch when it was worth \$14.40. The sanction for refusal to accept such sentences was "sending to Coventry", that is "*Hukum di pulaukan*," which meant exclusion from kampong feasts and ceremonies. This was in fact much more effective than would be supposed, but it broke down on occasions where defendants were generally rootless and irresponsible persons such as hired car touts. The issue was not considered as between two persons but as between two groups of warris, and the effect of the judgements were collective against the warris group rather than *in personam*; the object apparently was not so much to punish an individual as to repair the breach caused by his misconduct in the structure of kampong relationships.

A rather curious variation of custom which occurred on two occasions during my time in Alor Gajah was when at the election of a Penghulu the clan or suku entitled under rotation waived their claim, because they admitted that they had no eligible aspirant for the post. In such case they were prepared to let the post go to the suku next in order of rotation, but they reserved the right to be reinstated as the shku providing a Penghulu when the next vacancy occurred. The phrase used was "*Disandarkan pada suku yang lain*". Sandar = "to lean an object against something, and also to pledge or give as security." The phrase is somewhat difficult of translation, but it has the meaning of depositing the post of Penghulu, which is thought of as a tangible asset, without losing the right to resume it when required.

Vis à vis the administration they were known as Sidang Mishuarat; they drew no pay but had small exemptions from payment of land rents and obtained a variable annual bonus rarely exceeding \$100; this was dependent on their co-operation in collection of land revenue, identification of parties in Land cases, encouragement of padi planting etc. This method of combined election and selection was similar to that described above in the case of Penghulus with the difference that the giliran or rotation was between sub-clans of the same clan instead of between the four main clans.

In addition each Penghulu had attached to him a mata mata kampong of approximately the same social status as the Sidangs. Whether this is an immemorial functionary whose titles and activities anti-dated the Police Force I am unable to say. The mata-mata kampong in all mukims was the general errand boy of the Penghulu, except in the mukim of Taboh Naning where he in point of fact exercised those functions of the Penghulu which

were of too humdrum or arduous a nature to be compatible with the dignities of the Dato Naning.

Each group of four to five mukims was under the general supervision of the most senior Penghulu, styled a Demang. This again, I understand is a Sumatran Malay expression, but it appears in the title of Demang Lebar Daun, a legendary early figure in Malay history. The appointment of Demang is common to Adat Perpatih and Adat Temenggong areas in Malacca, but it is not found elsewhere.

In the Adat Temenggong Mukims in Alor Gajah there was, of course, no clan structure and no matriarchal principles. The post of Penghulu was, however, also subject to a form of rotation but this was on a territorial basis. Thus if there were four fairly large kampong units in a mukim the sentiment was held that each in turn should furnish a Penghulu. This, however, had little of the binding force of the rotation in the Adat Perpatih mukims and was frequently honoured in the breach. It, however, expressed a pretty generally held sentiment of equity. Under the Penghulu were also to be found the four Sidangs. These were elected on a territorial basis, each responsible for the approximate quarter of the mukim in which he resided. Why the figure of four was adopted is not very clear, but four appears to be a harmonious natural figure acceptable to Malays on the analogy of the four legs of a table or the four supports of a hut. In fact the four mosque officials, Iman, Khatib, Mungkim and Bilal were usually familiarly referred to as *Ampal Tiang Masjid*.

The system in force in Malacca has certain definite advantages in that it is a graft on a native growth, and not an extraneous imposition which can, I think, be said to be the case at present in the States of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and N.S., when Penghulus have lost their territorial and local significance and thereby became at best interpreters of the administration to the kampong rather than interpreters of the kampong to the administration. The practice in Alor Gajah was admittedly complicated and the calibre of the Penghulus frequently unimpressive, but each election provided a forum for democratic expression of opinion and any defects in education or driving energy in the Penghulus was, in my opinion, fully compensated for by the degree of confidence reposed in them by the Anak Buah who regarded them as their own creation.

An Inscribed Tin-Ingot from Kuala Dipang, District of Kinta

by DR W. LINEHAN, C.M.G., D.Litt.

(Received, February 1950).

In the Perak Museum is an ingot of tin, shaped like the shell of a tortoise (Malay, *kura-kura*), equipped, apparently, with "eyes"; and bearing, in slight relief, a short, faintly written legend. It was found in a tin mine at Kuala Dipang, in the locality of Kampar, in the District of Kinta, in the State of Perak. It weighs 1 lb. 14¼ ozs. The donor of the ingot was A. Hale, Inspector of Mines, Perak, in 1885. Its label describes the writing on it as being in "Siamese" characters. The ingot is depicted here on Pl. 1 (opposite). Its tin-content must be pure, for it shows no signs of deterioration.

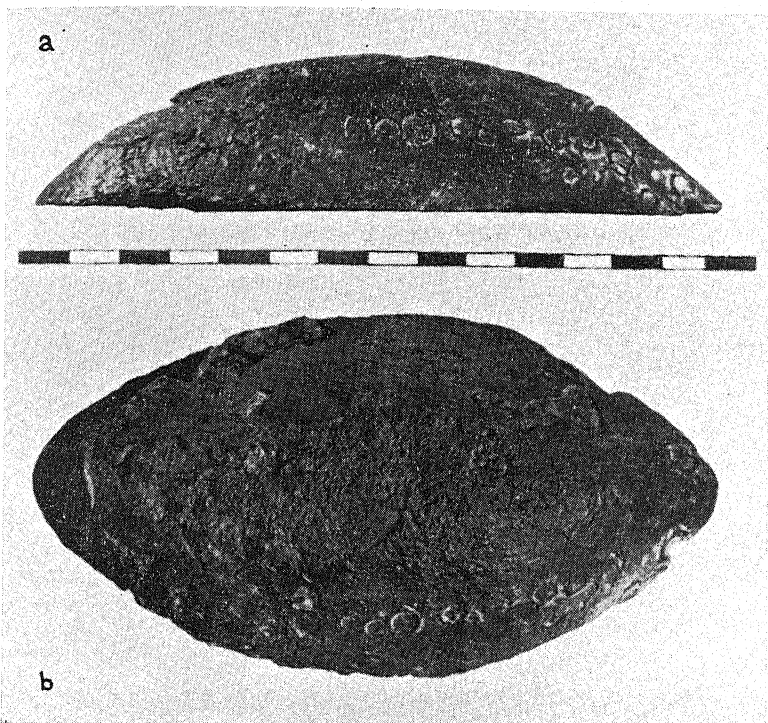
The ingot was shown to Weera Patana, the Siamese priest in charge of the Sakya Muni Buddha Gaya Temple, Singapore, who expressed the opinion that the inscription on the ingot was in Burmese characters, and that it was a *mantra* (a prayer with magical properties). Dr Coedès, who has seen a cast and a photograph of the ingot, confesses himself unable to decipher the inscription, but considers it very likely that it is a *mantra*.¹ The characters of the inscription, in his view, may well be either Burmese or Mon.

The late G. M. Laidlaw, M.C.S.² stated that a tin-ingot, evidently of the tortoise-shell shape (not inscribed), shown to him,

- (1) It is interesting to note that the "tunes" styled *man*, played by the royal bandsmen of Perak (*orang kalau* or *orang kalur*) on ceremonial occasions, such as the installation of a Sultan, appear to have been originally *mantra*, magical incantations. I hope to enlarge upon this view in a later paper.
- (2) Quoted in Temple's "The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States"—a reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*—Bombay, British India Press, 1914; pp. 46-47. Pl. II, fig. 1, No. 3 and fig. 2, No. 6.

Laidlaw designated the ingot as being of *jongkong* (i.e. *the boat*) shape but the reproduction on the Plate makes it clear that he was really referring to the tortoise-shell (*kura-kura*) type.

The view presented in Temple's study that tin-ingots, in the shape of a tortoise or of other animals, were a form of currency is, to my mind, extremely unlikely. Tin-ingots, representing animals, were produced only for special occasions. For instance, in Pahang, in the month of Muharram, the four great chiefs were wont to present themselves at the Ruler's court, in Pekan, with offerings which included tin wrought into the shape of tortoises or other animals (v. my "History of Pahang," JMBRAS., XIV, Pt. II, 1936; p. 196). Laidlaw gives Haji Mat Arshat's view, that ingots in the shape of an animal were made to order by a bellows-smith (*tukang pēngēmbus*) or magician (*pawang*), and that they were made for ornament, not use. However, it may be conceded that tortoise-shell ingots (*kura-kura*), having a sacred or magic significance and, for that reason, having been cast with special care, and with a particularly pure tin-content, and being very carefully preserved, may have been used as standard weights to test some forms of tin currency.



a, seen from the side. b, looking directly down on the convex surface.



Detail of the inscription.

**An Inscribed Tin Ingot from Kuala Dipang, District
of Kinta (Dr W. Linehan).**

(The black and white strip shown in the pictures is marked off in centimetres)

in 1904, by Imam Haji Mat Arshat bin Imam Bugis, an old Malay trader in the Kinta valley, was of the type known to the Malays as *sulong rĕlau*, the *eldest-born of the smelting-furnace*, or *sulong kĕlian*, the *eldest-born of the mines*; that such ingots were usually cast in duplicate; and that they were used by Malays in ceremonies attending the erection of the first or main pillar (*tiang sĕri*, "the pillar of the goddess of Fortune") of a house, and were bequeathed as heirlooms. This use accords with the sacred or magical properties of this species of tin-ingot conferred on it by the *mantra*.

The designation of the tortoise-shell ingot as the eldest-born of the mines or of the smelting-furnace is explained, to some extent, by the following quotation from Doyle:³

"It is almost unnecessary to add anything further to what has already been said on the superstitious practices of the Chinese miners, but they form an integral part of every smelting operation, more particularly on the first smelting of the ore from a newly-opened mine, which is an occasion for great feastings and sacrifices".

This remark must be qualified by the observation that the practices to which he referred emanated largely from Malay medicine-men (*pawang*) who, in the days of independent Malay rule, were called in by Chinese miners to perform the appropriate ceremonies.

With the Indians, the tortoise was an avatar, or one of the incarnations of Vishnu. With the Chinese, the tortoise was a symbol of longevity.

We may, then, take the tin-ingots shaped like a tortoise-shell as having been especially made to commemorate and to sanctify the commencement of a new undertaking, such as a mine, or a new house in order to bring it luck. Originally they bore a *mantra* or sacred invocation, but in the course of time, with the changes in the language, alphabet, racial character and religion of the miners, the *mantra* were omitted, although the essential significance of these ingots still persisted up to quite recent times.

A number of comparatively modern tin-ingots (the earliest of them dating from about the last quarter of the 18th century) inscribed in Malay (in a few instances, inscribed also in Chinese, with the name of the Chinese *towkay* to whom the Malay Rajas had given the monopoly of smelting the ingots) are extant in Malayan Museums, but they are entirely different in shape to that of the tortoise-shell; nor, apart from the fact that they were currency, had they got any particular significance. The specimen here described is, so far as I know, the only one of its type hitherto

(3) "Tin Mining in Larut", (E. & F. N. Spon, London, 1879; p. 21).

discovered with an inscription; and the inscription is unique in that it is neither in Malay nor in Chinese.

A. Hale, the donor of the ingot, has some interesting remarks about tin and tin-workings.⁴ Discussing ancient mine workings (*lumbong Siam*), he says:

"Further evidence of old work is furnished by slabs of tin of a shape unlike that which has been used in Perak in the memory of living persons...."

Here, he includes, no doubt, the ingots of tortoise-shell shape, one of which he presented to the Perak Museum.

He mentions the animistic views of the Malays regarding tin: "The Malay miner has peculiar ideas about tin and its properties; in the first instance he believes that it is under the protection and command of certain spirits whom he considers it necessary to propitiate; next he considers that the tin itself is alive and has many of the properties of living matter, that of its own volition it can move from place to place, that it can reproduce itself, and that it has special likes—or perhaps affinities—for certain people and things and *vice versa*. Hence it is advisable to treat tin-ore with a certain amount of respect, to consult its convenience, and what is, perhaps, more curious, to conduct the business of mining in such a way that the tin ore may, as it were, be obtained without its own knowledge!"

Unless it is indeed a "stray" from the north (which is unlikely), the date of manufacture of the tin-ingot cannot have been later than 1826, in which year James Low drove Siamese invaders out of Kampar, the district in which Kuala Dipang, the site of the find, is situated.

Appendix

Mrs A. Hingston Quiggin ("A Survey of Primitive Money", Methuen & Co., 1949, p. 253) writes:

"Solid tin lumps (*tampang jongkong*) of varying sizes, some 1 foot or more across, and looking as if turned out of a pudding basin were in use in Selangor until recently. These are the firstlings of the smelting house, to which a superstitious value was attached, and these first fruits were handed down as family heirlooms".

In a foot-note she adds, "Cf. the specimen in the Pitt Rivers Collection and also Temple, 1913, Pl. II".

Mrs Quiggin, evidently misled by Laidlaw's erroneous description of the specimen of the tortoise-shell (*kura-kura*) shape as being of the *jongkong* (boat) type, attributes to the latter the qualities which really belonged to the former. The tortoise-shell ingot is rather distinct in shape from the boat-ingot, the specimens of which, at least in Malayan Museums, are far bigger and heavier. It may well be that the *jongkong* type of ingot, too, was regarded as possessing properties which brought good luck; but this still awaits proof.

(4) "On Mines and Miners in Kinta, Perak" (JSBRAS., No. 16, 1885; pp. 304-305).

The Sarawak Turtle Islands' "Semah".

by TOM HARRISSON

(Government Ethnologist & Curator, Sarawak Museum)

(Received, August 1949).

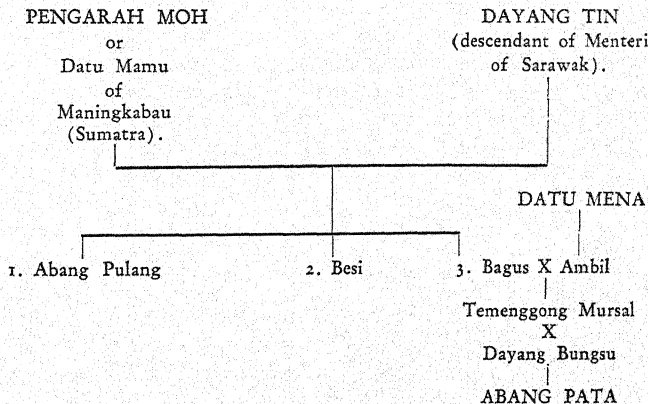
See Photographs on Plates 2 & 3 between pages 108 & 109.

1.—The Islands.

Lying in a great bay between Tanjong Datu and Tanjong Po at the southeast corner of Sarawak (Borneo) are a number of small islands. One of these, Satang Besar, is situated just outside the Santubong mouth of the Sarawak River. Twenty-five miles to the west, close together, are two islands called Talang Talang Besar and Talang Talang Kechil. These three islands are distinguished from others of this coast by having small strips of approachable fine sandy beach. Upon these three beaches the Edible Turtle (*Chelone mydas*) comes up to lay an average of 108 eggs at a time. Over one and a half million eggs were collected in 1948. (see Appendix B). Killing of the animal itself is forbidden in Sarawak.

Although a few turtles come ashore at all times of the year, the greater part of the laying is concentrated between May and October, roughly between the end and the beginning of the *lands* monsoon (see Appendix B).

It is probable that turtles have bred on these three islands for a very long time. Only a few use the mainland beaches, and there is no indication that they did so to any greater extent in the past. But the regular collection of the eggs is probably of fairly recent origin. On Talang Talang Besar, which produces about half of the normal egg yield, the development of the industry is attributed to Abang Pata, who went there after Illanun pirates for the first Rajah Brooke.



This Abang Pata plays an important part in the descent of the leading Kuching Malays, one main branch of whom trace descent to the son of the Rajahs of Java and Johore (see Harrisson 1949), the other and later one as shown at the foot of page 105. Abang Pata is a direct great uncle of the present Datu Bandar (Abang Haji Mustapha, *O.B.E.*). The alleged establishment of the turtle egg industry—at least in Malay hands—is therefore not ancient. Prior to that, such isolated islands were dangerous places for small scale occupation by egg gatherers and similar people. Collecting of turtle eggs became a regular feature, the rights being vested mainly in the Datus of Kuching, who subsequently paid an annual fee to the Brooke family. The system led, however, to some difficulties, as a result of which the islands were put under the charge of the Curator of the Sarawak Museum in 1940. The Japanese occupied the area soon after, before any marked changes in the regime could be felt. The industry was in considerable chaos in the following years, until in 1947 the position was regularised again, under the Curator's control. Resident egg-collectors live on all three of the islands and the eggs collected are offered for public sale, the profits going to Malay charities and to the Mosques.

Thus the turtle egg industry is definitely associated with the Malay section of the community. The land on the three islands, apart from the foreshore, is held by Malays who cultivate coconuts, and are largely descendants of the Datus.

2.—Sea and River Rites

In the tradition of the Turtle Islands, there has been an annual ceremony at the close of the monsoon, known as "*Semah*". *Semah* in local usage is a general term for ceremonies which are largely concerned with "opening the river mouth" for the new fishing season. The *semah* technique is widely distributed among the pagan as well as modern inhabitants of the country; the word is sometimes extended to cover a wide range of ceremonies conducted, for instance, on the occasion of floating a new boat, and even at purely terrestrial activities, such as rice planting. I believe that *semah* is also performed in Malaya. Prof. Skeat recently (1949) briefly discussed the different values of the term in Selangor and Trengganu, and referred to a link with Majapahit (Hindu); but it does not seem to be widespread on the Peninsula. It is not referred to by Professor Firth (1946), nor does he indicate in his study of Malayan (Kelantan) fishing that any such seasonal ceremonies exist, although he discusses some regular control of "spirits of the sea", by blessings, prayers, talismans, avoidances, and other more negative acts.

Sarawak coastal Melanau, who are partly pagan and partly Mohammedan, have an elaborate related system of ceremonies, generally known as *begawai* and including many other elements; and in the ceremony on Satang Island (to be described below) the semi-Melanau performers directly associated their rite with the Melanau procedure known as *bakaul*. For a general sketch of this Melanau type of rite, I have to thank a Melanau teacher, Henry Nura bin Girim of Mukah; he writes,

"Among the customs of my people, the Melanau, is one called "*kaul kuala*", the ceremony of the sea. This custom is as old as I can remember and still carried out each year; even the Japanese occupation did not stop it. The time for this festival is the beginning of the year, in either January or February when the *landas* is over. The actual day is settled by the meeting of all the *Tua Kampongs*. A few days prior to the chosen date, the gong is beaten to warn everyone to prepare for the *kaul*. All must attend: I myself had to go in January of this year. Each boat is made ready, the fishing boats, the racing boats, and the double-oared boats. Large quantities of food are also cooked, such as cakes, *papita* (rice balls wrapped in nipah palm leaf), eggs and curry. At 8.00 a.m. on the morning of the *kaul* all the boats row down to the *kuala*, the Mohammedans going to the left bank, the others to the right bank of the river. Led by their *Tua Kampongs*, both parties say some prayers, after which all sit down to eat. No-one is allowed to take any food home with him, so when the meal is over all the food left over is put into a basket called *sarabang*, which is hung on a bamboo pole under a big tree on the shore. This food is put out to appease the spirits, but anyone who wishes may eat it on the spot, but may not bring it home. Then follow songs, dances, the beating of the *engkrumong*, and tunes in the violin. When all are tired they return home in their boats, hoping for a good fishing season. For three days after the *kaul* no one is allowed to go out fishing, and only cargo boats may put to sea."

The basic elements here would seem to be:—

1. End of *landas* (variable date).
2. Boats to sea.
3. Division of people into two groups.
4. Prayer.
5. Feast.
6. Food put out and left.
7. Drum, song, etc.
8. Period of rest (3 days).
9. Expectation of good season.

In the two different forms of *semah* to be described below, all these factors are found.

The observance of *semah* on the island is theoretically an annual necessity. The *Sarawak Gazette* (1937) reports that it was performed at Talang Talang on May 23rd, 1937, and comments:—

1950] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

"This ceremony, which is a survival of the Sarawak Malays' former animism, has lost most of its popularity. The ceremony consists of a party of Malays, led by a *pawang*, sailing around the islands and reciting prayers to the spirits of the seas. A landing is then made on the main island, where a mock battle takes place in which the invaders are the conquerors. A similar ceremony survives in Trengganu, Malaya."

This is one of the few written references to any such rite in Sarawak, and no attempt has previously been made to record it.

During the Japanese occupation, *semah* lapsed. It was revived in 1947, on the two Talang islands, but not on Satang. In 1948, when I was away on a long expedition to the interior, it was not performed at all. Although the 1948 egg yield was higher than it had been for some years, the officer-in-charge of the islands, Abang Nona, unfortunately died while he was still in his prime. It was widely stated that his death was due to the non-performance of *semah* in 1948. As one educated Malay put it:—

"These islands are haunted with spirits, and if there is no *semah* the turtles will not come up to lay, because they will be disturbed by the spirits. Even if there is no effect on the turtles, the turtle island staff will be effected. Therefore—the death of Abang Nona."

So, apart from the matter of keeping up traditional custom, it became particularly important to perform the ceremony in 1949, if only to heighten the morale of the egg collecting staff.

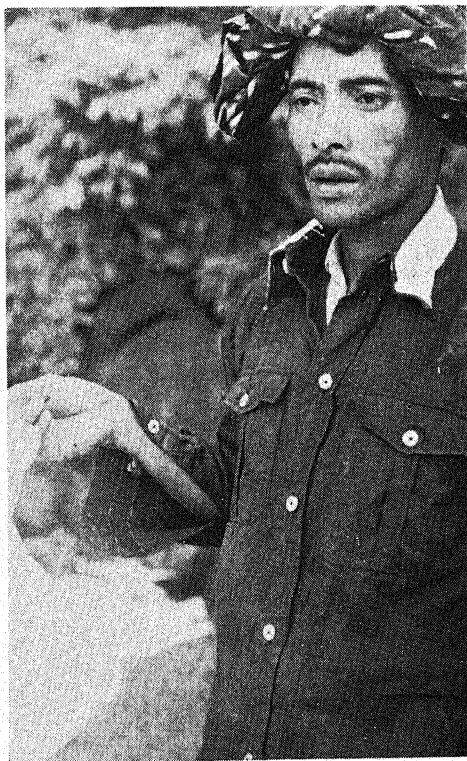
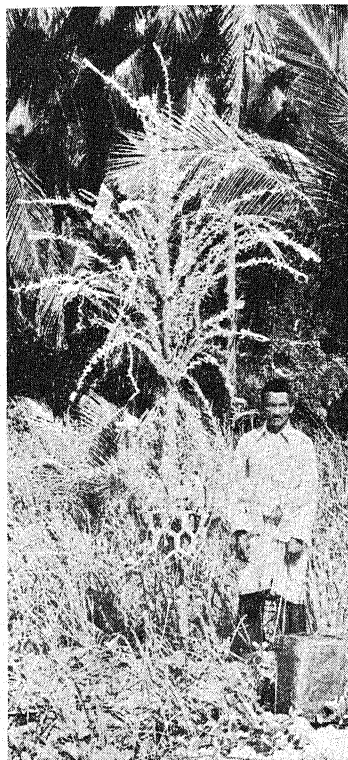
3.—1949 Semah

This paper does not attempt to analyse in detail the whole basis or belief of *semah*. Nor are we in a position to link the rites performed on the Turtle Islands with the general pattern for Sarawak, since so far we have no adequate accounts of such performances as they *actually take place* in this part of the world.

The following account is confined to what happened on the spot, so far as one person could record it, between March 22nd and 24th, 1949. It was *essentially* a confused business. The ceremony itself was in contradiction to orthodox Mohammedan belief, although attended by the Mufti (Haji Nawawi), and Datus Bandar, Hakim, Amar, and the Datu Tuanku Taha, *M.B.E.* In this instance, as well as the above-mentioned leaders of the Malay community and the author, there were present His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government of Sarawak (the Hon'ble Mr C. W. Dawson, *C.M.G.*), the Colonial Secretary, Singapore (Sir Patrick Mackerron, *K.C.M.G.*), the Chief Secretary of Sarawak (Mr. R. G. Aikman), the Secretary for Native Affairs & Resident 1st Division (Mr D. C. White) and the Conservator of Forests (Mr B. J. C. Spurway, *M.B.E.*). To the last two I owe thanks and to Haji Yusof Shibli, for assistance in this



(A) The *Sēmab* canoe circles Satang Island.

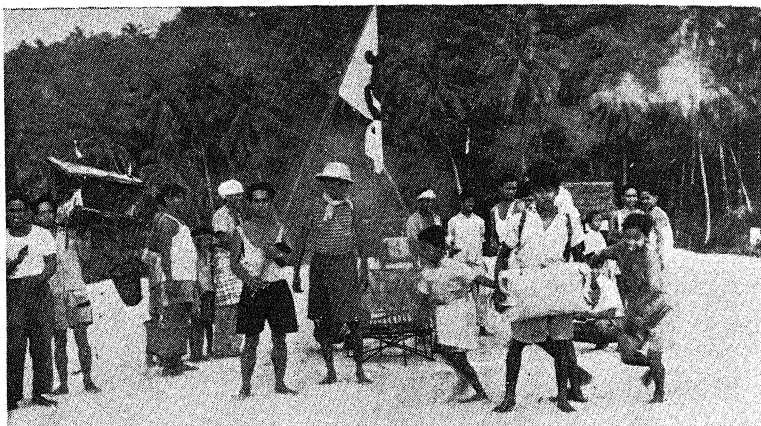


Left, (B), the Pawang (a Malay-Melanau) with the *Puan* at Satang. Right, (C), the Pawang (a Selakou Land Dayak) at Talang Talang Bēsar in a semi-trance.

The Sarawak Turtle Islands “Sēmah” (Tom Harrisson).



(A) Some of the Selakous at the ceremony on Talang Talang Bësar.



(B) Start of the procession on the beach at Talang Talang Bësar.



(C) The *Anchak* (model house) for offerings on Talang Talang Bësar.

study. The photographs (see Plates 2 & 3) were taken during the ceremonies, but do not represent the extensive nocturnal activities (especially on Talang Talang).

4.—Semah on Satang Island

The ceremony on Satang Island, which normally produces the smallest proportion of the annual egg yield, was conducted on March 22nd and 23rd in the presence of the writer and the leading Malays; the remainder of the party joined us at Talang Talang Besar on the afternoon of the 23rd. The principal performer on Satang was Ma'il, a Mohammedan from Santubong at the mouth of the Sarawak River. A not particularly aristocratic man, aged about 50, he was variously titled by informants as the "*Pawang*", "*Padukung*" or "*Tukang Semah*". He himself said that he had learnt the performance of these rites from an elderly Malay of the Saribas district further north, who had spent some time in Santubong and was an expert in the *semah* ceremony for fishing. It is evident that the turtle island *semah* is only a modification of the form used for other purposes. Ma'il, in common with most of the population of Santubong, has a strong mixture of pagan, and especially Melanau, in his ancestry, and this village is historically as polyglot as any in Borneo (*cf* details of Santubong in Harrison 1949).

During the period of the ceremony Ma'il wore white trousers under a coloured sarong, a jacket and a black skull-cap. Under his left arm he carried a white cloth, neatly folded. I was told by the Datus that in 1947 a different man had been used as master of ceremonies from Santubong. Similarly, the Dayak used at Talang Talang this year was not the same as in 1947, when *two* men shared the duty, a Malay and a Dayak. There is, in fact, keen competition for the appointment, both for the prestige it brings and for the fees that go with the feast (see below, Appendix A).

When we arrived at Satang at four o'clock on the 22nd, Ma'il and his party, including a number of young girls, were already there. There was no particular activity. The only visible sign of anything about to happen was the *semah* apparatus, close to the staff quarters. This apparatus consisted principally of an eight-foot high pole, called *puan*, decorated with elegant fronds of palm. Towards the base of this pole was a platform, on which offerings were placed (plate 2 B); attached to the fronds on the pole were miniature figures, ostensibly of turtles, but closely resembling birds, and cunningly woven out of the same fronds. Red and black pieces of cloth hung from the poles as pendants. This *puan* rested on the beach about 20 yards from the house. On each side, slung over an inclined forked stick, were trays, *anchak*, suspended from the forks by palm fronds, and lacking elaborate ornaments.

On the tray of the *puan* and on the two *anchak* various items had already been laid out by 4 p.m. on the 22nd. There were seven colours of rice—yellow, blue, grey, red, orange, white and black, though one of these was only represented on the *anchak*. These were, of course, dyed and the colouring was faint. In addition there were *pënyarang*—tarts made of maize flour and rice, browned on top; *këtupat lepas*, rice cooked in pieces of leaves so arranged that when the leaf is pulled the whole opens out without cutting; small biscuits, some finger-shaped and some circular with pink icing on the top; packets of freshly wrapped betel-nut enclosed in leaf; boiled fowls' eggs; and thin Malay cigarettes. These items were variously arranged on little platters of banana leaf, but some of the betel and eggs were placed directly on the tray. The only other piece of apparatus was a kerosene tin, open at the top, containing a little tinder ready for firing and some coconut fibre.

At about 8 p.m. Ma'il and his party started chanting to the accompaniment of skin drums, played by the girls. It was not possible to record the text of this as he repeated it almost inaudibly. There appeared to be a constant repetition of a stereotyped invocation, which Ma'il himself rendered next day as:—

"Hei! Mambang di-awan,

Raja Muda

Raja Sultan

Ampat saudara

Minta datang berhimpun di-darat

40 arus di-darat

40 arus di-laut

40 arus di-iler

40 arus di-ulu

Bergumpal-lah semua di-Pulau ini.

This somewhat limited formula was not much illuminated by Ma'il's comment upon it, and could clearly be used for any marine purpose, apart from the last line. The duality of two Rajas, four brothers, probably reflects the already mentioned division into two groups. The four points of appeal (wind, sea, upriver, downriver) for the forty waves is found again, but in terms of movement and offering rather than in words, on Talang Talang (see below). Ma'il did not know who the four brothers were, nor could he say more about the initial invocation of the cloud fairy or spirit.

The Datus' party, including the Mufti, left Ma'il to his devices that evening, and had a prayer meeting of their own with a short reading from the Koran. The Mufti made his evening devotions

on the foreshore—incidentally the first time I have *seen* a Sarawak Malay at prayer. All present then had a special meal of *bubor kacang*—mixed peas, sugar and coconut. This is the "correct" meal for the evening before the day on which the main *semah* is performed.

Nothing more happened that evening, and people went early to bed. There was extensive cooking activity the following morning, preparing for the "feast". This was conducted entirely by the island staff and some attendants in the Datus' party. The Santubong people took no part in this.

Then at 9.15 a.m., some crackers were fired off as Ma'il and his companions gathered round the *puan* and the two *anchak* close to the house. Ma'il muttered some inaudible words and then led off across the beach, a man carrying the *puan* behind him, others taking the *anchak* and the drums; there were no females in the processional party. Going down to the sea, they entered a prahu; then Ma'il scattered coloured rice, waving his white cloth, and shouted the invocation as above (see Plate 2 A). The contents of the kerosene tin had been lit, and pleasant smelling incense was burning in it. With seven people in the prahu they rowed round the island anti-clockwise, about a hundred yards off shore. On the far side of the island they went ashore at two points, to deposit the two *anchak*.

After fifty minutes the round was completed, and the party came ashore, now in a more ragged fashion; and it never had been exactly ceremonial, though always serious. Ma'il now placed the *puan* above high water mark, about forty yards west of its previous position (Plate 2. B.). There was thus a gap of 40 yards which had not been circled. Across this gap, the party now busied themselves placing a number of coloured pendants on 9 ft poles. These pendants were of three colours and arranged in no visible symmetry, but leaving a passage up from the water's edge to the *puan* and another from the house to the landing place. One hundred and sixty yards of beach were marked out in this way (thus overlapping both sides of the previous gap); this is roughly the total length of beach up which the turtles mount to lay.

These flags indicated that the island was now *pantang* and none might land for three days—although it was understood that our party could leave to go on to Talang Talang. However, Ma'il qualified the three days. His ceremony was completed about eleven o'clock and the subsequent feast by noon. But the *pantang* period is calculated as "today, tomorrow and the day after until midday", so that it would be over in 48 hours.

After the erection of flags, the feast was eaten—rice, chicken, goat, curry and vegetables in abundance. Ma'il's party sat in one

group, the island staff and friends in another, and the Datus' party in a third. There was no ritual utterance in connection with this feast, and after it we left without ceremony.

On the whole the performance was carried out without much vigour. I got the impression that it was half-hearted, and not very meaningful to the participants. The Datus' party took little notice of Ma'il's party and what they did. They even showed a certain amount of scepticism, though this should not be taken too literally (see the Talang Talang procedure below). On the other hand, they sharply repulsed the youthful crew of the boat that had brought us when they came ashore on hearing the drumming at night and immediately wanted to organise a dance. They gave the impression that the dance on this occasion was out of keeping—as it was in the particular solemn and dull "atmosphere" on Satang, far different from that engendered on Talang Talang the following night.

5.—Semah on Talang Talang

From the moment of arriving on Talang Talang Besar at 3 p.m. on March 23rd, one felt a different atmosphere. The beach above high water mark had been laid out with pendants of three colours, and the *Tukan Semah* awaited the landing of our craft in a colourful uniform, with the beating of drums. This could partly be written down as showmanship, but showmanship of the sort inseparable from most vigorous Dayak rituals. And here the ritual *was* manifestly Dayak.

The master of ceremonies, Nimbon anak Orang Kaya Radeh (Plate 2. C.), was of the ruling family from the village of Pue (Poi) at the foot of the Pue (Poi) Range, opposite the Talang Talang islands. The inhabitants of this village fall into the main category of Land Dayaks (Aichner 1949), of which they form a fairly distinctive section, terming themselves *Sēlakou* (also spelt Selakow etc.). During the last century they came over from the Sambas area in Dutch Borneo, and their same name was used even on the Montrado gold-field area, further east in Dutch Borneo in the last century (Harrisson 1949). Only a portion of this group came over into Sarawak, where until quite recent times they were rather bullied by their stronger neighbours (*e.g.*, see *Sarawak Gazette*, 1882).

Nimbon, aged about forty-five, was a far more lively character than Ma'il of Santubong. He said that he learned the *semah* procedure from his uncle, who in turn learned it from a Lundu Dayak—definitely not from a Malay. These Lundu Dayaks, terming themselves Sebuyaus, are related additionally to the Sea Dayaks or Ibans, and have spread down from the coastal areas further north in quite recent times. Thus, although the *Sēlakou*

are historically land people, their proximity to the mouth of the Lundu River and islands has resulted in their acquiring this marine procedure from the more historically aquatic Sebuyau. But the invocation (see below) also contains Malay influences, though far more local and topical than Ma'il's version on Satang. I was told that in 1947 the Talang Talang *semah* was performed by both a Dayak and a Malay, and this would conform to the Melanau idea (2 above). There is no hard and fast rule.

Nimbon's uncle, Pa Ragi, long performed *semah* here; then his cousin Abang Pilit, and now Nimbon. Pa Ragi's son was present in the party of twenty-nine Dayaks who came to the island for the 1949 ceremony, and he acted throughout as chief assistant to Nimbon. Nimbon was strikingly dressed in a new suit for the occasion. It consisted of long green trousers with a thin gilt stripe on one side and thin scarlet stripe on the other; a tightly fitting green jacket with scarlet facing and two pips on each shoulder (like a lieutenant); and a coloured turban of batik cloth.

The visible apparatus for *semah* here was fundamentally the same as that on Satang, but it differed in execution. There was no *puan* pole. Instead, there were two miniature huts, *bale* (Plate 3. A.) Each of these was 1 foot 10 inches high, with floor and roof of *attap*, and walls of folded over *nipah* palm fronds—with one side open to a miniature ladder, cross-steps tied on to two twigs. Each hut was fourteen inches square at the floor level, and elevated in the usual native manner. One of these *bale* was to be the main place for the offering on Talang Talang Besar; the other was to be taken to the smaller island of Talang Talang Kéchil, a quarter of a mile away, later in the ceremony.

The hanging trays or *anchak* were smaller than those on Satang, and there were seven of them instead of two. Each had a folded *nipah* leaf border and a floor of green bamboo, four inches square. Small coloured pendants decorated each corner of each *anchak*. One of the *bale* was decorated with nine pendants, the other with six.

The only other apparatus was a thirty-foot pole, to which was attached the flag of the Turtle Islands (a black turtle stencilled on a white background, designed in 1948). There was also half a kerosene tin of coconut husks, ashes, and incense—as on Satang.

When we arrived, the offerings had not yet been placed on the *bale* or *anchak*. They were put there about 5 p.m. Here, only yellow rice was used, as well as *kétopat* cakes; also cakes of rice flour; betel nut; and eggs. In addition, a candle and a banana were placed on each *anchak* and *bale*. As on Satang the items were mostly placed in small palm leaf platters. The two *bale*

stood out in the open; and the seven *anchak* were hung up on a line in the rough palm-leaf shelter at the head of the beach, facing the staff house. This shelter, 30 ft long and 15 ft wide, was specially made for the occasion, and had a single sloping roof and leaf walls, with a rotan mat and a smaller mat on the sand as "floor". This was occupied by the twenty-nine Dayaks, including Nimbon with a box. He performed his rites in the evening at one corner of the shelter. The women stayed at the other end, except those beating the drums and gongs (see below), who sat in the middle at the back.

Three goats were tethered nearby when we arrived. These, together with a number of fowls, were soon put to death in the Malay manner by the Mufti, using a wooden plank and a knife on the sand near the shelter. The animals lay struggling about on the sand for a while; the Mufti washed his hands in a kerosene tin of water.

At 6 p.m., after the Mufti had killed the animals, four plucked and cleaned fowls were placed on a tray in the Dayak shelter. Now the temper of actively begins to heighten. The other meat is chopped up by the Malays for the feast. Nimbon lights the material in the half kerosene tin, and starts to mutter over it. He takes two beads out of a small rotan basket. One of these is blue and the other green, both of the glassy type which is highly valued among the far away Kelabits in the northern interior. He holds these beads over the smoke for a moment; his assistant then ties them on to Nimbon's right wrist. Nimbon now takes a small bowl in his left hand, with coconut and other items in it. He places a clean folded white cloth on his head, like the one used on Satang. This at once falls off; it is replaced by his assistant, who is carrying another bowl which contains rice mixed with the blood of the freshly killed goats. After some muttering Nimbon sets off, followed by his assistant and the rest of the men in the party. They proceed to the centre of the beach, which on this island is in the form of a point or cape about 150 yards long and 70 yards broad (at the base, or land end). One man digs with his hand down into the sand, to make a hole. Another produces a bottle of arrack and sprinkles it round this hole. Nimbon bends down and scatters in a small handful of rice from the bowl, proclaiming the invocation recorded below. The youths let off crackers; the long flag pole is brought up and put in the hole. Nimbon walks round and round the hole reciting, his assistant carrying the tin of smoking coconut husks. Meanwhile, the women remaining in the shelter beat softly with their hands on two skin drums.

At the same time, the Mufti takes up a position of prayer in the middle of the beach. He remains there until dusk, most of the time sitting cross-legged, and with the Dayak party passing and re-

passing him as they proceed with the ceremony. Having erected the new flag pole, the party go up to the end of the beach, where there is a single white flag a foot square. Here Nimbon makes further invocation, scattering from the first bowl, above which his assistant scatters blood and rice from the second bowl, while another man sprinkles arrack. Altogether there are ten men in the party. They then go on to the third corner of the beach and repeat this performance. After this they return to their original position at the shelter, having now rounded the sides of the triangle (the sandy promontory).

Now the whole procedure is repeated again, without pause. But this time the rice etc. is scattered *along* the way also. When the second round is completed, Nimbon comes into the hut and talks to the spirits for a short while. As the sun sets, the party moves round for the third time. On this third round they walk to the hut in which the turtle eggs are stored at the centre of the beach. They go to the previous (last year's) flag post flying the old turtle flag, pull up the whole thing, and go back to the shelter.

By now it is 6.35 p.m. (Sarawak time). There is a magnificent red sunset over and behind Tanjong Datu to the west. To the east a sky of deepest blue blackens the vivid contrast of the bright little pendants silhouetted as they flutter in the evening breeze. The sea seems to be of ink, and in it the Datus' party are taking their evening bathe—they have taken no part in the Dayak ceremonies so far. The Mufti remains in his prayer position.

As night falls, candles are lit in the shelter, on each of the *anchak*, illuminating the bright clothes of the Dayak women and the fresh green of the palm fronds. The Malays are eating in the house. Some of the Dayaks are beating the drums. Nimbon mutters invocations in a long and inaudible sequence, sometimes turning his head downward and to the left, speaking very softly. From time to time he scatters rice with his right hand from the bowl. The four cleaned fowls are on the plates before him, and a candle burns under the legs of one of them. His assistant sits just behind, to the right, and passes him a bowl from time to time.

New apparatus has now appeared, in the form of two long thin bamboos which contain cooked rice wrapped in a leaf. He pulls them out from time to time with his left hand, while reciting. There is now a twenty minutes lull in the drumming; but the invocations do not cease. The Dayak women are pre-occupied with obtaining cigarettes supplied for the occasion. Nimbon suddenly notices this, and breaks off to tell them to keep him some.

At 7.30 p.m. Nimbon has worked himself up into what appears to be quite a state. He comes out of the shelter in a few crouched dance paces, with short yelping shouts. He circles the crowd on

the sand, to the heightened tempo of the drums, watched by most of the Malays, who have fed. But this phase only lasts a minute or two. The food is ready for the Dayaks, and is brought out to them in their shelter by the younger Malays and the island staff. After the meal, the Dayaks chatter, the women put white powder on their faces, the men draw long trousers over their shorts. They are preparing to dance. This dance is part of the "occasion", and in keeping with the atmosphere of vivacity produced by the energy of Nimbon in the past two hours.

At 8.30 p.m. the dance begins, four women playing with their hands on two skin drums and two brass gongs. It is the ordinary formal dancing in the Malay style; men in pairs perform on the soft white sand between the shelter and the edge of the beach. Both Malays and Dayaks join this dancing—all along the coastal belt the pagan peoples nearly always do Malay dancing nowadays. One of the Datus encourages the dancers; another, after having his leg pulled by the women's singing in the normal Malay *pantun* style, joms in himself. The Dayaks drink some arrack and the party warms up. Several young men practice their paces by themselves in the shadows behind the shelter. One of the Malays working on the island starts singing in *pantun* "against" the women whilst dancing. There is a lot of laughing and clapping from all sections.

After a while the Dayaks, with a little encouragement, decide to do a dance of their own. A few seats are placed in front of the shelter and the more distinguished visitors are invited to sit on them. The tray of four fowls is placed on a box inside the shelter along with some rice. The women strike up a different rhythm on the drums, and a young man in white clothes starts to sing in a curious wailing manner. Two girls of 16 and 14 stand behind him and on his left, all three facing the seats in line and looking over the box with the fowls and rice. The young man sings for about ten minutes, accompanied by two gongs and two drums. Then he starts a slow circulating movement, in something of a Javanese dance fashion, while Nimbon sprinkles rice and all three young people throw a little rice which they have been holding in their left hands. The two girls follow the man, dancing slowly, bending their knees and swinging their hands anti-clockwise around the box. They do this for ten minutes, then stop, fanning themselves with their handkerchiefs, which they hold in their left hands. Then, incited by the young man, the younger girl offers a cigarette to each of those sitting on the seats; the other girl follows, lighting the cigarettes. Nimbon comes behind them, saying, "The young women wish to greet the distinguished ones".

This dance is called "*konchong*," and in this form is said to be confined to the Selakou. In the Sambas area, the women sit on

the distinguished visitors' knees after offering cigarettes. And in some places the handkerchiefs held by the girls are thrown at whosoever they wish to dance with—and the men must comply. This dance shows affinity with the *mangali*, a form of dance found among the Dusuns in North Borneo, who place a flower wreath on the neck of the distinguished visitor. The Datu Tuanku Taha tells me that he has seen something of the same sort on the lower Limbang, north Sarawak (perhaps Bisaya?). I do not know of any such dance among the pagan tribes of the interior in Sarawak, and it may be of Javanese origin—it is not "Malay".

After the small spell of Dayak dancing, they return to the Malay form, with added hilarity and energy. There is a good deal of fooling and rivalry. After midnight it rains heavily, to the discomfort of the seventy odd people using a shelter space intended for a few.

The rain continues in the morning, but relaxes about 8.30 a.m. Soon after this, the drums and gongs start up again, and just after 9. a.m. Nimbon leads his party of men (Plate 3, B.) carrying one of the *anchak*, which is placed about a hundred yards past the beach on the rocks. Another is then taken inland and placed on the hillock behind the beach. A third is placed at the other rocky limit of the beach. The party then proceeds to the end of the promontory, carrying the remaining four *anchak* and the two *bale* with the big white flag carried in front. On the point they stop and fire off crackers, Nimbon waves the white flag, and one of the *bale* is placed in position at the tip of the beach, along with the white flag on a post. The party then embarks in a canoe and goes out to the motor-boat which is to take them round the two islands. Two drummers are with them. Crackers are fired, Nimbon waves his white cloth. The white flag is taken on board, along with the remaining *bale* and four *anchak*. The boarding party also has two brass gongs and a basket containing fifty or sixty turtle eggs—the purpose of which will appear shortly.

At 9.15 the party starts to circle the islands, proceeding anti-clockwise, (as at Satang). Nimbon stands at the front of the boat waving his white cloth and scattering his offerings, while others beat the drums and fire off crackers. They land once at the back of the big island (the site furthest from the beach) and place one of the *anchak* there. The remaining two *anchak* and the *bale* are placed on Talang Talang Kechil, where they afterwards land. The *bale* is placed at the foot of the flag staff on the beach. A chicken is sacrificed at the same time—the other offerings are of course still in the *bale* and *anchak*. The *pantang* flags, to be placed on the beach at Talang Talang Kechil, are not taken by this party but remain on Talang Talang Besar, and will be put in place later in the day as the Dayaks return to the mainland.

As the boat bearing the Dayak party returns to the beach at Talang Talang Besar (after an absence of an hour and a half) most of the Datus' party from Kuching, led by the Datu Bandar and the Datu Hakim, go down to meet them. The Mufti remains in the house. He says he is no longer nimble enough for what is to follow; he took a prominent part in 1947. While the boat has been away, the junior Malays have been preparing the feast, chopping up goat and fowl, handling masses of curry, mixing tinned soup and milk and chopped ginger, and generally getting ready for a big meal. The female Dayaks have remained in the shelter drumming and singing *pantuns*.

As the canoe comes ashore with Nimbon and his colleagues, they stand poised with turtle eggs held in their hands. The Datus and others, including the Chief Secretary and myself, are similarly poised with five or six eggs each on the beach. A few long shots are fired from the beach, and as the prahu grounds, this mounts to a vigorous cross fire. Nimbon, perhaps out of respect for his smart suit, remains in the prahu till last, while his friends rush ashore and soon put the Malay party to traditional flight along the beach, with shouts and laughter and volleys of eggs. Nearly every one is hit and smeared with yolk. The skin of the egg is nipped with the fingers before throwing, so that the contents fly out the more easily.

Everyone is excited and amused after the egg fight, which lasts less than five minutes. Nimbon has to remind his assistant to plant the white flag again at the end of the beach—the man has rushed off with it after the Datus and later rejoins Nimbon to plant it on the promontory.

The significance of this egg fight is explained by the participants as based on the idea that every egg the living Datus throw, the spiritual Datus invoked by Nimbon will give back manifold. There is also the idea of waste, of filling the air with eggs to produce an abundance thereafter. Rotten eggs "should" be used but there were none available at this time. The participants did not suggest that there was also a significance in the Dayak—Malay conflict, and in the repulsing of the island or land forces by those come up fresh from the sea (the turtles?).

In another hour, at noon, the feast is ready, and all sit down to eat, with the same broad segregation as at Satang, except that the Europeans and Datus eat together. The Dayaks are fed last. The scale of eating over this period is indicated in Appendix A; most of the items were actually consumed on the spot, more than three-quarters of them on Talang Talang.

After the feast the various parties return home, and the island is now *pantang*. On the way the Dayak party will place the

pantang flag on the beach of Talang Talang Kechil. I had already suggested, partly as a try-out, that I might return to Talang Talang Besar next day on the Government fishing boat, after examining a new fishing ground out at sea. This caused considerable concern, and one of the Datus at once came and spoke to me on the subject, saying that everybody was afraid lest I should break the *pantang* in this way. For although the Mohammedans took a largely passive part in the whole affair, it clearly had significance for them also, and was by no means merely a passive pacification. Far from it. For although Mohammedans do not theoretically recognise rites which invoke evil spirits, devils, etc., they do recognise, in Sarawak, the strength and sincerity of old customs which antedate Islam here. The very earliest impact of Islam did not reach Brunei till the 15th century, and in many places along the coast it arrived much later. In the interior, even today, Islam has made no observable impact. Borneo is in fact at practically the farthest fringe of Mohammedan influence, receiving the last and least of it. Moreover, this part of Borneo probably met with Hindu influences, which were not nearly so well organised elsewhere on the island. The Hindu influences probably came over largely from the Sambas area in Dutch Borneo, the comparatively recent homeland of Nimbon and his friends.

Nimbon's invocation is addressed to a series of *Jawota Guata*, some of them with Mohammedan titles, others probably pre-Mohammedan? It was not possible to take down his utterances as he muttered them. But the version he gave afterwards, *verbatim*, is in substantial agreement with those parts that he was heard to declaim. No doubt his actual utterances were more varied and more extensive. This word formula is a nice example of the intermediacy of contemporary coastal Borneo culture. It is a mixture of so much, right down to the compromise of 1949, of Datu, Tuan and Antu; of the pagan appeal to the invisible, not understood, and the parallel appeal to the manifest, administering now. South, west and east; pagan, Mohammedan and European—that European which has, in very recent times, turned many of these Land Dayaks into Christians (S.P.G., R.C., Seventh Day Adventist, etc.), and many of them back again, too, as the *Sarawak Gazette* recorder of 1882 attests,

"... The Resident proceeding overland with the object of taking the Selakow village of Sedemak on his way. This was once a pretty populous Mission station, but its present aspect is somewhat forlorn, the Selakows have dispersed in search of fresh farming grounds and the Mission house and Church fallen out of repair and overgrown by jungle."

It is against this little understood and often faded background of the past that the present has to be judged. That past is as confused as the immediate environment of the *semah* on this Talang Talang occasion—Dayak and Malay, Chinese and European. Out

of this pattern comes Nimbon's appeal of April 23rd, 1949. This is phrased in stilted Malay as spoken by non-Malay Dayaks. It is a series of three triangular invocations to south, west and east—the north being the land end of the beach and the performers' own base point. In actual performance, the formula is used loosely and varied, and Nimbon evidently had no *intense* interest in how it was said or why—unlike many Sea Dayak, Kelabit and other pagan formulae of the “purer” pagan people living inland to the north (cf, Harrison, 1949 B.)

Nimbon's Procedure:

1. *To the South*: he proclaims:—

Hai! Marjasi Jin Japar turun-lah di-laut dengan Timbak Buei dan Burisan Bujang Andalan

Nimbon invokes these spirit persons to come down, but no one present can explain who they are, (starts very flat).

To the West:

Hai! segala Puaka yang di-Tanjong Datu minta antar segala penyu kepada Talang Talang.

The Puaka is on Tanjong Datu, which has a number of sacred connections (cf, Harrison 1949). Puaka is to bring the turtles here.

To the East:

Hai! Pemawa Daya Lundu Daya Selekou yang mula mula menyemah Talang Talang pada masa ini saya minta antarkan segala penyu ka-Talang Talang kerana Tom Harrison sudah menyembah dengan darah hati manok dan kambeng dan nasi

The two persons who “first made *semah*” are invoked to bring the turtles to Talang Talang where Tom Harrison has made offering with blood and chickens' liver, goat and rice, (the tempo is stepped up).

2. *To the South*:

Hai! segala Bujang Siol Sarikaya, Putri Fajar Menyinsing asal usol dari penyu datang-lah, kamu sekalian yang ditelok rantau atau pun di-Pulau mana mana Datang-lah ka-Pulau Talang Talang sebab saya beri sembah Tom Harrison dengan darah hati manok dan kambeng dan nasi.

Putri Fajar Menyinsing is a symbol here for the sun (mixed Arab-Malay) and the “king of the turtles”, ancestor to all. The invitation to come is now more sweeping—from every bay and inlet, from other islands.

To the West:

Hai! Abang Pata yang mula-mula kami ikut di Pulau Talang Talang dengan Tu' Merjan dengan Awang Ali Puaka yang berkuasa di Pulau Talang Talang ini sebab ini-lah sembah Tom Harrison dengan darah hati manok dan kambeng dan nasi kerana minta senang santosa selamat dan sampurna segala anak anak pasir yang di wakil oleh Tom Harrison menjaga Talang Talang.

The invocation is further extended. Those who once ran the island, including Abang Pata are brought in. Health and happiness is sought for all those who work on the islands (in full blast now).

To the East:

Hai! segala keramat di gunung Angus gunung Tamin gunung Puei ini-lah sembahhan Tom Harrisson manyembah kamu sekalian Puaka dan keramat minta tolong antarkan segala penyu penyu yang sesat atau terdampar di-telok ran-tau mana tolong antarkan ka-Pulau Talang Talang.

Sacred stones on the mainland mountains are invoked to bring in all turtles waiting or adrift. Some fishing *semah* is intrusive here? (cf, Reth below).

3. To the South:

Hai! segala Datu Ambor Reth Datu Ambor Mayang asal usol Ikan dan Bubok saya memberi sembahhan Tom Harrisson dengan darah hati manok dan kambeng dan nasi.

The symbolism is more elaborate here—Datu Ambor, arching of palm tops and dry cooked rice?

To the West:

Hai! segala karang bandar yang di pusat ayer aku memberi sembahhan Tom Harrisson dengan darah manok hati dan kambeng dan nasi minta tulang antarkan segala penyu yang sesat atau terdampar dimana-mana tolong antarkan ka-Pulau Talang Talang.

Deep-water stones are also invoked, on the previous formulae.

To the East:

Kita yang berkuasa di Pulau Talang Talang Kechil Batu Jin berantei inilah persembahan Tom Harrisson dengan darah hati manok dan kambeng dan nasi.

The spirit in the stone is finally invoked: for Talang Talang Kechil.

Here we have invocations by a Dayak, but in a foreign language, Malay, with Arabic inclusions and with passages of little meaning (even to Arabic scholars). This may be a much deteriorated version of a once elaborate set of appeals? But it still meant enough for Nimbon to go through the phrases over and over again for a total period of at least five hours. This mixture further complicates the origin of the ceremony and makes it all the more evidently polyglot.

An omen suitably concluded the affair. While the Datus and Europeans were eating their share of the feast, upstairs in the staff house, it was pointed out that the turtle rock—Batu Penyu—on the sand immediately below the house, was barely visible this year. This was regarded as a good omen, it being said that in years when it is much exposed few turtles will lay. 1948 was cited as an example, when the rock was fully out, though actually the lay was good in comparison with previous years. There is, however, some reason to associate the amount and condition of the sand on the beach with a good lay. In that sense the 1949

beach was promising. But Banks (1937) suggests a correlation between a severe monsoon and a poor lay. 1948/49 monsoon was particularly severe and on that criterion a poor yield was to be expected; results in 1949 were certainly not up to 1948 standard, despite the non-observance of *semah* in 1948.

6.—Analysis:

Semah as practised on the three Turtle Islands in 1949 is clearly a mixture of elements, evidently pre-Mohammedan in some respects, and linked to rituals of a type found over much of the world ("beating the bounds" etc.). The variation between the two rites performed at the same season are considerable, but the basis is clearly the same in both cases, and is part of a much more widely distributed though unrecorded ceremony in coastal Sarawak (and probably elsewhere).

Though on both islands the word formulae were Malay (of a sort), on one the speaker was a Malay—Melanau, and on the other a pagan Land Dayak. The main emphasis was on action, rather than words—notably the procession on the beach, circling the island, and the placing of signs and marks afterwards, with subsequent *pantang*.

The main difference between the two islands may be most simply expressed thus:—

Item	Satang Procedure	Talang Talang Procedure.
Pawang.	Sarong over trousers (Mohammedan).	No sarong (pagan).
White Cloth.	Carried under arm.	On head.
Main offering.	On pole, <i>puan</i> .	In two small houses, <i>bale</i> .
<i>Anchak</i> trays.	Two, large.	Seven, medium.
Riced used	Seven colours.	One colour.
Candles.....	Not included in offerings.	Included.
Cigarettes.	Included in offerings.	Not included.
Invocation.	Short and numerical.	Longer & diffuse.
Procession.	In morning only.	Evening & morning; points of compass.
1 large Flag.	None.	White one; also Turtle Flag.
When pendants placed.	After circling island.	Before on Talang Talang Besar; after on Kechil.
Dance at night.	Nil.	Energetic & varied.
Egg fight.	Nil.	Vigorous.
Senior Assistant.	Not noticeable.	Active.
General Atmosphere.	Serious but listless.	Diffuse but dynamic.

On Talang Talang additional "pagan" apparatus was also used by Nimbon in the shelter, as described; there was none of this, and no special shelter, on Satang. The main similarities include:—

Kerosene tin of tinder and fuel for smoke in circling island.

Use of skin drum for noise and effects.

Fireworks extensively used.

Circle island anti-clockwise.

Stop off to put *anchak* on other points of island.

Women present but take no part in procession or circling.

Goats and fowls killed: feast after end of ceremony.

Pantang period after feast (three days).

Mufti prays publicly on beach at sunset.

References

- Aichner, P. 1949. *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 5.1. p. 95.
(Land Dayak dialects.)
- Anon. 1882. *Sarawak Gazette*. 1.5.82, p. 30.
(Selakous.)
- Anon. 1937. *Sarawak Gazette*. 1.7.37, p. 146.
(Semah note.)
- Banks, E. 1937. *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 4, 15, p. 523.
(Egg Yields to 1937).
- Firth, R. 1946. "Malayan Fishermen", London,
pp. 122—125.
- Harrisson, T. 1947. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1.11.47. p. 207.
(Egg Yields to 1947).
- Harrisson, T. 1949. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 22, pt. 4, pp. 33-110.
(Hindu Influences & Santubong Bay, etc).
- Skeat, W. S. 1949. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 22, pt. 1, p. 181.
(Semah etymology).

The note by Henry Gura was originally contributed to the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, but was hardly enough for use on its own, and is included here with grateful acknowledgment to the author.

Appendix A

Material used on the three islands in the 1949 Semah.

A few tins on the following list were left over—nothing else. The greater part of the food were eaten on Talang Talang Besar. The total cost of any occasion could not be less than \$500 based on current prices. In addition, about 3,000 turtle eggs (currently valued at \$90) were distributed free in accordance with custom. In the past, when the Datus controlled the islands, it was allegedly customary to give 50 eggs to everybody present, and 100 to "important people". This year 100 was given to the "important people", 25 to each Dayak, and a smaller number to the visiting boat crew, the staff, etc. (In accordance with Government routine it is now an obligation to deliver a quota of eggs for public sale in Kuching).

A third goat was presented for the occasion by the retailers who handle the eggs in Kuching. A few things were left over; these were distributed free in accordance with the charity basis on which the industry is run.

List of items.

<i>Spices</i>	<i>Value</i>
Jintan puteh	\$.20
Leba' .. .. .	.10
Kayu Manis .. .. .	.40
Chengkeh .. .. .	.50
Buah Sapulaga	3.00
Buah Anis .. .. .	.40
40 catties Brinjal	8.00
50 catties Labu	4.75
20 ties sereh	1.00
3 catties ginger	2.00
Lingkuas etc.	1.50
5 catties chilli (fresh)	2.50
Daun soup etc. (fresh)	1.95
5 pieces plate	4.25
3 Fathom white cloth	6.13
Cloth, red, yellow and black	2.70
Pulaikat Sarong	2.40
1 suit, ordinary	8.00
1 Sedatar	1.40
1 bottle Chinese Wine	1.50
3 boxes face powder .. .. .	.75
1 bottle perfume	1.50
Cash for Tukang Semah, Talang	20.00
Cash for Tukang Semah, Satang	20.00
1 pic. Aust. Knife	1.50
1 dozen eggs for Tukang Semah	1.20
2 chicken for T. Semah,	1.00
20 fowls	49.00
8 bottles coconut oil	5.60
Firewood	6.00
20 coconuts	2.00

2 bottles Chinese soup powder	..	..	1.00
1½ catties chilli (ground)	..	..	2.50
2 goats	..	..	48.00
Cooking pans and large plates and Mate			
hired from Mosque	..	..	18.20
2 piculs rice	..	..	64.00
25 catties brown sugar	..	..	8.75
3 catties blachan	..	..	1.95
2 gantang rock salt	..	..	1.50
3 catties asam jawa	..	..	.96
15 catties large onions	..	..	4.50
2 catties small onions	..	..	1.00
2 catties onions	..	..	1.30
15 catties kacang	..	..	6.00
1 catty flour	..	..	.40
3 catties sago	..	..	.90
3 tin curry powder	..	..	6.00
10 catties ghee	..	..	15.00
4 bottles sauce	..	..	2.00
2 bottles vinegar	..	..	1.60
12 tins cond. milk	..	..	7.32
6 tins corned beef	..	..	9.00
12 tins herring	..	..	7.80
2 catties pusu	..	..	2.40
2 catties dry prawn	..	..	3.00
3 tins biscuits cabin	..	..	16.50
1 tin nipah sugar	..	..	6.50
3 cartons cigarettes	..	..	27.00
8 tahils tobacco	..	..	4.00
1 dozen tins cigarettes	..	..	17.50
Daun Roko	..	..	1.00
15 packets Fire-crackers	..	..	6.75
3 catties kemyanan (incense)	..	..	3.90
4 dozen candles	..	..	4.80
1 tin kerosene oil	..	..	4.20
20 catties potatoes	..	..	6.00
2 dozen eggs	..	..	2.64
12 tins fruits	..	..	12.60
1 tin sweet biscuits	..	..	3.25
12 tins camp pie	..	..	8.40
6 tins butter	..	..	10.50
6 tins jam	..	..	3.90
48 pieces banana	..	..	1.68
10 salt fish	..	..	10.00
6 catties coffee	..	..	7.92
4 packets matches	..	..	2.40
3 tins evap. milk	..	..	1.80
2 tins tomato soup	..	..	1.00

Total \$540.35

Appendix B

Turtle Island Egg Yields, 1948—1949.

The factors controlling egg yields are not precisely known. Some have been discussed by Banks (1937) and Harrison (1947). There is wide scale variation from year to year. 1948 was above

average. The following were the totals *collected* on each island. A number were left to hatch (and in some cases replanted and hatched specially); previously the staff had collected as near as possible to 100% of all eggs laid.

1948 Month	Talang Talang Besar	Talang Talang Kecil	Satang	Total
January	10,135	11,985	2,330	24,450
February	14,287	14,020	2,160	30,467
March	21,234	19,045	3,150	43,429
April	33,217	29,980	3,020	66,217
May	62,451	56,860	6,910	126,221
June	140,987	91,080	20,270	252,337
July	202,546	140,430	40,660	383,636
August	179,239	144,430	48,270	371,939
September	136,126	99,360	40,415	275,901
October	54,792	48,285	28,020	131,097
November	16,000	28,000	11,000	55,000
December	9,421	15,908	6,075	31,404
1948 total	880,435	699,383	212,280	1,792,098

The November 1948 figures are incomplete by up to 5,000. For the first seven months of 1949, there was a noticeable decrease in laying as compared with 1948.

	Talang Talang Besar	Talang Talang Kecil	Satang	Total
January	9,469	10,173	1,940	21,582
February	7,594	7,507	840	15,941
March	7,405	9,421	1,490	18,316
April	10,371	10,274	995	21,640
May	20,017	19,519	1,190	40,726
June	36,817	36,556	2,865	76,238
July	70,048	57,092	10,520	137,660

A Note on the Plates

Plate 2.

- A. The *Samah* canoe circles Satang Island.
The general atmosphere is "serious".
- B. The *Pawang* (a Malay-Melanau) at Satang. with the *Puan* pole placed after circling the island.
- C. The *Pawang* (a Selakou Land Dayak) at Talang Talang Besar in semi-trance.

Plate 3.

- A. Some of the Selakous who attended the ceremony on Talang Talang Besar.
- B. Start of the procession on the beach at Talang Talang. One *Bale* is being carried and fireworks let off. The general atmosphere is "fun".
- C. The *Bale* (model house) for offerings on Talang Talang Besar.

The Reminiscences of Colonel Nahuys

by C. E. WURTZBURG, M.C.

(Received, September 1949).

Journal 19, Part 2, of 1941 contained Mr. H. Eric Miller's translated extracts from the second enlarged edition of the "Letters of Colonel Nahuys" published at Breda in 1827, the first edition having appeared in 1826. Recently he acquired a copy of a latter work by the same author, the "Reminiscences of the Public & Private Life (1799-1849) of H. G. Baron Nahuys van Burgst translated by his daughter" privately printed in English at Arnhem in 1858. Mr. Miller kindly allowed me to make extracts, before he carried out his generous practice of presenting the books to the Library at Malaya House.

The impression left, I think, on the mind of the reader of this autobiography is that the author, though possessing great strength of character, was nevertheless a man of considerable charm. He combined unswerving devotion to duty with a very kindly nature. Thus he could be most outspoken against those whom he considered fell short of his standards of loyalty or behaviour but he never treasured up ill will. He was a good husband and father. His wife was English.

His career was long and distinguished, and he finally reached the rank of Major General, earning many orders and decorations. He had two long spells in Java and to readers of the *Journal* extracts in reference to these will be of considerable interest.

Nahuys left Holland for Batavia on the first occasion at the end of 1805. Owing to the war his route was rather devious. He first went to Denmark and there took ship for Cape Town. This journey took five months. He spent two months in South Africa and then managed to get a ship to Java reaching Anjer two months later—nine months in all. In his *Reminiscences* he says:—

"Only a very few months after we arrived at the capital of Netherland's India, we learned that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had been appointed King of Holland and that the first act of this so newly raised Majesty was to annul and recall the High Commission of Messrs. Elout and Van Grasveldt, both of which gentlemen had already proceeded to North America, whence they returned to Holland. This unexpected turn of affairs and bitter disappointment had caused several persons, attached to the Commission, to return to their country, while others on the contrary were seduced or prevailed upon to remain in India by the fair promises and bright hopes, held out to them by the Indian Government, of giving them good situations on the first opportunity. I belonged to the first class of these civil officers, but already had seen too much of the inconceivable weakness of the Government and of the land and naval forces of Dutch India to feel any inclination to serve under such a government in any capacity, particularly on one occasion,

when a few armed sloops, belonging to the squadron under command of Sir Edward Pellew, took and burnt three men of war and six armed boats of the Company, besides a few merchant ships, in all six or seven and twenty in number, almost without striking a blow or experiencing any resistance. The account of this event, written at the time I was an eye-witness to the fact, I shall make room for here; but alas it proved as humiliating to the Dutch flag as fatal to our colony. Yes, indeed it is degrading to the Batavian flag to have endured such humiliation from an enemy without having revenged the insult, and although even a manful and courageous resistance might not have averted the blow, at least a valiant defence would have rendered the matter more difficult and caused greater loss to the aggressor and less dishonour to the attacked. Early in the morning of the 27th Nov. 1806, I went to the citadel of Batavia in order to see if the long expected ships from Holland with the newly appointed Commissary—General Elout and the Governor General Van Grasveldt on board were in sight, when a signal was made that strange vessels were approaching, and soon after two more signals told us they were French ships. In the mean time many of the spectators gave it plainly as their opinion that the approaching ships, bearing French colors, were no other than English ones, consequently hostile vessels, which suspicion proved but too true, when the French flag was lowered and the English one hoisted in its stead, and when the Dutch frigate, the *William*, which lay at anchor under the island of Onrust, was taken by the enemy. It seemed to me that this ship had time enough to escape, if she had not put too much trust in the false colours of the enemy, a stratagem well known to all seamen. Soon after we saw seven English ships, four of which were ships of the line, two frigates and one brig steering for the roads of Batavia, while all the Dutch ships of war lying there, as well as the merchantmen, also a Russian vessel (I believe, the *Frederick von Vincke*) retreated to the Modderbank, a shoal under protection and reach of the batteries Pollux and Castor, and de Bottelier. When I counted amongst the vessels that retreated eight men of war, one frigate and two brigs, besides six armed ships and brigs of the company I did not feel at all uneasy about our fleet, particularly as the fire from the English vessels, so far off, did not do much damage. But I was sorry to see that one frigate, the *Phoenix*, belonging to the Commander of the Roads, van der Sande, lay in the worst position possible to offer any resistance. Instead of showing her broadside to the enemy, the ship's head was turned inshore, in order to get her as close as possible to the Modderbank, while she exposed her stern to the hostile vessels. Yet I thought it improbable that all these vessels in broad daytime should not be a match for an attack from the enemies boats. However, I saw 18 of the latter preparing for the assault and by help of their oars approaching fast. The armed ships of the Company greatly damaged the approaching enemy and riddled two sloops mercilessly, so as to disable them completely.

Not a single shot had as yet been fired from our men of war; and I flattered myself with the hope that they only reserved their fire for a better opportunity and to render it more effective; but alas, grievous and painful was my disappointment, when I saw these ships, abandoned by their officers and crews, and the Phoenix soon after taken by the English, who, by help of their broadsides, soon obliged the naval officers and men of the Company's ships to leave their decks likewise. How different would have been the case if the Phoenix and the two brigs had done their duty and defended themselves courageously, or if the men had spiked the guns or thrown the powder and shot over board before abandoning their ships. The blame of the whole proceeding was attributed to Admiral Hartsinck whose orders entirely exculpated the naval officers who had fulfilled them, and consequently accounted for their otherwise inconceivable conduct. The well known fact that a warrant had been issued on high authority to arrest the Admiral on his arrival in his native country, which was prevented by his death, makes it very probable, that if our naval officers and seamen had not been restrained by his orders, they would have defended themselves as valiantly as Captain Aalbers, Commander of the frigate the Pallas of 36 guns did, when attacked by the English frigate Greyhound, also a thirty-six gunship and by the Harrier of 18 guns, for our ship did not strike before having offered a glorious and unequal resistance during which she was quite disabled by the enemy's fire and had lost her valiant Commander Aalbers and her not less brave first officer Hulsebosch who fell in the action; whilst three of her four remaining officers were seriously or slightly wounded; amongst them was Lieutenant (now Vice Admiral) Lucas, one whom I may number amongst my friends for the last fifty years. Notwithstanding his wound, this brave fellow would not leave the deck for an instant. All efforts of the enemy to get off the conquered fleet from the mudbank proved ineffectual; some of the Company's sloops likewise were not in a fit state to put to sea, but had been scuttled by their commanders before being abandoned. The English did not now hesitate to accomplish the only thing that was left to them and that was to burn the fleet, so that early next morning there was nothing more to be seen of our fleet of six and twenty ships, men-of-war and merchant vessels, which were all reduced to ashes. The view of so many burning vessels (especially after nightfall) some of which from time to time blew up with a tremendous explosion, was such an imposing sight that I shall never forget it. If, our naval force was so much to be blamed on this occasion, not less sad was it to see the pitiful inactivity and apathy of our land forces. It was not till the enemy had nearly reached the roads, that the first alarm was given, though this ought to have been the case on first sight of the suspicious looking vessels, as it always requires much time to man the strand batteries which by reason of the prevailing sickness were not armed as usual. I heard from an officer on guard,

that at nine at night the men were still in want of every thing, and that no rations had at that time been distributed, which does not appear surprising, when we consider the wretched state of the military service. Instead of teaching the soldier in time of war by means of an unexpected false alarm to seize his weapons at a moment's warning, a false alarm was sometimes given, but the different battallions were carefully warned three days previously. Fortunately the enemy's fleet, under the orders of Sir Edward Pellew, had not any troops for a debarcation on board, and this Admiral was not acquainted with the wretched state of Batavia, otherwise he would certainly have attempted to land his marines and sailors, which he afterwards effected with success on another part of the island." (pp. 26—31)

In March 1807 Nahuys left for Holland and after various adventures was selected by the King of Holland (Louis Napoleon) to take Despatches out to Daendels. He left Holland in March 1809 via England (in disguise) and N. America, arriving in Java in November.

"In the same year, 1810, the Molucca Islands fell into the hands of the English, and Colonel Filty¹, commandant at Amboina, who had capitulated, was shot by orders of a Court Martial, as it had been proved that he was fully aware he had surrendered to a force far inferior to his own.

"My inestimable friend, General de Kock, wrote to me on this subject, 12th June, 1810, as follows:—

"My dear Friend! Yesterday we had a sad day of it; Filty was shot. The law condemned him and that justly, when you take into consideration what eminent services he might have rendered the Colony, and how he might have promoted his own interests. Otherwise Filty was an honest and worthy man. All his acts proved him to have erred from weakness of character and want of foresight, but I firmly believe that in acting as he did, he thought he was promoting the good of his country, and that if he had been well advised, he would really have done so." (pp. 37—38)

"Some months afterwards (1810) the news reached Java that the Netherlands had been incorporated with France and that our beloved native land had become one of the provinces of the French empire. This bitter intelligence awakened various sensations amongst the inhabitants of Java. For the most part it created feelings of great distress and grief. The Governor-General only seemed to rejoice at the event and to look upon it as most fortunate and beneficial. It was not long after this that his Excellency issued orders to all the civil and military servants of the Government to

(1) Filz

take oath of allegiance to the Emperor Napoleon. This insult to Holland's honour and nationality wounded me to the quick and I had the inconceivable imprudence to write to my friend the Brigadier de Kock through the post, to ask him if there was no possibility of resisting the orders of the Governor-General by united efforts and thus to save the Dutch flag from ignominy."

(pp. 46—47)

Suddenly a newly appointed French General arrived, Major General JUMEL, with information that General JANSSENS had been appointed to succeed DAENDELS as Governor-General. JANSSENS himself reached Java on 27 April, 1811.

"A few weeks after Lieutenant General Janssens had assumed the reins of Government, in August 1811, an English Fleet, bearing landing troops, appeared off the Isle of Java." (p. 53)

Nahuys was then serving in a civil capacity up country but he immediately volunteered to rejoin the army and was appointed staff officer to Brigadier Alberti. His account of the fighting is interesting but is too long to quote. Space may however be found for one amusing incident. As soon as the capture of Meester Cornelis was effected, some of the rich Dutch merchants from Welterwreden drove out with their wives in their luxurious carriages to view the scene. To their dismay British officers promptly requisitioned the lot to transport the wounded and the unfortunate civilians found themselves faced with an unaccustomed long and hot trudge home, little encouraged by the thought that their carriages, if they ever saw them again, would be smothered in blood and dirt.

Nahuys himself early in the action ventured too near the British Lines and was taken prisoner, but later exchanged. He was subsequently wounded and taken prisoner again. He was well treated till certain Dutch Officers, annoyed by his criticism of their readiness to desert to the English, reported him as a dangerous enemy of England and he was unceremoniously shipped off to Bengal without any of his baggage. He was well treated by Lord Minto on arrival in Calcutta and after being a prisoner-of-war in Reading, he eventually got back to Holland, in 1813.

After some difficulties he was allowed to return to Java as a volunteer and left in December 1814. After shipwreck and other adventures he got back to Holland and was starting again when Napoleon escaped and war re-started. After taking part in this he again determined to leave for Java.

"In the autumn of 1815 the hour was at hand, when the Commissaries Mr. C. Elout, Baron Van Der Capellen and Vice-Admiral Buyskes were to embark for India with a considerable number of troops. As the Government of the Netherlands thought that the English authorities in Java were apprized since some time of the approaching arrival of their allies, and had therefore made everything ready for their reception, it was considered superfluous to send out commissaries in advance, as had been the previous plan. Meanwhile from the letters of my friends in Batavia, it seemed very clear that the English were far from making preparations or taking measures for the reception and barracking of the Dutch troops, having pulled down several barracks, and amongst others sold the one called Ryswyk to private individuals. On the strength of this fact I still requested to be sent out in advance for the accomplish-

ment of our commission in Java. On my desire not being granted, as the unfavourable accounts I had received were considered exaggerated, and consequently the sending of a person in advance as commissary needless, and particularly too expensive. I offered the Director-General of Colonies my services again at my own expense, to go to Java without burthening the public treasure and there to take upon myself the functions of three commissaries and alone to accomplish their duties, so fully was I persuaded of the necessity of so doing. On my arrival in Java I perceived that no one knew that the English possessors were so soon to reinstate the former masters, and no one had heard that the Dutch fleet with troops and the Dutch Commissaries-General on board, had left Holland on the 29th October and was steering for Java. The unexpected sight of a Dutch frigate in the roads of Batavia brought a number of inquisitive English and nearly half the Dutch population on to the quay. Still higher rose their curiosity when they recognised in the approaching boat a Dutch officer, in my person. They scarcely gave me time to come ashore. Those on shore called out in a chorus most agreeable to my ears: "Welcome, welcome, dearest friend!" and I was literally stormed with questions right and left, about the news I had brought from Holland.—"Nothing, gentlemen", said I, "nothing friends, but what you have certainly heard long ago, that every one in our country is very happy after our glorious campaign against France, and that you may daily expect the high Commission who are on their way to resume the government of all our East-Indian possessions." No pen, at least not mine, can describe the impression this joyful intelligence had on the minds and spirits of my good countrymen who looked upon that ardently and long desired period as still very far distant, and, naturally as very uncertain, as a newly appointed Governor-General was daily expected from Bengal in Batavia, which raised hopes in the English and fears amongst the Dutch inhabitants that the restitution of the Dutch colonial possessions to their old masters, one of the chief articles in the Vienna treaty, might have again been retracted or altered after the battle of Waterloo, or later. It seemed to me as if an electric shock had run through the assembled crowd and turned them all instantaneously mad. The cheering, the general hurrah! and the deafening cries of "long live the King of Holland! long live Java! long live Nahuys!" were unexampled, and did not cease till I had been conducted, I may say rather half carried by the people from the landing-place to the Toko (the warehouse) of Mr. Hommes, at the corner of the well known Vierkant (square). Many eye-witnesses of this affecting scene are certainly still alive, and to them I address myself; I ask them if ever a prince or monarch could be received with more heartfelt and unvarnished joy than fell to my happy lot that day. I am too fully convinced that it was not my individual person, which was the cause and

(2) Travers in his Diary refers to the sudden arrival of Colonel Nahuys with the first authentic news.

origin of this joy, and that the honour was only conferred on me as the bearer of agreeable news, but this did not make it the less pleasing. The feelings my arrival created in Java were various; as amongst my worthy countrymen they were those of unbounded delight, so amongst the civil and military servants of the English Government it created universal consternation and dejection. Many of the latter could not believe that their short reign was to end so soon, especially when three days after my arrival the newly appointed English Governor of Java, Tindall³, landed at Batavia with a newly nominated member of council, Mr Abrahams. Even great doubts arose in the minds of the English administration, as I perceived by the polite request of the Governor to come to him in the British Council-hall, and there to give some explanations with regard to the departure of the Dutch fleet from Holland, and the approaching surrender of the Colony, concerning which the Java Government had received neither private nor official communication, and anxiously wished to send some accounts of it to the Governor-General of British India.” (pp. 81—84)

“At last, but not till the month of August, they came to an agreement by which it was settled that on the arrival of the Dutch troops sent from Batavia to the inland courts of Souracarta and Djocjocarta, the British flag should be lowered with the usual military honors and the Dutch one hoisted under the same ceremony, after which forthwith a protocol was to be sent to the Government at Batavia to acquaint them with it, and that immediately after this intelligence, the English colonial direction was to be transferred to the Dutch. Having been appointed by the Commissaries Resident at the court of Djocjocarta, I was the first to have the pleasure of hoisting the colours of my Fatherland on the Isle of Java, and to see them waving in the breeze on the summit of the fort and from the roof of my Residency barely half an hour after the arrival of the Dutch forces at Djocjocarta.” (p. 86)

“Shortly after my arrival at Djocjocarta the English Resident Mr John Crawford⁴, presented to me Prince Paknalam, the young Sultan’s grand-uncle, who on account of his nephew’s minority had been appointed ad interim to direct the affairs of the kingdom of Djocjocarta by the English Government. When the Prince heard my name and Mr. Crawford asked him if he had known or seen me before, the Prince, much affected, declared in a touching manner that not only he did know me, but that he knew that next to God, his son and himself, were indebted to me for the salvation of their lives and that he should ever be thankful to me,—as indeed he proved till his death, many years later. Prince or Pangerang Paknalam, formerly styled Prince Notto Kesoemo, was the same

(3) Fendall

(4) Crawford, later Resident of Singapore.

who in 1811, by and in consequence of the arrival of Governor-General Janssens was wonderfully delivered by the hand of Providence from death." (p. 87)

"After I had been some time Resident at the court of the Sultan of Djocjocarta, I was very glad to have an opportunity of proving to the then British Governor of Bencoolen, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, that I did not entertain any feelings of animosity towards him for the unjust treatment I had met with, when he was Governor of the Island, when I was so suddenly banished from Java. I wished to prove nothing more ardently than that I had forgotten the past, and only sought the best revenge, the only one worthy of one who professes real generous and christian principles, —namely to return good for evil. A brother-in-law of Sir Stamford Raffles, Captain Auber, and three of the English Governor's friends had come over from Bencoolen to Java to see everything of note in the isle. They had brought letters of recommendation to almost all the Dutch Residents, most of whom had served under the Government of Sir Stamford Raffles and to whom they were under great obligations. These English gentlemen travelled from one Residency to another, making a halt at each; consequently they visited mine likewise, which certainly was the best worth seeing of all throughout Java, but naturally they were not furnished with letters of recommendation to the Resident whom Raffles had formerly treated so inimically: this did not and ought not to prevent me from contriving to make the sojourn of these strangers at Djocjocarta during several days as pleasant as possible, and giving them an opportunity of seeing every thing that this remarkable capital and beautiful neighbourhood contain. The gentlemen travellers on their return to Bencoolen, when they presented Lady Raffles with a pretty Javanese pony which I sent her as a present, and which Captain Auber in vain had tried to buy of me for her Ladyship, told Sir Stamford a great deal of the civilities I had shewn them, and besides did not conceal from him the great coolness they had met with from some of the Dutch civilians who had been loaded with favors and kindness under the administration of Governor Raffles. Soon after I got letters from Sir Stamford Raffles overwhelming me with thanks, and in which he acknowledged in a most generous and frank manner the wrong he had done me in 1811 under his government, giving me to understand that it was from no personal pique, but only owing to unlucky circumstances, to error and misrepresentations of my own countrymen, who alone were to blame for having represented me to the English as a very dangerous enemy. "These countrymen were the cowardly, dishonorable officers, who had deserted their flag and gone into the English service, and not having courage enough to revenge themselves for the merited insults I loaded them with, used malice as their weapon of defence. In my answer to Sir Stamford, I assured him that far from fostering bitter recollections of the wrongs I had endured from the English colonial government

in 1811, the past was entirely buried in oblivion, that the idea, that I was worth being considered a dangerous person to the conquerors and newly established Government, who had thought themselves under the necessity of taking measures against me so wholly in contradiction to the general and wellknown noble character of the English, had only roused in me a feeling of pleasure; that they had done me such an honor as could only be justified by the necessity of keeping the threatened peace, and as a defence against one solitary enemy, disarmed and a prisoner of war. I should not have looked upon this whole business as worth mentioning, were it not that from this time dates the warm and confidential friendship, which existed between Sir Stamford Raffles and myself till the hour of his death, and also to this circumstance I am indebted in a great measure for the uninterrupted blessing which has been my happy lot for more than twenty years, of being in the possession of a spouse, incomparable for her virtue, fidelity and good sense. Without the good character which my noble friend Raffles gave me to the family of my worthy parents-in-law Hodgson and by which he depicted in the brightest colors and me as a "rara avis" (this was his own expression) amongst the Dutchmen he had known, I should not perhaps have succeeded so early and expeditiously in winning the hand and heart of my present beloved wife, nor obtained the consent of her parents, to whom I was almost a stranger, to carry her with me to the far distant isle of Java." (pp. 88—90)

I am not sure but tempted to think that the party in question were Major Travers and his wife. They certainly visited Java on board the *Lady Raffles* on a mission for Raffles to the Government of Java. Lieutenant W. Hull, a brother of Lady Raffles, and Lieutenant Johnston started with Travers but did not come on to Java, landing at Samangka Bay. The *Lady Raffles* was the ship in which Raffles and his suite had come out from England, reaching Bencoolen on 19 March 1817. Travers and his party left again for Batavia on 3 April, arriving there on 23 April.

Travers in his Diary does not refer to the story told by Nahuys but he does mention the way certain Dutchmen behaved towards their former English friends.

Sometime later Nahuys made the trip described in the "Letters of Colonel Nahuys" but we need not follow him as that has been covered in the translated extracts by Mr. Eric Miller. Nor does space warrant quoting any further parts of the autobiography. In fact there are none of any special interest to English readers.

It only remains to observe that at a time when Raffles was so ill regarded by Dutch official circles in Java that Van der Capellen in 1823 refused him permission to land with his wife for a few hours, when his ship had to call at Batavia for water en route for Bencoolen, Colonel Nahuys continued to refer to Raffles with affection and respect.

The Baptist Mission Press at Bencoolen

by C. E. WURTZBURG, M.C.

(Received, April 1950)

When Raffles first arrived at Bencoolen he was horrified at the conditions he found existing there, but undaunted he set to work to plan the physical and moral rehabilitation of the Settlement. One of his first steps was to write to his Baptist friends at Serampore, to whom he had been introduced by Leyden in 1810, to enquire if they could send a Missionary and a printing press to Bencoolen, for the education of the natives which he had in contemplation. He followed up this with a personal approach when he was again in Calcutta in 1818 on his first visit to Lord Hastings, the outcome of which was Singapore.

When he left Calcutta for that great adventure he took with him a number of people to help him in Bencoolen. These were Dr. W. Jack, a young botanist to replace Dr. Arnold who had unhappily succumbed to malaria, two French zoologists, an Anglican chaplain, Charles Winter and a young Baptist missionary, Nathaniel Ward, nephew of the well-known missionary William Ward, who had been trained as a printer and brought his printing press with him, having English and Malay types.

The major purpose of the press of which Raffles himself was the Superintendent was to supply printed matter for the education of Malay children, and a number of tracts were printed. They were not religious tracts but educational broadsheets. Though one volume of hymns in Malay was printed, it had been decided that education, and not conversion of the natives, was the objective.

But the Mission Press is best known by three particular volumes which were published there—two volumes of "*Malayan Miscellanies*" and one volume of "*Proceedings of the Agricultural Society of Sumatra*". Though well known, I imagine that in fact relatively few people have ever read them or even seen copies, as I believe they are very scarce. Of the three volumes only one, the second volume of "*Malayan Miscellanies*", is to be found in Raffles Library. I have had access to all these through the courtesy of the Librarian of the India Office Library. These are the original copies sent to the E. I. Coy Library from Bencoolen and the date of receipt from the Secretary Fort Marlborough has been entered in ink by the Librarian of the time.

"*Malayan Miscellanies Vol. I*" is specifically stated to be the first book published by the Press and apologies are offered for any

shortcomings. It was published in 1820. In the following year "*Proceedings of the Agricultural Society of Sumatra*" Vol. I appeared, and in 1822 the second volume of the "*Miscellanies*".

The contents of the three books are printed in an Appendix. Extracts from articles in two of them are given by Lady Raffles in the "Memoir" and I have noted these. Some of the articles from the first volume of "*Miscellanies*" were reprinted by Moor in his "Notices of the East Indian Archipelago". I have noted these also.

The idea of the "*Miscellanies*" can be readily gathered from the *Advertisement* in the first volume:—"It has been said that 'One line written on the spot and at the moment, is worth a volume of recollections.'" Dr. Jack was probably the Editor but the moving spirit was Raffles. "You were of course aware", he writes to Marsden on 8 September 1823, "that my object is rather to excite others than to come forward myself, and that in our present publications I necessarily keep in the background. I allow nothing to appear as direct from myself."

The Agricultural Society was formed in 1820 and from the Presidential Address by Raffles printed in the *Proceedings* it is clear what importance the Lieutenant Governor attached to it. "Agriculture is the only sure and solid foundation of national prosperity. . . . What is the state of agriculture and what can be done to improve it, are questions of high importance."

The Secretary of the Society was Dr. Jack.

In 1822 Raffles had in mind to publish Malay versions of some of the Scriptures. In a letter dated 26 February he wrote to a friend in England "We are printing the Gospels in an improved Malay version suited to this coast and I have it in contemplation to print the New Testament in Javanese, which is now ready for the Press". As far as I have been able to discover, none of these was in fact published. The projected third volume of *Miscellanies* never appeared and no second volume of *Proceedings*. The reason is not far to seek. In the year 1822 one of its periodic epidemics descended on the Settlement. The first to die was Robert Hull, Sophia's brother, then Captain Auber, her brother-in-law. Three of her children died in rapid succession, also Dr. Jack, the Rev. Charles Winter, the wife of W. Robinson, a recently arrived missionary, and many others. Raffles and Sophia themselves narrowly escaped death and Raffles felt it essential to use such little health as remained to him, to put his new Settlement of Singapore in final shape before he left for England, if indeed he was to survive that long. In September 1822 having despatched his one surviving child to England, he with Sophia sailed for Singapore.

In 1823 the Press produced a book entitled "*An attempt to elucidate the Principles of Malayan Orthography*". It was by William Robinson and was printed on locally produced paper. It was dedicated to Raffles and contains an Introduction of 64 pages, in which the earlier work of Werndly, Marsden, etc. is discussed. There are then 214 pages of text and finally 20 pages of notes. The book must, I think, be very rare and I am indebted to the Rev. E. A. Payne of Regent's Park College, Oxford, for all my information about it. A copy is preserved at the College after it had been saved from the Headquarters of the Baptist Missionary Society in London when that building was bombed. The Dedication to Raffles is of some length and in view of the rarity of the book extracts from it are worth recording:—

"To the Honorable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough and its Dependencies.

"Honorable Sir. Though totally unaccustomed to the style of adulation so common in dedications, I feel it unnecessary in addressing you, to offer an apology for plain language. I have so frequently witnessed your disapprobation of flattery, that even a distant approach to it, would lead me to apprehend giving offence. It may be necessary to have recourse to fulsome compliment, where the case admits of nothing better being said, but happily, I am not reduced to this extremity. Simple truth will be quite sufficient for my purpose. Having lived several years under your mild government, here and in Java, and having enjoyed, in common with my missionary brethren, that freedom and encouragement, which your liberal administration has invariably extended to all missionaries; being also under great obligations for the kindness you have shown to myself individually, I have long felt a wish to offer you some expression of my gratitude; for it seems but just, that the person, whose government has remarkably facilitated missionary efforts, should receive that humble tribute of praise, which a missionary is capable of offering. This, Honorable Sir, was one reason which induced me to request permission to inscribe this little work to you.

But I must acknowledge, that in begging your acceptance of this dedication, I was not wholly influenced by so pure a motive as gratitude. I could not be insensible to the advantages which a production of this nature must possess, in being first presented to the world under your patronage. Should this essay prove useful. it will afford me no small degree of pleasure to reflect, that I have been permitted to inscribe it to a person, whose protection, extended to me in a time of peculiar need, enabled me to continue the study of the Malay language, which I must otherwise have abandoned. I have the honor to be, with great respect, Honorable Sir, Your very obliged and most obedient servant,
W. ROBINSON."

This I think was the last book published by the Press.

Raffles returned from Singapore to Bencoolen late in 1823 for a final visit to clear up his affairs and proceed to England. After his abortive and disastrous start in the *Fame*, he finally left Bencoolen in April 1824. Before he reached home, Bencoolen and all Sumatra had, under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of that year, passed to Holland. The Press had for some time been suffering acutely from a lack of paper. Now, under the Dutch, Padang supplanted Bencoolen and the latter rapidly reverted to a *tana mati*. The Press was closed, and the Missionaries departed.

References

- Raffles, Lady. 1830 Memoir, (London)
 Moor, J. H. 1837 Notices of the East Indian Archipelago (Singapore)
 Payne, E. A. 1945 South-East from Serampore, (London)

Malayan Miscellanies—Vol. I

*Printed & Published at the Sumatran Mission Press
 Bencoolen—1820*

Advertisement (2 pages) Contents

- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---|---|
| No. I | — | Descriptions of Malayan Plants by William Jack. | No. 1 |
| | | (pp. 1-27) | |
| No. II | — | Notes on Bali | (pp. 1-16) |
| No. III | — | Annals of Achin — Translated from an Original M. S. | (pp. 1-11) |
| | — (x) — | (Notice of a Shoal off the West Coast of Sumatra in July 1820) | |
| No. IV (1) | — | Short account of the Battas | (pp. 1-14) |
| No. V | — | Descriptions of Malayan Plants by William Jack. | No. 2 |
| | | (pp. 1-49) | |
| No. VI | — | Annotations & Remarks with a view to illustrate the Probable Origin of the Dayaks, the Malays, etc. | |
| | | H. (2) Batavia. 12 May 1815 | (pp. 1-40) |
| No. VII (3) | — | Short account of the Islands of Timor, Rotti, Savu, Solor etc. | (pp. 1-26 with 6 pages of comparative vocabularies) |
| No. VIII (4) | — | Sketch of Borneo or Pulo Kalamantan communicated by J. Hunt, Esqre. in 1812 to the Honorable Sir T. S. Raffles, late Lieut. Governor of Java. | (pp. 1-67) |
| No. IX | — | Notices on Zoological Subjects by Messrs. Diard & Devaucel. | (pp. 1-21) |

(x) Not mentioned in the list of contents.

(1) Moor—Appendix p. 1.

(2) Probably J. Hunt.

(3) Moor—Appendix p. 5.

(4) Moor—Appendix p. 12.

1950] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

- No. X (5)— Some particulars relative to Sulo in the Archipelago of Felicia. Collected partly from a parcel of shattered and torn memoranda and recited partly from memory by J. Hunt Esqre. Paurlongan, December 17 1815 (pp. 1-108, with 3 pages "Things for which the Bugguese have a number of different names").
- No. XI — Proceedings of the Native School Institution.
 1. Instructions to the Committee on the formation of the Institution.
 2. Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee dated 14 September 1819.
 3. Letter from the Committee to the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor enclosing the above Extract.
 4. Extract from the Proceedings of the Committee dated 29 September 1819.
 5. Report of the Committee dated 2nd October 1819 on the necessity and advantages of the Plan, the difficulties to be encountered, and the probable success and effects to be contemplated. (pp. 1-35 with Proceedings pp. 1-12)
- No. XII — Meteorological Table extracted from a Register kept at Bencoolen in 1818 and 1819, by Capt. T. O. Travers (20 pages).
- No. XIII — Poem in the Malay Language descriptive of the Journey of the Lieutenant Governor to Menangkabow in 1816 (15 pages).

Malayan Miscellanies—Vol. II

*Printed & Published at the Sumatran Mission Press
 Bencoolen—1822*

Contents

- No. I — Memorandum of a Journey to the Summit of Gunong Benko or the Sugar Loaf Mountain in the Interior of Bencoolen, 1821. (pp. 1-22)
- No. II (1)— Account of a Journey from Manna to Passumah Lebar and the ascent of Gunong Dempo in the Interior of Sumatra, performed by order of the Honorable Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough in the year 1817—by E. Presgrave. (pp. 1-93)
- No. III (2)— Diary of a Journey across the Island of Sumatra from Fort Marlborough to Palembang in 1818—by Capt. F. Salmond (pp. 1-12).
- No. IV — Course of the Tulang Bawang River on the Eastern Coast of Sumatra: extracted from the Journal of Capt. Jackson of the Brig 'Tweed' 1822, (pp. 1-9).
- No. V — Account of a Journey to the Lake of Ranow in the Interior of Kroee—by J. Patullo in 1820 (pp. 1-12)
- No. VI — Account of a Journey from Moco Moco to Pengkalan Jambi, through Korinchi. By Thomas Barnes in 1818. (pp. 1-23)
- No. VII — Descriptions of Malayan Plants by William Jack. (pp. 1-96)

(5) *Moor*—Appendix p. 31.

(1) *Memoir*—p. 323

(2) *Memoir*—p. 339

- No. VIII — Short notice concerning the Island of Pulo Nias: from observations made during a visit to the Island in 1822. (pp. 1-18). (By W. Jack and J. Prince).
- No. IX — Account of some of the Customs Peculiar to the Dayaks who inhabit the Country to the westward of the Banjer-massin River in Borneo. By C.M.(x) 1816. (pp. 1-6)
- No. X — Proofs of Cannibalism among the Battas. By the Rev. R. Burton 1822. (pp. 1-2).
- No. XI — Genealogical Account of the Family of the Present Rajahs of Goa in Celebes, 1816. (pp. 1-7)
- No. XII — Abstract of the Genealogy of the Rajahs of Pulo Percha (Sumatra) from a M.S. in the possession of the Sultan of Indrapura. (pp. 1-16).
- No. XIII — Translation of the Undang Undang of Moco Moco. (pp. 1-16).
- No. XIV — The Undang Undang of Moco Moco in the Menangkabau Dialect and Character (8 pages).
- No. XV — Letter on the Native Schools at Bencoolen: By the Rev. W. Robinson and N. M. Ward. (pp. 1-5).

**Proceedings
of the
Agricultural Society
established in Sumatra—1820**

Vol. I

Printed at the Baptist Mission Press Bencoolen—1821

List of Members.

Extract Minutes of the Society.

- No. I (1)— Address by the President, the Hon. Sir T. Stamford Raffles, on the Institution of the Society, 1820 (pp. 1-12).
- No. II (2)— Substance of the Report on the conditions of Society among the Native Population of Bencoolen and its immediate subordinates on the West Coast of Sumatra, October 1819 referred to in the Preceding Address. (pp. 1-52). (By C. Winter, C. Methven and W. Jack).
- No. III — First Report of the Sumatran Agricultural Society 1820. (pp. 1-55). (By W. Jack, Secretary of the Society).
- Appendix A — Report on the Population. Etc. of the town and suburbs of Marlborough, by W. R. Jennings, J. Lumsdaine and E. Presgrave. (pp. 1-27 with 3 pages of statistics).
- Appendix B — Report on the Population Etc. of the District of Dua Blas, by W. G. Mackenzie, W. T. Lewis and R. Bogle, (pp. 1-20 with 3 pages of statistics).
- Appendix C — Report on the Population Etc. of the District of Lumba Selapan, by G. Halked, T. Church and J. D. Lewis. (pp. 1-15 with 3 pages of statistics).

(x) Probably Charles Methven.

(1) *Memoir* p. 471

(2) *Memoir* p. 474

- Appendix D — Report on the Cultivation of Spices at Bencoolen 1819-20
—by J. Lumsdaine, (pp. 1-24 with statistical table).
- Appendix E — Report on the General Salubrity of the Settlement—by J.
- Appendix F — New Regulations for the Management of the Out-Stations—
- Appendix F — New Regulations for the Management of the Out-Stations—
dated May 1820 (pp. 1-8).
- Appendix G — New Regulations regarding Debtors and Slaves—dated November 1822 (pp. 1-6).
- Addendum No. 1 — Report on the value of Landed Property and the Produce of Spices for the Ensuing Five Years—dated February 1821
—by J. Lumsdaine, W. T. Lewis and W. Baskett (pp. 1-4 with 3 statistical tables).
- Addendum No. 2 — Comparative statement of Rice Planted in the years 1819-20 and 1820-21. (2 pages of statistical tables).

Some Coins and Tokens of Malaya

by E. WODAK, *B.Sc.*

(Received, May, 1950).

See Photographs on Plate 4, between pages 144 & 145

Atkins in his "Coins of British Possessions and Colonies" deals with the copper issues of Penang dated J787. He mentions that on the One Cent and also on the Half Cent pieces the date below the bale mark is divided by a rosette or by a star, J7 * 87 (Nos. 8-11). For the Quarter Cent (No. 12) no dividing mark is mentioned. Bucknill, in "Observations Upon The Coinage Struck for the British East India Company's Settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales Island", speaking about the Quarter Cent says expressly that "This minute piece (has) . . . no rosette or star . . . is very hard to find in good condition and is generally, rather rare."

In Fig. 1 a Quarter Cent is shown bearing a cross below the bale mark dividing the date J7 + 87. It has to be assumed that owing to the limited space available on this tiny piece the dividing mark has been simplified. There is, therefore, at least one die with a dividing mark (13.5 — 14 mm, 18 grains). Fig. 2 shows another die with a much narrower bale mark, smaller numbers and different position of the date but without a dividing mark. This coin represents the usual type described by previous writers.

According to a note on the Half Cent of this series, Bucknill could not find any marked difference in the few specimens he compared. As it is quite difficult to get even a limited number of these coins together, attention can be drawn only to the variation in the position of the star dividing the date, and to minor differences in the text on the reverse. Only if a much larger number of coins could be examined would it be possible to deal properly with the variations.

Silver coins of Malaya seem to be much more scarce than gold coins, and have so far rarely been dealt with in this journal. The Kedah coins figured by Millies on Plate 22, Nos 231-233 are now most difficult to find. Fig. 3 shows one specimen (21-22 mm, 36 grains) a thin flat coin on an almost circular flan, and Fig. 4 shows another (22-23 mm, 48 grains). Both vary slightly from those illustrated by Millies.

Dakers in "Some Copper Tokens in The Raffles Museum, Singapore" later commented on the Malayan tokens classified by Ellis. A number of "mules" have been known for some time.

Fig. 5 *a* and *b* is a hitherto unpublished specimen with an obverse like Ellis's No. 1, the "Island of Sumatra" token, but with the Reverse correctly belonging to Ellis's No. 6 "Island of Sultana" token (21.5 mm, 33 grains).

Fig. 6 is interesting on account of the mis-spelling "Sunatra" in "Island of Sumatra". (Ellis's 1, Atkins's 24) 21 mm. There is in my collection another specimen of Ellis's No. 1 token with a blank Reverse (21 mm, 31 grains).

By far the best known of all the Malayan tokens is the one with the cock to the right on the Obverse—Ellis's 10. In his above-mentioned article Dakers arranged a number of varieties and mules into easily distinguishable groups by subdividing the Obverse into 3 main types F, G and H. He distinguishes the types according to the tail feathers:

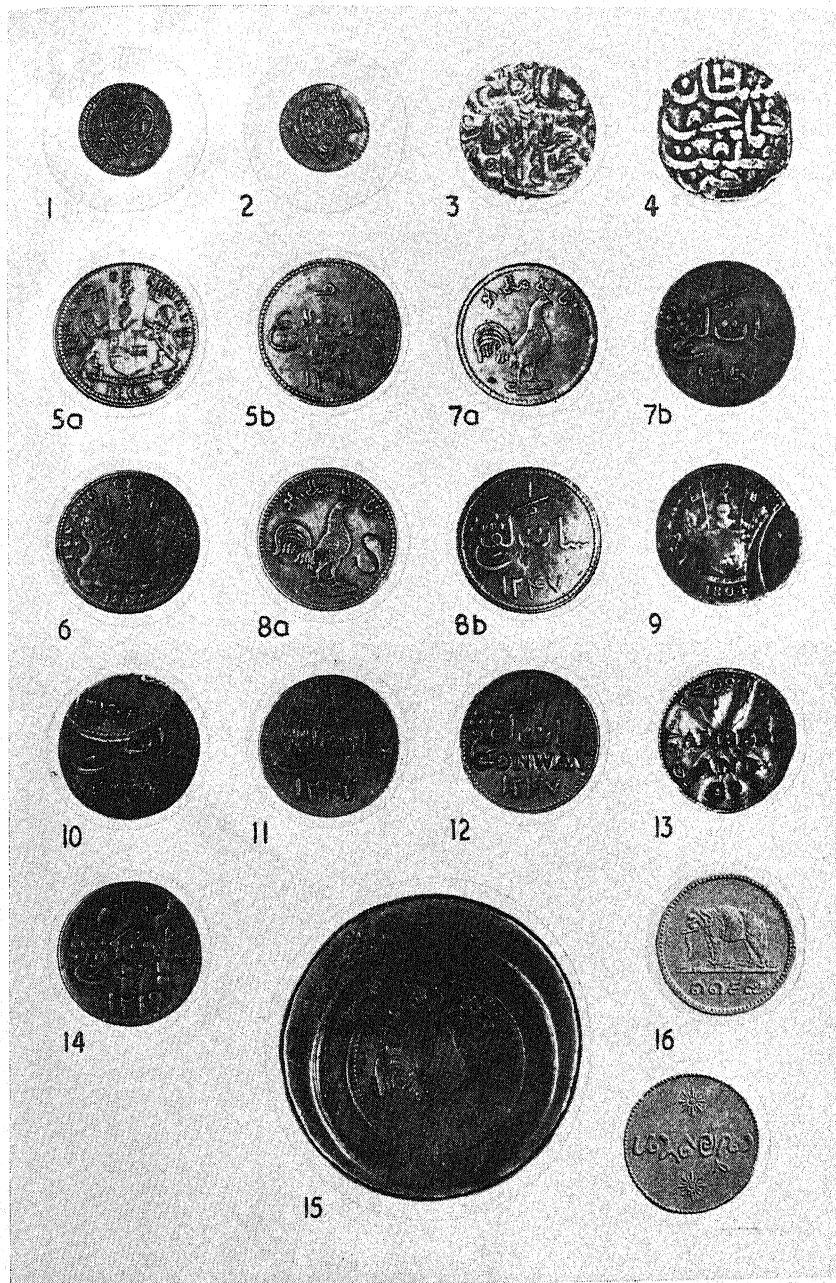
- F: The last two feathers on the tail are crossed.
- G: Single last tail feather hanging straight down.
- H: Last tail feather curls to the left.

Dakers shows various types of the Reverse listed from one to seven and knows of 12 combinations of token No. 10, one of which is questionable. Fig. 7*a* shows an additional variety Obverse of (Dakers) type G with Reverse of type 2 (Fig. 7*b*). (21 mm, 29 grains).

It may be noted here that Dakers considers the main characteristic of Reverse type 2 to be the fact that the $\frac{1}{6}$ touches the Arabic script. It can be proved, however, that the die must have been repaired later, and a few specimens of type 2 are found with a small gap between the $\frac{1}{6}$ and the Arabic script.

Dakers mentions as a curiosity two yellow metal (brass) tokens Obverse of type H with Reverse of type 4. One of these two pieces is counter-marked with a large S in front of the cock. Another brass specimen, also counter-marked S, is Fig. 8*a* and *b*, but the Reverse is Dakers's type 2 (not 4 as on the specimen in the Singapore Museum). (21.5 mm, 32.5 grains). Figs 9 and 10 here are mis-strikings, which seem not to have affected the usefulness of the tokens as media of exchange because both specimens are well worn.

A closer study of this token—Ellis's 10—makes it obvious that Dakers's classification, although a very valuable advance on Ellis's fundamental work, could be further grouped, as a large number of sub-varieties can easily distinguished. That would,



Some Coins and Tokens of Malaya (E. Wodak).

however, require a much larger number of tokens than are at present available, but the following sub-divisions of the Obverse are suggested.

- (a). Spur of the cock long or short.
- (b). Base oval or odd-shaped.
- (c). Difference in the rump feathers.
- (d). Beak short or long.

Further sub-division of the Reverse would have to deal with die varieties, chiefly in the date but Fig. 11 Reverse shows a major variety of Dakers's No. 3 with a part of the Arabic description omitted. Fig. 12 has a counter-mark CONWAY on Ellis's No. 10 (21 mm, 31.5 grains).

Fig. 13 is a token, Ellis's No. 13, counter-marked AMBER & CO. (21.5 mm, 32.5 gr).

Fig. 14 shows Ellis's No. 1 counter-marked $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{CP} \\ \text{EH} \end{smallmatrix}$ on the Reverse. On the Obverse the ends of the ribbon below the shield forming the exergue for the date are very short (22 mm, 31.5 grains). The history of the counter-marking is still to be investigated. No records have until now been found of the firms or of the reason for the countermarks. Tokens 12, 13, 14, and also Fig. 6 come from Dr Brushfield's collection.

Fig. 15 is a remarkable overstrike of the token Ellis's 10 (Dakers's G) on a George III Penny of 1797—the "Cartwheel" Penny. The Reverse has been stamped with a Reverse of the same token (Dakers's 4). The coin is well-worn and appears to have been in circulation for a considerable time, probably as an 8 keeping piece. It cannot have been a trial piece, but must have been intended for use although admittedly such overstrikes are not common.

Fig. 16*a* and *b* show token 36, probably intended for Siam, not figured by Ellis and so far not published in this journal. There is no specimen in the Raffles Museum.

All the coins and tokens described, except for Fig. 15, are from my collection. Owing to the small intrinsic value of Malayan tokens, little interest seems to have been taken in them locally until now. It would be much appreciated if readers who have or know of any interesting specimen would communicate with the Director of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, so that a record may be made for future reference. The attached list of publications may be useful to those interested in the coinage of Malaya.

Bibliography

(1) Papers published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* (1878-1922).

- Bucknill, Sir J. A. S. 1922. Remarks upon certain currency notes, coins and tokens emanating from Malaya during and after the war. No. 85, pp. 124-34.
- Hanitsch, Dr H. 1903. On a collection of coins from Malacca. No. 39, pp. 183-202.
- Hanitsch, Dr H. 1905. On a second collection of coins from Malacca. No. 49, pp. 213-6.
- Hanitsch, Dr H. 1907. Tin and lead coins from Brunei. No. 49, pp. 111-14.

(2) Papers published in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* (1923, continuing).

- Bucknill, Sir J. A. S. 1923. Observations upon some coins obtained in Malaya and particularly from Trengganu, Kelantan and southern Siam. Vol. 1, pt 1, pp. 194-217.
- Dakers, C. H. 1937. Some copper tokens in the Raffles Museum, Singapore. Vol. 15, pt 2, pp. 127-129.
- Dakers, C. H. 1939. The Malay coins of Malacca. Vol. 17, pt 1, pp. 1-12.
- Gardner, G. B. 1933. Notes on some ancient gold coins from Johore River. Vol. 11, pt 2, pp. 171-176. A coin from Kedah, *tom. cit.*, p. 184.
- Linehan, Dr W. 1931. Notes on Tampang. Vol. 9, pt 1, pp. 141-133.
- Linehan, Dr W. 1935. Coins of Kelantan. Vol. 12, pt 2, pp. 63-69.
- Linehan, Dr W. 1950. An inscribed tin ingot from Kuala Dipang, District of Kinta. This journal, pp. 102-104.
- Neilson, J. B. 1929. On some coins found near Seremban. Vol. 7, pt 3, pp. 467-469.
- Rentse, Anker. 1936. A note on Kelantan gold coins. Vol. 14, pt 3, p. 305.
- Rentse, Anker. 1939. Gold coins of the north-eastern Malay States. Vol. 17, pt 1, pp. 88-97.
- Rentse, Anker. 1947. Some further notes on coins from the north-eastern Malay States. Vol. 20, pt 1, pp. 16-22.

(3) Papers published in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* (1905-41).

- Evans, Ivor H. N. 1926. Results of an expedition to Kedah. Vol. 12, pt 3, pp. 73-82.

Evans, Ivor H. N. 1927. Notes on Malay tin coins and coin-moulds. Vol. 12, pt 4, pp. 83-86.

Evans, Ivor H. N. 1927. The cock in Malayan art and its relation to currency. Vol. 12, pt 4, pp. 87-90.

(4) Other sources.

Atkins, James. 1889. Coins of British possessions and Colonies. London.

Bucknill, Sir J. A. S. 1925. Observations upon the coinage struck for the British East India Company's settlement of Penang or Province of Wellesley Island (1768-1828). *Journal & Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 20, pt 4, pp. 1-38.

Dakers, C. H. 1938. Hat Money or Tampang of Pahang. *Straits Times Annual*.

Ellis, H. L. 1895. British copper tokens of the Straits Settlements and Malayan Archipelago. *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 3, Vol. 15.

Fonrobert, J. 1878. Verzeichniss von munzen & denkmunzen der erdtheile Australien, Asien & Afrika. Berlin.

Gardner, G. B. 1939. Some more coins from the Johore River. *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 5, Vol. 19.

Gerini, Lt-Col. 1903. A Malay coin. *Journal Royal Asiatic Society Great Britain & Ireland*, Art. 13, April 1903.

Marsden, W. 1823/25. *Numismatica Orientalia illustrata*. London.

Millies, H. C. 1871. Recherches sur les monnaies des indigenes de l'Archipel Indien et de la Peninsule Malaie.

Millies, H. C. 1852. De munten der engelschen voor den Oost Indischen Archipel. Amsterdam.

Netscher, E., & Van Der Chijs, J. A. 1860. De munten van Nederlandsch Indie. Batavia.

Rodgers, C. J. 1893/96. Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum. In 4 parts. Calcutta.

Temple, R. C. 1914. Obsolete tin currency and money of the Federated Malay States. Indian Antiquary.

Van Der Chijs, J. A. 1896. Catalogus der numismatische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.

The Fishing Boats operated from Singapore Island

by C. A. GIBSON-HILL, M.A., F.R.A.I.

(Received, January 1950).

See Photographs on plates 5 & 6, between pages 160 & 161.

The waters surrounding the island of Singapore are relatively calm and sheltered. They are also fairly heavily impregnated with silt. There are extensive stretches of mangrove along the coast, very few broad sandy beaches, and no rich blue-water areas close to the island. Taken together these factors have a considerable influence on the design and scope of the boats employed here. Conditions are not suitable for the continued use of large sailing boats; there are few beaches from which they could be operated satisfactorily, and no easily accessible grounds which they could work profitably for a long period. A full analysis of the gear used in our area is given in the Appendix on page 170. The most important and productive unit is unquestionably the kelong. Apart from this nearly all the fishing is done near inshore with light gear. The typical craft of this region are accordingly launches (employed largely as fish carriers) and lightly built small boats or canoes.

The following table shows the kinds and respective numbers of the boats licensed for fishing by the Fisheries Department, Singapore, in the years 1947-49. The names given are the names used in the licence returns. Where they differ from the ones employed in the sub-headings of this paper the latter are shown after them, in italics: 2 Kwa-Tow are included under "Kotak."

Kind of Boat	Number Licensed		
	1947	1948	1949
1. Powered Boats	229	267	231 ¹
2. Kolek (= <i>Jobore Kolek</i>) ..	549	574	556
3. Kolek Chiow (= <i>Kolek Chiau</i>)	371	368	439
4. Sampan (= <i>Kolek Selat</i>) ..	280	327	382
5. Kotak	30	40	40
6. Lëpap	1	—	1
7. Jalur (= <i>Chinese Seine-boat</i>) ..	55	62	61
8. Jongkong	2	1	2
9. Boat	13	14	10
Annual totals	1,530	1,653	1,722

(1) Includes 18 licences which were subsequently cancelled; these 18 boats are not included in the analysis given in Section 1, below.

Short summaries of these boats are given below under the following headings,

1. Powered Boats (No. 1 above).
2. Keeled Small Boats (Kolek) (Nos 2-4 above).
3. Chinese Keelless Boats (Nos 5-7 above).

In addition a short note (Section 4) has been added on a large Malay sailing boat, the *Pěrahu Payang*, of which a few examples usually come down from Kuala Sėdili, in Johore, to operate off Singapore during the period of the north-east monsoon. The group of small keeled boats is a natural one, containing three boats of clearly distinct design with a number of points in common. The third section, the Chinese-built keelless boats, is less homogeneous, but they all share the features given in the collective title, which provides at least a more precise definition than the use of the term "Miscellaneous". In this section I have also included a brief mention of a further boat of which, apparently, no examples have been licensed for fishing here since the war. It is, nevertheless, built in Singapore, and to a varying extent used for fishing in mangrove areas on the west coast of Malaya. It seemed advisable to include short descriptions of it as it may at least be seen in the local builder's yards.

Categories 8 and 9 above are not defined in the following paper. The term "Jongkong" is an extremely difficult one, and I have not had an opportunity of seeing the two boats to which it is being applied here. According to Wilkinson (*A Malay-English Dictionary*, Romanised, 1932, Mytilene) Jongkong signifies a "dug-out canoe... but (it is) used of other boats of most simple construction, even (Java) of small sailing canoes..." No adequate account has yet been prepared of the native Javanese boats. In Malaya a dug-out canoe is usually known as a "Jalur". The term "Jongkong" is occasionally applied to these boats when the freeboard has been increased by the addition of a single plank on each side, but this usage is not consistent; more often such objects are still called "Jalur", or occasionally "Anak Bedar" (Trengganu) or "Sampan" (Johore). In the abbreviated form "Jo'kong" it is applied in Kelantan to a small fishing boat of Siamese origin, and also in this state and Trengganu to the small dinghy of the *Pěrahu Payang* or *Pěrahu Buatın Barat*, used by the *Juru Sėlam* when diving to listen for shoals of fish. Examples of the latter are, of course, brought here with the *Pěrahu Payang*, but boats of this size do not come within the jurisdiction of the licensing authorities. In Sarawak "Jongkong" is sometimes employed for the *Bangkong*, a river boat used mostly on the Rejang, though I have seen examples at Brunei and on the Sarawak River at Kuching. This boat is built up from a long, square-ended dug-out by the addition of a single plank

along each side; the stern is square-cut, but a further plank to which the side planks are attached is fitted forward, extending the bows. The effect is rather like a long, slender version of the English river punt which has been cut off square at the beginning of the stern platform.

The term "boat" is regrettably vague. Again I have not yet seen the craft in question, but I am told that they are nearly all European-style dinghies or small lifeboats. If that is so it would be better to classify them as such, or, if the number of entries must be kept to a minimum, reluctantly to adopt the term "miscellaneous." In the latter case 6 Moro Ami boats, at present catalogued with the Sampans (item 4), and 2 Kwa-Tow and 10 kelong tenders, now included under the heading Kotak, could be placed in it with advantage: certainly they should not stay where they are.

Finally it is of interest to note that there are one or two examples of the east coast S  kochi and the Gelibat in the neighbourhood of Siglap and Tanah Merah, but they are apparently used only as pleasure boats, and are not licensed. A brief summary of these and other east coast boats to which reference is made in this paper is given in Gibson-Hill, 1949a.

1. Powered Boats.

On 31 December, 1949, 213 power-driven vessels had valid Fishing-boat licences issued by the Fisheries Department, Singapore. Of these 206 are propelled by inboard motors, and 7 by outboard motors. The latter, which range in length from 15 to 22 feet overall, with tonnages of .6 to 1.3 tons, are not considered further in this note. The remainder, taken collectively, are of extreme importance in bringing fish to the Singapore markets, but the great majority cannot be classified as fishing boats. Only 43 are registered for work inside the 30-mile limit, 117 for coastal operations and 44 for deep sea work. Most of the boats are licensed only for carrying it to the markets. The full scale of registered uses (as on 31 December, 1949) is as follows:—

Carrying fish only	186 boats
Fishing with drift-nets (<i>Jaring Hanyut</i>)	3
Fishing with the Japanese reef net (<i>Moro Ami</i>)	2
Fishing for mackerel, <i>Caranx</i> (<i>Carangoides</i>) sp.	1
Trolling	1
Erecting and repairing fishing stakes	10
Towing <i>N.bong</i> for building fishing stakes	3

Nearly all the boats licensed for deep sea work are employed solely in the carrying trade. Some range as far as Kuching, Martaban, the Rhio-Lingga, Anamba and Natuna Islands and Siamese waters; two formerly went to Rangoon and one to Sandakan, on the

north coast of Borneo. The majority of the boats licensed for coastal waters, or for operations within thirty miles of Singapore, are used to fetch fish from the off-lying islands or the kelongs in the Singapore Strait.

Taken as a whole these boats exhibit a fairly wide range of form and pattern, though very few of them can be said to be at all pleasing in their general appearance. The typical locally designed boat has a hull rather similar to that of the Singapore cargo-carrying boat. It has a sharp-ended, well raked bow, and a square stern which is nearly as broad as the midship section. It is almost wall-sided, with a hard chime and a nearly flat bottom. The engine is aft of the beam, with the crew's quarters behind it. The superstructure is invariably carried aft in a broad, ungainly galley. This normally projects from 7 to 10 or more feet aft of the stern post and is at no great height above the water: it should cause a lot of trouble in a steep following sea. These boats often carry a single mast on which a Chinese lug sail, and sometimes also a jib, may be set to save fuel. At the present time the hulls are generally painted grey, with the superstructure, if it is painted, black. Many of these boats are powered with Japanese engines; some were formerly Japanese-owned, but Japanese engines are themselves popular in Malaya because of their low capital cost and simplicity of mechanism.

The majority of the Singapore power-boats are between 30 and 45 feet overall, with a maximum beam of 6½ to 10 feet and a draught of 3 to 4 feet. The registered tonnage of such boats ranges from 5 to 20 tons. The majority are driven by diesel engines and reach a speed, under favourable conditions, of about 5-6 knots. Summaries of the length, tonnage and engine-power of the 206 boats with inboard motors are given in the accompanying table².

Length Overall		Registered Tonnage.	
Under 25 feet	6	Under 15 tons	150
25 to 40 feet	132	15 to 30 tons	39
40 to 65 feet	66	30 to 45 tons	15
Over 65 feet	2	45 to 75 tons	2
Engines		Horse-Power	
Diesel Engines	162	Under 25 H.P.	118
Marine Engines (Petrol)	3	25 to 50 H.P.	57
Converted Car Engines	37	Over 50 H.P.	30
Petrol/Paraffin Engines	3		

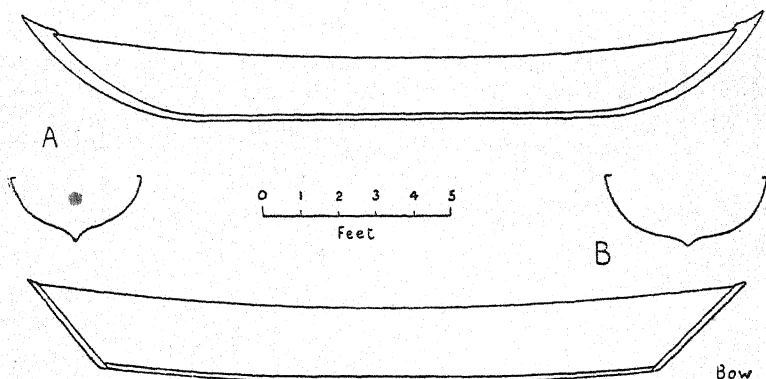
2. Keeled Small Boats (Kolek).

This section is devoted to three small boats, similar in their general design, which together comprise about three-quarters of

(2) Data extracted from particulars supplied by the Fisheries Department of the Powered Fishing Boats registered in Singapore on 31 December, 1949. One boat was laid up at the time in question and without an engine.

the boats at present licensed by the Fisheries Department. They are lightly built craft, ranging from 15 to about 25 feet in length, and propelled by oars, paddles or one or more sails set on a single mast. They are double-ended, with a distinct but shallow keel. They are carvel built, without seam ribbands or stringers. They can be distinguished from each other fairly easily by the shape and

Stern



Profile and midship section of (A) a Kolek Chiau, and (B) a Kolek Sêlat.

form of the stem and stern post. This is shown broadly in the sketches accompanying the accounts of the boats given below (see pp. 154 & 158). The relative proportions are shown approximately by the following comparison of the measurements of typical 20-foot examples of each.

<i>Kind of Boat</i>	<i>Length from the ends of the gunwale</i>	<i>Maximum beam</i>	<i>Depth amidships</i>
Johore Kolek	20 feet	42 inches	19 inches
Kolek Chiau	20 feet	44 inches	20 inches
Kolek Sêlat	20 feet	54 inches	23 inches

The first of these is generally made and used by Malays, the second and third by Chinese. In the case of the former the boats are frequently built by the fishermen themselves, or by men in the kampongs. The majority of the Chinese-built boats are constructed by professional carpenters working in recognised builder's yards. Both use any of the semi-hard timbers passing locally under the names of Sêraya and Mêranti.

(a) The Johore Kolek.

The Johore Kolek is the representative Malay boat of this area. There is no doubt that its construction began among the Malays, and to a very large extent they are still the only people

that build it and use it. It is employed for various forms of in-shore fishing, including the setting and harvesting of bubus and drift nets, and for pelontang and handline work. It is also used widely as a ferrying boat among the islands lying to the south of Singapore, and between the villages on the shores of the Johore Strait. A number of these latter boats are licensed for fishing, and are included in the summary of the returns at the beginning of this paper, but many of them are not used regularly for this purpose. Nevertheless, in consequence of its considerable popularity in the waters round Singapore, this boat makes an appreciable contribution to the total quantity of fish reaching the markets.

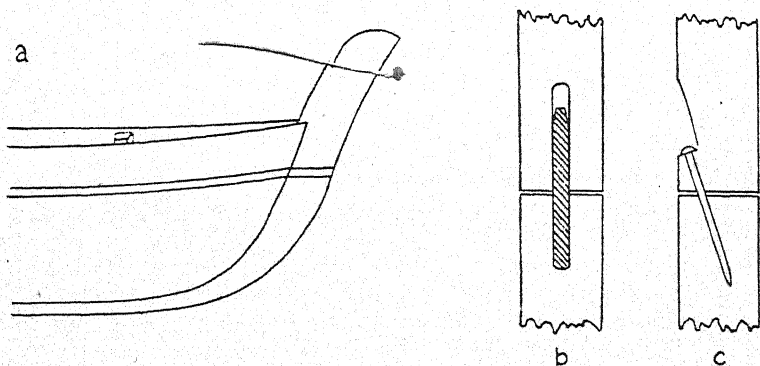
The Johore Kolek is usually between 15 and 24 feet long. Examples of 15-16 feet in length are made mostly for one-man hand-line fishing. They are neat, attractive boats, and fairly popular on Singapore Island. Small fleets can be seen at Siglap, Bedok and Tanah Merah. Larger boats from 18-22 feet in length are intended for two or three men; these are the commoner sizes at the more isolated villages and on the off-lying islands. A few boats can be seen in the latter localities ranging up to 24-25 feet; they are used for ferrying firewood or water, or for operating drift-nets. The small koleks have no direct equivalent on the east coast of Malaya, where sea-going boats are usually 20 or more feet in length. There it is frequently advisable to have at least two men in a boat, so that if the weather breaks there will always be one to steer and one to bail. This precaution is not found necessary on the Singapore coast, or in the neighbourhood of Malacca, where again one finds a number of one-man boats used for hand-line fishing in open water.

In its general lines and proportions the Johore Kolek is fairly similar to the smaller boats employed by the Malays on the east coast of the peninsula. It differs in being slightly less full in the bilge and in tapering more gradually, with little or no flare. It is also more lightly built, though it is a stouter, more workman-like job than the Malacca Kolek which replaces it to the north on the west side. The proportions are much the same as those of a small Gelibat; a Kolek with a length of 15 feet has a maximum beam of about 31 inches and a depth amidships of about 16½ inches; in a larger boat, 20 feet long, the beam is roughly 42 inches and the depth 19 inches. On paper the depth is a little less, length for length, than in the Gelibat, but the latter usually has a slightly deeper keel.

The Johore Kolek has a straight keel, with the forefoot and heel rounded. It is double-ended, but the stern post is raked rather more steeply than the stem. Typically, in the smaller examples at least, each pair of ribs is cut in one piece. This means that their inner surfaces are curved, and flat strips are often added to them to support the floor boards. The stem and stern post again are

each cut from a single plank, and the strakes terminate in triangular grooves on their sides, as in the Kolek Chiau. Aprons and breast-hooks are fitted with the gunwales, after the body of the boat has been completed. In most cases they carry a small, light spar-rest in the bows, fashioned very simply from a naturally shaped branch or rool. The heads of the stem and stern post are curved away from the boat for a short distance, and on the upper surface of each, just as the curve begins, there is a shallow notch. This finish to the posts is a characteristic feature of the Malay boats built in our area. It occurs again in the special version of the Johore Kolek designed for racing, and it even appears in the small model Jong (Gibson-Hill, 1950: 144). There was also formerly a two-masted ferrying boat (sailed first with rectangular lugs and later with jib-headed sails) built and used in the region of the Singapore Strait, but this boat is now found only among the islands further south.³

At the present time the Johore Kolek is built with a shallow keel. The method of construction follows the customary Malay modification of the European technique. The keel, stem and stern post are assembled first, followed by the garboard strakes. Then the remaining strakes are built up, and finally the ribs are added.



Profile of the stern of a Johore Kolek (a) showing the characteristic form of the post; this should be compared with the figures illustrating the Kolek Chiau and Kolek Selar on page 158. The other two figures depict diagrammatically the usual manner in which the strakes are fastened to each other in (a) Malay-built boats and (b) Chinese-built ones.

When the work is being done well in the traditional manner the planks are twisted over slow fires of coconut husks to give them the shape appropriate to their future position in the boat. Each additional plank is fastened to the one below it by a series of short,

(3) Except, that is, on the occasion of the annual Singapore regatta when a small number enter as competitors, forming a class on their own. Clear representations of these boats, setting rectangular sails instead of jib-headed ones, occur in a picture of Singapore roads dated 1861, and now in the Raffles Museum.

stout wooden pegs set in the plane of the planking. In hurried jobs, or with less conscientious workmen, the strakes are merely forced into shape and held there with battens while they are fastened with metal nails driven down diagonally from the inner side of the upper plank. This is the normal method employed by the Chinese builders for their own boats, while the wood-peg technique is the one used by the Malays all along the east coast of the peninsula. A false keel, about 2 inches deep amidships, is often set below the keel to take the rub when the boat is beached.

Earlier models of these boats, with a similar finish to the current ones, were built up from a shallow dug-out base. This technique was popular as late as the early nineteen-twenties in parts of Johore, and there are still some boats built in this way on and near Singapore Island. I have seen examples at Pasir Panjang, Tanjong Keling and on Pulau Sudong. This method of building is still employed fairly widely in parts of Borneo, but it has now disappeared completely from the east coast of Malaya, except for the light canoes made from true dug-outs by adding a single plank on each side to increase the freeboard. It is interesting that it should have survived rather later in the neighbourhood of Singapore and the Johore Strait than it has done elsewhere in Malaya. It is also here, as noted above, that one finds some of the builders beginning to adopt the Chinese method of fixing the side strakes, a modification which I have never seen employed on the east coast of Malaya.

The customary Malay manner of propelling small boats is by means of a single rectangular standing lug or paddles, one to each man. The larger sails are generally taller than they are broad, and the smaller ones almost square. As a general rule there is a boom. The boats are steered by a short paddle held over the lee quarter. Here again one finds a number of modifications in the manner in which the Johore Kolek is handled. When a lug is used it is sometimes loose-footed. More generally it is replaced by a jib-headed fore and aft sail, with or without a jib, or by a single sprit-sail. With these latter rigs the boat is moderately fast, and can be sailed fairly close to the wind. The Racing Kolek and the Jong are generally set with a jib and a tall sprit-sail. Single paddles are still employed fairly extensively for steering and making way in light airs, but a number of the local Malays have adopted the Chinese method of rowing with two long-shafted oars (see plate 5, upper picture). In a few cases also rudders are now fitted; these are generally operated with lines, as in a skiff, and not with a tiller.

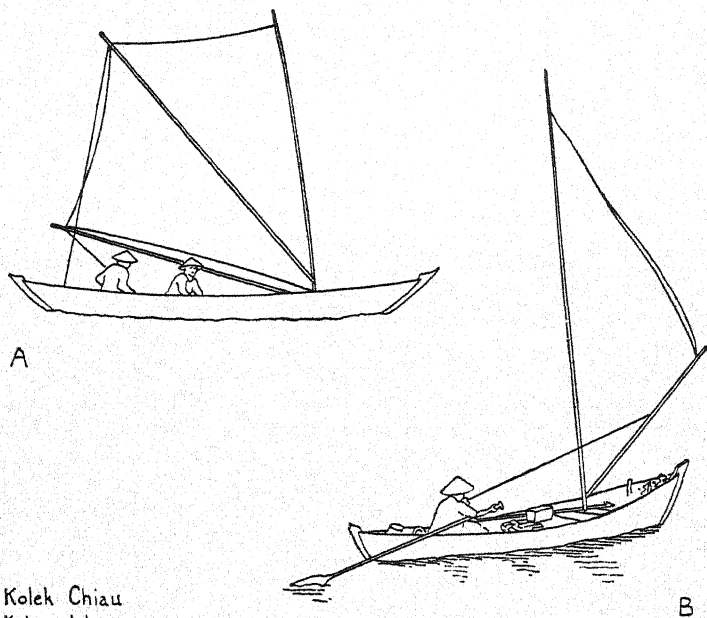
(b) The Kolek Chiau.

This boat is built only by Chinese carpenters. Typically, as outlined here, its use is largely restricted to fishing operations and ferrying in connection with the kelongs. It is found in association

with them from the neighbourhood of Endau, on the Johore-Pahang boundary, round to the southern part of the Malacca Strait. For efficient working each *kolek* should have at least two boats. The *Kolek Chiau* is normally built in two sizes, boats with a length of 16-18 feet for one or two men and with lengths up to 20-22 feet for two or three men. They are mostly constructed in recognised builder's yards, several of which are situated in the Beach Road area. The present prices work out at about \$6.50 per foot for lengths of 16 feet and upwards.

The *Kolek Chiau* is a light, fairly fast boat; as far as the Beach Road yards are concerned it is constructed reasonably neatly and carefully. It has finer lines than the *Kolek Selat*, and is appreciably less beamy. Its general proportions are nearer to those of the Johore *Kolek*, but it is a little broader and deeper, and carries more sheer; a boat with a length of 20 feet has a maximum beam of about 44 inches and a depth amidships of 20 inches.

The *Kolek Chiau* has a short, straight keel, with the forefoot and heel well rounded. As in the case of the Johore *Kolek* the



Kolek Chiau
Kukup, Johore

Kolek Chiau under sail off Kukup, at the south-west corner of Johore, showing two of the rigs used with this kind of boat; (A) a two-man *kolek* set with a sprit-sail (drawn with the wind on the starboard quarter); (B) a slightly smaller boat set with a single jibheaded sail (drawn with the wind on the port quarter). The second is the rig encountered most frequently in these boats; note also the use of the long-shafted Chinese oar as a steering paddle in place of the short one normally favoured by the Malays.

stem and stern post, like the keel, are each taken from a single piece of wood, and the side strakes fit into triangular grooves cut in them. Breasthooks are added when the boat is finished, but not aprons. Both the stem and stern post are raked at an angle of about 45° and have their free edges curved convexly; they terminate just above the level of the gunwale (see text figure). The ribs, which are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, are usually cut in one piece (see plate 6, lower picture), but they may be built up in the same manner as those of the Koleh Selat. Typically they are inserted after the first two or three strakes have been laid down. The subsequent strakes are cut to shape and bent on to them. Often rather narrow planks are used to assist in the moulding of the boat, and there may be as many as 8 or 9 strakes on each side. Each is fastened to the one below it by metal nails driven in diagonally from the inside of the boat. An interesting minor feature of these boats is that the ends of the forward pair of ribs are often made to project 4-6 inches above the level of the gunwale to act as spar-rests.

The word *chiau* (frequently written *chiow*) is from the Chinese *chiu* (槳), and refers to the long-shafted oar which is worked standing facing the direction in which the boat is moving. This is the usual manner in which these boats are propelled. In addition the majority also step a mast though they are rather cranky under canvas. They are generally sailed with a single jib-headed sail, but a sprit-sail or a loose-footed standing lug may be employed instead. They are always steered with oars or a short paddle.

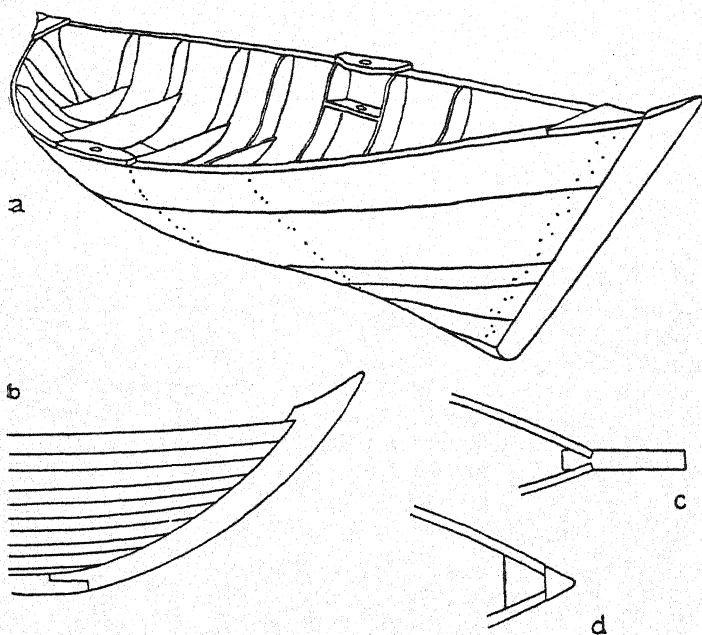
In addition to the boat described above there are a few examples of this pattern in use built to lengths of 24-26 feet. They have the same general appearance as the kelong Koleh Chiau, but they are heavier and more sturdily constructed. The majority have much deeper gunwales, with the terminal three feet or so at both ends decked over completely. The ribs are formed in three pieces, and semi-permanent burden boards are supported on the middle sections. They are used for independent fishing, mostly with shore seines or drift nets. They are too heavy to be driven for any length of time in the manner associated with their name, even by Chinese fishermen. They are normally propelled by a large sprit-sail and jib; at least one is sloop-rigged.

(c) The Koleh Selat.

This boat is given several different names, none of which are really satisfactory. On the east coast of Johore it is known as the Straits' Koleh, as it is here, but it is found over a wider area than the immediate vicinity of the Singapore and Johore Straits. It might be termed the Chinese Koleh, to differentiate it from the Johore or Malay-built Koleh, but the Koleh Chiau is also essentially a Chinese boat. On Singapore Island it is frequently known as a

"Sampan", and it appears under this title in the records of the Fisheries Department. Actually this term is less suitable still. It is no more specific than "Kolek", and in as far as it is applied to a particular boat in Malaya it is by custom used for the harbour ferry boat outlined below. A brief inspection of a Kolek Sêlat quickly shows the reason for the difficulty in finding a precise name for it. It is a poor, featureless thing that might well be left to hide under the anonymous term "boat".

Like the Kolek Chiau it is essentially a Chinese-built and Chinese-owned boat. It is heavier in its lines, appreciably beamier and fuller in the bilge, and slower and more difficult to manoeuvre. Its advantage is that it is less cranky. It is apparently used as a general purposes boat, being employed for both small-scale fishing operations and for ferry work. The lengths range from about 16 to 24 feet. A boat with a length of 16 feet usually has a maximum beam of about 48 inches and a depth of 18 inches; in a 20-foot



Beach Road, Singapore

The Kolek Sêlat, and a comparison between it and the Kolek Chiau. (a), a general view of the Kolek Sêlat, showing the shape and form of the stern, and the structure of the ribs. (b), profile of the stern of a Kolek Chiau. (c & d), horizontal sections of the ends of (c) a Kolek Chiau and (d) a Kolek Sêlat, illustrating the difference in the manner of their construction outlined on page 159.

boat the beam may be as much as 55 inches. A Kolek Sēlat requires more timber than a Kolek Chiau of equal length, but it is nearly always less well put together. An 18-foot boat can be built by two men in 6-7 days. At the present time it costs about \$100, while a 20-foot boat, with a beam of 54-55 inches, costs roughly \$120.

The keel of the Kolek Sēlat is slightly curved, with the fore-foot and heel hard-angled. It carries more sheer than the Kolek Chiau, and the stem and stern post, which are almost straight in profile, rise more steeply. Some examples are very full in the bilge amidships, and in this region the transverse section is nearly that of a flat-bottomed boat.

There are two important differences in construction between this and the previous two boats. One is that the stem and stern post are nearly triangular in cross section. The strakes, which initially are cut to only approximately the correct length, are attached along their sides. While building is in progress they frequently extend beyond the ends of the boat (see plate 6, upper picture). When it is nearly complete they are trimmed level with the outer faces of the posts, and a false stem and stern post attached to them to protect the ends of the planks. The second feature which distinguishes these boats from the Johore Kolek and the Kolek Chiau is that typically the ribs are always built up from three pieces. The bilge section or ground futtock is added as soon as the garboard and the first two or three free strakes have been laid down on each side of the keel. This section fits the curve of the bilge below, and is flat above to support the floor boards. After it is in position the remaining strakes are added and then the top futtocks, one to each side of the boat, which are attached fore or aft of the ground futtock. The method of construction is very similar to that by which the frame is formed in a chime-built boat. It is the standard technique employed by the local Chinese carpenters in the construction of the Sampan (= Siang Chiu), Sampan Kotak, Kwa-Tow, Pomehai and Lēpap, and, of course, the Twa-Kow (see Waters, 1946: 158-62)⁴. Breasthooks are fitted with the gunwales,

- (4) The Twa-Kow (大船) is the large sailing lighter seen in and around the Singapore Strait, and among the islands southward. Lt-Commander Water's paper provides an excellent account of its structure and the manner in which it is built. The only major point on which one would disagree with him is the use of the romanisation "Twaqo". This may be legitimate on parts of the China coast, presumably from "Ko" (舢舨, meaning a barge), but in the Singapore area, to which Waters's account refers specifically, the normal word is Twa-Kow. I am told that the general name for a lighter in China is "Poh-Chun" (駁船), which means "linking boat" or "ferrying boat". Actually, of course, in the neighbourhood of Singapore the Twa-Kow is not by any means restricted to ferrying goods between ships and the shore. As in the case of the Penang Tamil lighter, which I have seen in sail as far south as the mouth of the Perak River, it is frequently employed to carry goods from place to place, and especially to bring firewood in from the off-lying islands.

but no aprons. The general construction is cruder than in the Kolek Chiau, and there are usually only 5 or 6 strakes on each side. The timbers are fastened with metal nails throughout.

The Kolek Sĕlat, like the Kolek Chiau, is normally propelled by oars in the Chinese style, or, much less frequently, by paddles. Many of the boats are also fitted to step a mast. When sail is used it is generally set with a single jib-headed sail, but they are seen under canvas less often than either of the other two koleks. They are usually steered with oars or a short paddle, but a few of the boats are now fitted with a rudder and lines, or even a rudder and tiller, like the Sĕkochi on the east coast of Malaya.

3. The Chinese Keelless Boats.

This group includes a rather heterogeneous collection of small or medium-sized boats. None of them play a prominent part in local fishing activities, and in one case no examples are at present licensed for work in this area. The latter, which is described very briefly, is included because it is known to be used on the west coast of Malaya, and examples might at any time be taken into service here.

The only points which these boats have in common are that they are all built and operated by the Chinese, and none of them have a true keel. All except the last are constructed in Singapore in accordance with designs introduced from southern China. Like woods which pass locally under the names of Sĕraya or Mĕranti. They are beamy boats, with flat or almost flat bottoms amidships. They are very steady, and useful for work with a casting net, but they are heavy, sluggish boats to move. They have shallow draughts and require little water, but it is difficult to haul them over the ground.

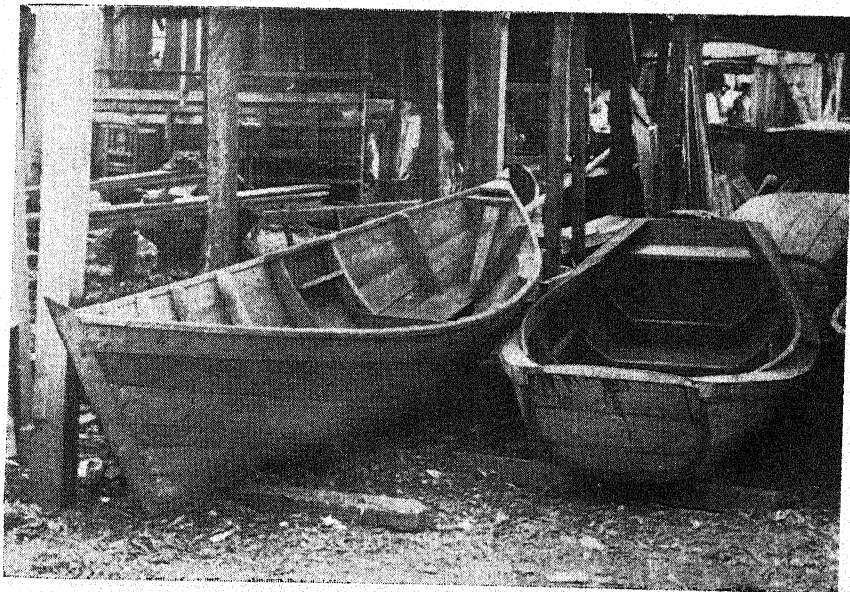
The last of these boats, to which the name Jalur is given in the system of classification employed by the Fisheries Department, is said to have reached Singapore from the Rhio-Lingga Archipelago, to the south. Copies are now made occasionally in villages on Singapore Island, but the method of construction is slightly different.

(a) The (Sampan) Kotak.

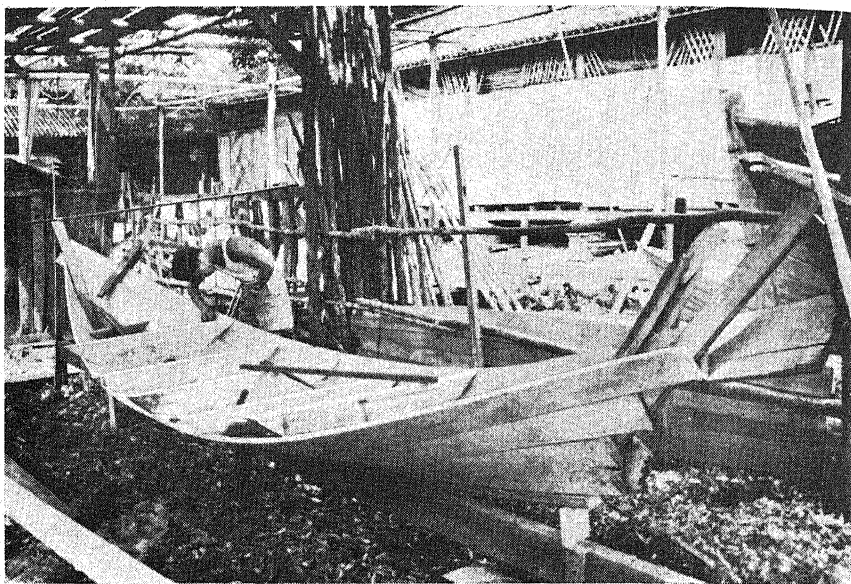
The Kotak is only a larger and heavier version of the distinctive Chinese bumboat or passenger ferry found in a number of the bigger ports in this part of the world. In Malaya the bumboat, as such, is almost entirely confined to Penang, Port Swettenham and Singapore; further afield it occurs at suitable points from Rangoon to Formosa. Throughout its range it is generally known as the "Sampan" (舢板 or 三板), but as Worcester points out (1948: 505), the literal meaning of "Sampan" (or *San-Pan* as it is



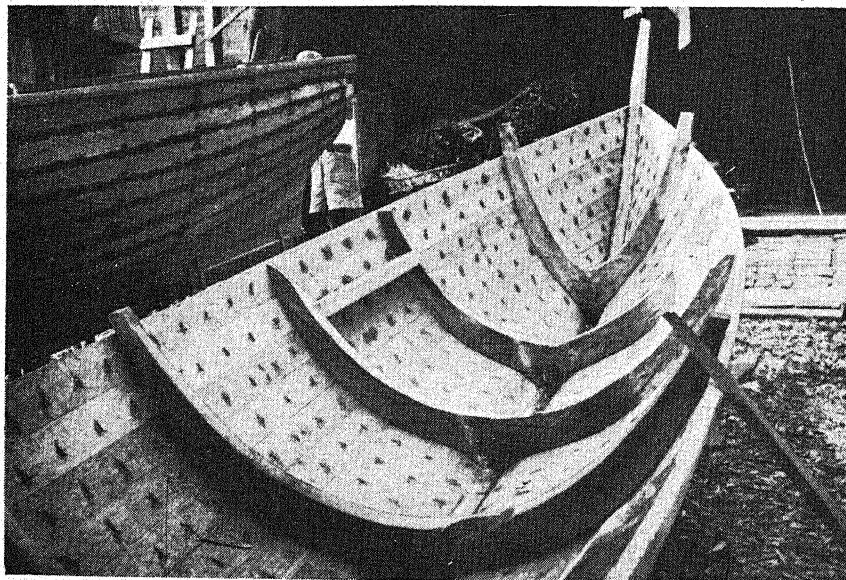
A Johore Kolek being rowed in the "Chinese" manner.



A Kolek Selat and two Kwa-Tow in a builder's yard Beach Road, Singapore.

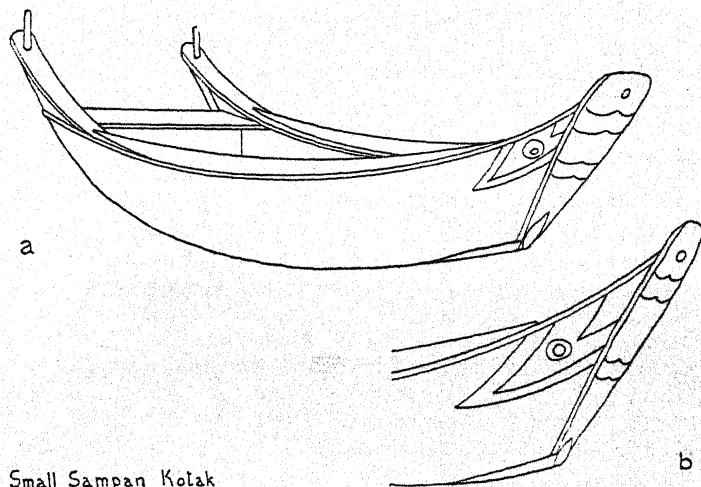


A Kolk Slat under construction, Beach Road, Singapore.



A view of the forward half of a Kolk Chiau before the addition of the gunwale.

pronounced in the northern Chinese dialects) is three planks, and the term can be applied to any Chinese open or half-decked boat up to a length of about 30-40 feet. It is thus very similar in meaning to the Malay word "Kolek" (as opposed to *Përahu* and *Kapal*), and no more specific in its implications. Unfortunately I have not been able to trace a definitive epithet for the harbour boat. Undoubtedly it originally came here from southern China, but apparently even there it is known only by the name "Sampan", or in some parts alternatively "Siang Chiu" (pair of oars) which is no more precise. It would seem that all that can be done in the matter of names is to retain Sampan for the smaller members of the group as outlined in the next paragraph (with Kotak and sometimes Twa-Kow for the larger ones), and to try to restrict its use to this context⁵.



Small Sampan Kotak
Singapore (a) & Penang (b)

The small Chinese (Sampan) Kotak, 18-22 feet long, used off Singapore Island (a). The second figure, (b), shows the bow of one of the boats from Sungei Pinang, on Penang Island, drawn to the same scale. See text, page 164.

- (5) The lines of the bumboat have probably grown finer with the passage of time. A drawing of the old Customs' station at the mouth of the Singapore River, made in 1854 and now in the Raffles Museum, shows several of these boats quite clearly; they are obviously more crudely shaped than their present counterparts. Attention should also be paid to the still finer lines of the bow of the Penang Sampans, as shown in the accompanying sketch, and the further increase in this and the tumblehome at the stern in the Rangoon ones figured by Hornell (1946: pls 13 & 14). In the smallest examples at Rangoon the bow curves up steeply, somewhat in the manner of that of the Negapatam catamaran, and the tips of the wings almost meet. There is no doubt that although the general lines of the "Sampan" are the same throughout its range there are now at least three clearly distinguishable local forms in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, apart from the variations due to size and function in the larger boats.

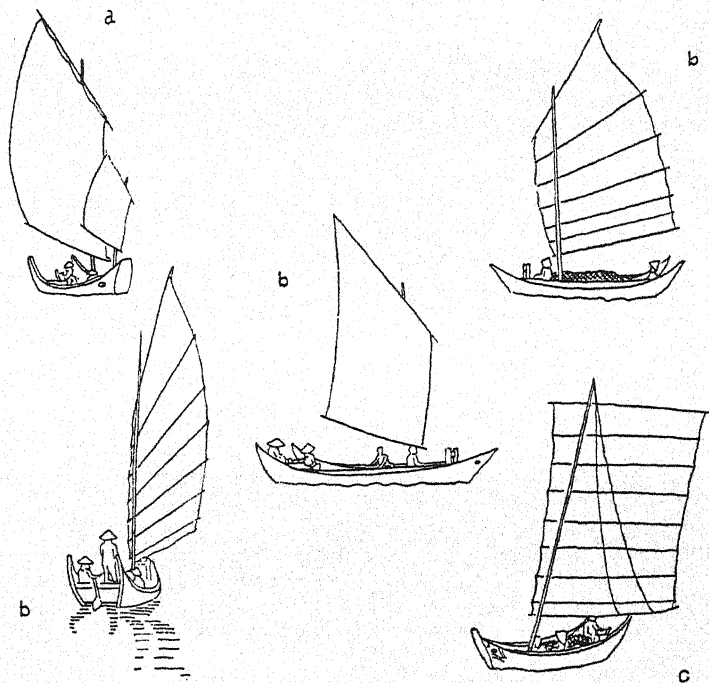
The boats of this complex are very beamy, with a relatively shallow draught. They have a well-raked stem and transom stern, and carry a marked sheer fore and aft. The bow may be square-cut or pointed below. Above it runs up into a transverse panel of varying width. At the stern the sides are carried aft of the transom to form high pointed wings. These two features distinguish these boats at all times from any others likely to be seen in Malayan waters. The bottom is curved fore and aft, but again there is some variation in the degree of curvature. A false keel is generally attached in the midline under the end sections, or throughout the length of the boat. From amidships aft the bottom is gently curved from side to side. In the fore part of the boat the extent of the curvature depends on the width of the base of the bow transom. Where the latter is fairly broad the bilge merely narrows to meet it. Where the panel ends below in a blunt point the bilge strakes twist until their ends lie in the same plane as those of the upper strakes. The ribs are fashioned in the same manner as in the Koleh Selat. When under sail these boats are steered by a median rudder attached to the stern transom and operated by a tiller.

Usually the boats of this group have an oculus on each side of the bow, cut from two flat pieces of wood, but it is not invariably present. In the south of the peninsula it is generally nearly round, with the eyeball set low in the white in the fishing boats, to assist them in detecting shoals of fish. In the Penang boats the oculus is rather more oval in shape, like the human eye, but the difference is probably not significant. The oculus does not normally occur on Malay boats and in all cases the design must have reached this country by way of the China coast. There, according to Worcester (1947: 45), it is found from the mouth of the Yangtze to Amoy.

The Sampan Kotak or Kotak is essentially larger, beamier and more heavily built than the harbour ferry-boat, but there is considerable local variation in the form and size of both. As a result it is sometimes difficult to determine in which category an example should be placed. Probably the most satisfactory criterion is the purpose for which it was built. "Kotak" is a Malay word with several meanings; among them, especially in the peninsula, is the sense of lockers, pigeon-holes or wooden compartments generally. In this context it thus signifies the Chinese boat with lockers or a hold divided into a number of small compartments. This fits the larger fishing boats perfectly, but even on this point the line between some of the smaller fishers and the larger bumboats is blurred. The former, as is the case in the Singapore Kotak, may have lockers only in the bow and stern, and no full, subdivided hold.

The largest Kotak seen in Malayan waters are mostly 25-30 feet long, with a maximum beam of 9-10 feet, and depth amidships

of $3\frac{1}{4}$ - $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet. They have a tall mast slightly forward of amidships, and a second short mast, heavily raked forward, in the bow. Each sets a single battened lug of Chinese design. They are used mostly for fishing with long lines of unbaited hooks (*Rawai*), but occasionally they are employed with drift nets. There is a fine fleet of these boats at Malacca. They are worked with two men, or two men and a boy. The grounds vary, but they sometimes



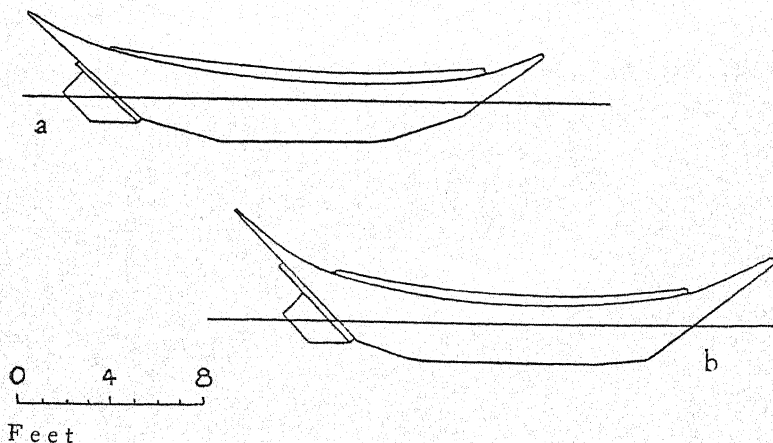
Kotak under sail off the west coast of Malaya; the different groups are not drawn to the same scale. (a) shows one of the largest Kotak used in Malayan waters, a member of the Malacca fishing fleet, 25-30 feet in length and very beamy, with a broad bow. (b) shows three examples of the slightly smaller boats, 22-25 feet in length, found at Pulau Ketam and Kuala Selangor, on the Selangor coast; these are normally set with a single Chinese battened lug, but a few of the larger examples among them step two masts like the Malacca boats; the drawing in the centre depicts a boat setting a balance lug unsupported by battens, an unusual rig in this area which is employed on a few boats working from the estuary of the Klang River. (c) is one of the still smaller Penang boats, 18-22 feet in length; the rather unusual rig is taken from Hornell (1946: pl. 14); normally these boats set a single sail of the form seen in (b) upper and lower.

go out to Pulau Undang, ten miles away, and operate from there. When they are doing so they start with some of the compartments filled with ice. Similar boats, still stepping two masts but slightly smaller and with narrower bows, can be found at intervals up the Selangor and Perak coasts, and in small numbers operating from

Penang Island. In most cases these boats are said to be built by men from Fukien Province. The larger versions of the Sampan Kotak usually have the bow panel rather broad. No boats of this form and size are at present operating off the Singapore coast. Their bulk and breadth of bottom make it very difficult to beach them, and for the most part they are used where they can be left in the water between fishing trips.

There are moderately large fleets of rather smaller boats, 22-25 feet in length and stepping only one mast, again usually set with a Chinese lug sail, at Pulau Ketam and Kuala Selangor on the Selangor coast, and at other points further north. In some of these boats the shells of the forward compartments, where the catch is kept, are pierced with holes so that the water can enter freely. This is done to keep the fish alive, or at least cool, until the boat returns to port. In North Borneo the Hakkas work with drift nets and have no water in the storage compartments, while the Cantonese operate long-lines and have the compartments flooded. There are a few of these boats working from Singapore Island, but I have not been able to verify this association on the Malayan coast.

The smallest Kotak, with a length of 18-20 feet and a beam of about 7 feet, generally have narrower bow transoms, and in this and their less heavy lines approach the harbour Sampan. They can if necessary be beached, or at least moored where the receding tide will ultimately leave them high and dry. The greater part of



Line profiles of the hulls of the fishing Sampan, or small Kotak, as built (a) on Singapore Island and (b) at Sungei Pinang on Penang Island.

the body in these boats is normally left unenclosed, and the compartments are confined to the bow and stern. They are frequently propelled only by one or two pairs of long-shafted oars, the men

rowing standing, facing the bow, in the Chinese style. Many of the boats also step a single mast. The choice of sail varies; generally a Chinese-battened lug is used, sometimes a square-headed battened sail, sometimes a Malay rectangular sail with a gaff and boom and occasionally an old-fashioned balance lug.

At the present time about 20 of these small Kotak are licensed for fishing off Singapore Island⁶. They are used almost exclusively for working with cast-nets (*jala*), for which their shallow draught and great stability make them eminently suitable. A boat about 20 feet long, with a beam of approximately 7 feet and a depth amidships of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, costs roughly \$320.

Small Kotak very similar to the ones on Singapore Island are also used along the south-west coast of Johore. Further north a small Kotak occurs again on Penang Island, especially near the mouth of the Sungei Pinang and opposite the south end of Pulau Jerejak, and on parts of the Perak and Kedah coasts. It is about the same size as the Singapore boat, but the underwater profile is slightly different and it has a still narrower bow transom.

(b) The Lëpap.

This boat is not often seen in Singapore, though there are a few at Mersing and Endau and it might well be used here more extensively. Its natural area is on the Selangor coast from Sungai Buloh northwards. There it is employed mostly in shallow water with a special small seine known as a Pukat Kisah (*Kisah*, a purse). It is also used as a ferry boat, particularly for crossing the river between Kuala Selangor and Kampong Pasir Pënambang, and at sea for hand-line fishing. In good weather boats may be encountered as much as 5-6 miles from the shore.

The Lëpap is double-ended with the bow and stern heavily raked and some sheer fore and aft. It has much the same proportions as the Kolek Sëlat, but there is an important difference—it is flat-bottomed, with a hard chime. It usually ranges in length from 16 feet (with a beam of about 48 inches and a depth amidships of 16 inches) to 20 feet (beam 56 inches, depth 18 inches). The general method of construction is similar to that of the Kolek Sëlat, apart from the flat bottom and the hard chime, but there are several points of difference in the details of the finish. The heads of the false stem and stern post rise above the gunwale in sharp points (constituting a copy in miniature of the ends of the Perak-Kedah Malay Kolek), instead of terminating almost flush

(6) The total of 40 Kotak given on page 148 includes 2 Kwa-Tow and 10 special boats used in constructing the kelongs; the latter should really form a class on their own. They are rectangular in shape, beamy, of shallow draft and about 50 feet long. They are employed when erecting or replacing the bamboo stakes.

with it, as in the Kolek Sĕlat. In addition the stern 2-2½ feet of the boat are covered over, while in the bow there is a slightly shorter platform a few inches below the level of the gunwale. There is also a broad thwart amidships and one or two narrower thwarts further forward.

In sheltered and shallow waters the Lĕpap is normally rowed in the Chinese style; accordingly it is frequently known as "Kolek Chiau" on the Selangor coast. For longer journeys, or at sea, it is propelled with a rectangular Malay lug (as at Kuala Selangor) or a sprit-sail (the more usual form northwards to the beginning of the Perak coast). When under sail it is generally steered with a paddle, but I have seen boats fitted with a light rudder and lines.

(c) The Kwa-Tow.

This boat need only receive passing mention here. It should make a good basis for jala work and could no doubt be employed with hand-lines, but at present only two examples are licensed for fishing in Singapore.

This is the Chinese-built ship's dinghy. The proportions of length, maximum beam and depth amidships are much the same as those of the Kolek Sĕlat and the Lĕpap. It is double-ended, with a transom fore and aft. It is beamy and of shallow draught, steady but heavy. The bottom is gently curved fore and aft, and it carries a moderate amount of sheer. It is also curved in transverse section, and the chime is not hard. In general appearance the Kwa-Tow resembles a much lengthened barrel that has been cut in half along its long axis. Two examples are seen end on in the lower picture on plate 5. This boat has no true keel, but sometimes the centre strake is provided with a shallow median ridge, or it has a false keel attached to it.

The Kwa-Tow is normally propelled with long-shafted oars in the Chinese manner. Very large numbers of these boats are made in Singapore for use with junks and as harbour ferry-boats. No doubt they are also occasionally employed for fishing in shallow water. They are undoubtedly put to this use in the mangrove areas on parts of the west coast of the peninsula. "Kwa-Tow" (闊頭), which means broad-head or broad-ended, is descriptive of their appearance and clearly the most suitable name to use for them in Singapore. In its capacity as a junk's dinghy this boat is also known as a "Kha-Tah" (脚踏, a foothold).

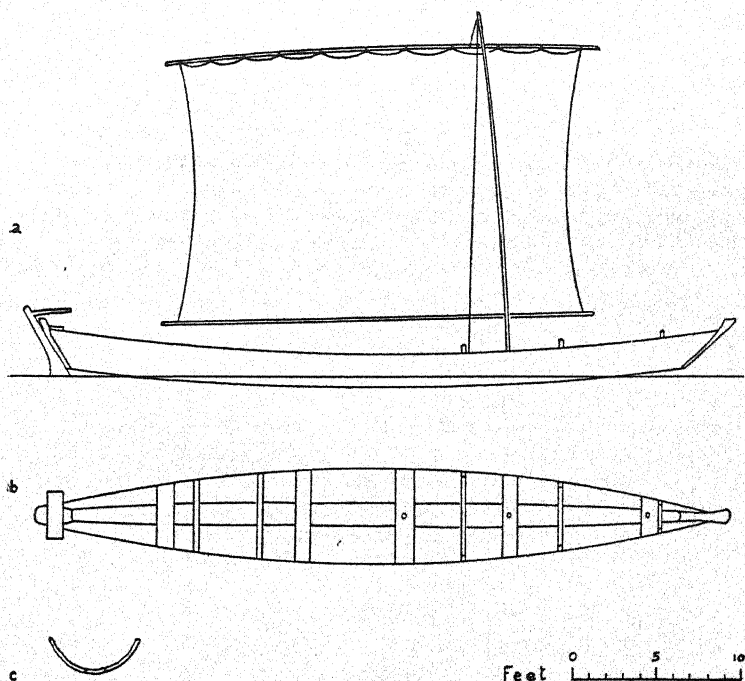
(d) The Pomehai.

This, like the Lĕpap, is very largely a Selangor coast Chinese-built boat. It may occasionally be seen here in the south, but at the present time no examples are registered for fishing in our area.

It is used almost entirely in the shallow water in the mangrove zones and in the drainage canals. It is short, very beamy, with a pointed bow and a transom stern. It has a flat bottom and a hard chime. The method of construction is again similar to that of the Koleh Selat. It is usually built to a length of about 8-10 feet, with a beam of $3\frac{1}{2}$ - $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It is propelled by oars, paddles or a quanting pole (*Galah*); I have never seen one fitted for stepping a mast.

(e) The Chinese Seine-boat.

This boat is rather different from the others discussed previously in this section. It is a long, heavy boat, built up from a very shallow dugout base or (at the present time) a single broad plank. About 60 are licensed to operate from Singapore Island. They are employed almost exclusively with beach seines. The design and the older examples seen here were probably brought by Hylam or Teochew Chinese from the Rhio-Lingga Archipelago.



The Rhio-built boat used by the Chinese beach-seine fishermen operating off the coast of Singapore Island; (a) profile, (b) plan and (c) cross-section of the hull amidships. Boats constructed locally are normally rowed with long-shafted oars, not sailed, and are not fitted with rudders.

The name used for it in this paper is not satisfactory, but it is a little better than *Jalur*, the one employed by the Fisheries Department and it is difficult to find a suitable alternative. The boat is certainly not a dug-out, and the "dug-out" element in the older examples, though defining the method of construction, does not contribute much to their substance. The Chinese themselves call it Sampan or "Phang Ch'un" (sailing boat), neither of which are specific. The Malays merely designate it "Sampan" or "Kolek China", which again are not helpful.

The Chinese Seine-boat is a crudely built boat with little finish to it. It is generally about 35-40 feet long, with a beam of 64-66 inches and a depth amidships of 28 inches. The long, narrow hull has a marked sheer fore and aft. The bow is heavily raked, and the stern more nearly plumb; both forefoot and heel are angled. Typically the base is formed by a single long plank, gently curved from side to side and more heavily curved fore and aft; in the Rhio-built boats this is shaped like a shallow dug-out canoe, but in the few Singapore examples it is not hollowed out above. The sides, which consist of a few, broad, thick strakes are built straight up from it. The ribs are generally cut coarsely from naturally grown timbers, or made irregularly from separate pieces. The forward pair are allowed to project up above the level of the gunwale, to serve as spare rests, as in the Kolek Chiau. The ends of the boat are closed by narrow, shield-shaped panels which fit outside the keel-piece and the side strakes. The bow panel is normally about 8 inches wide above, and the stern panel about 12 inches. The boat is generally finished very roughly. A few thwarts are inserted, including one or two to step the mast(s), and the end foot or so of the hull may be enclosed to form lockers fore and aft, but it is seldom provided with floor-boards.

The older Rhio-built boats had two masts, each of which set a single broad sprit sail. Now these boats usually have one tall mast, placed just forward of amidships, on which is set a broad, rectangular sail, with bamboo gaff and boom, not unlike the sail of the Kedah Coast Kolek. When under canvas the Seine-boat is steered with a stern rudder fitted with a tiller. In light airs or coastal waters it is normally propelled by two pairs of long oars, rowed in the Chinese style. This is almost invariably the practice off Singapore Island, and the locally built boats seldom carry masts.

4. The Pěrahu Payang.

The Pěrahu Payang is a large, open Malay-built boat. Its usual habitat is the Trengganu, and to a lesser extent the Kelantan, Pahang and Johore, coasts, but a few examples normally come down to Singapore to operate during the period of the north-east monsoon in the South China Sea. They generally make their headquarters at the kampong at Siglap, which provides them with a suitable shore

on which to beach their boats. The Pěrahu Payang carries a crew of 15-20 men when fishing, and is employed principally with a special net, the Pukat Payang. This is normally operated at some distance from the land, but at times the boats work in the outer roads in sight of Fullerton Building.

The Pěrahu Payang ranges in length from about 33-35 feet, with a beam of 6 feet, to 44-45 feet, with a beam of over 7 feet. It is beamy, fairly full in the bilge, with little sheer, an almost straight keel and steep, uprising ends. It normally carries two carved spar-rests, one forward and the other aft, and a decorated bitt amidships for making fast the head ropes of the net. It is steered by means of a long paddle held over the lee quarter. It normally steps two tall masts, each of which sets a single, large rectangular sail, taller than it is broad. In still airs, or when manoeuvring, it is propelled by short paddles, in the Malay style.

Acknowledgements.

I am most grateful to Mr T. W. Burdon, Fisheries Officer, Singapore, for information and advice while writing this paper, and to Mr. G. W. Davis for help with the Chinese words. The paper itself is a preliminary study for a concise summary which will be published later as part of the official survey of the Singapore Fisheries and Fishing Industry.

A Note on the Plates.

Plate 5, Upper. A small Johore Kolek being rowed in the Chinese style. Note the finish of the heads of the stem and stern post, which is characteristic of these boats. (Pulau Sudong).

Lower. A Kolek Sēlat, on the left, and two Kwa-Tow, photographed in a builder's yard, Singapore. The Kwa-Tow nearest the camera shows the way in which the ribs are constructed in both boats. Note also the general shape of the Kwa-Tow.

Plate 6, Upper. A Kolet Sēlat under construction in a Singapore builder's yard. Note the manner in which the strakes are fastened to the stem and stern post.

Lower. A Kolek Chiau complete except for the addition of the gunwale. Note the manner in which the ribs are formed as compared with the Kolek Sēlat.

References.

- Gibson-Hill, C.A. 1949a. The fishing boats used on the coasts of Malaya; in "Malayan Fisheries", Singapore, 1949, pp. 58-66.
- Gibson-Hill, C.A. 1949b. Cargo boats of the East Coast of Malaya. *Journ. Malayan Br. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 22 (3), pp. 106-25.
- Gibson-Hill, C.A. 1950. The racing Jong. *Journ. Malayan Br. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 23 (1), pp. 143-47.
- Hornell, James. 1946. Water transport, origins & early evolution. Cambridge. England.

- Waters, D.W. 1946. Chinese Junks—the Twaqo. *Mariner's Mirror*, 32 (3), pp. 155-67.
- Worcester, G.R.G., 1947. The junks and sampans of the Yangtze. Vol. 1. Shanghai.
- Worcester, G.R.G., 1948. *Ibid.* Vol. 2.

Summary.

This paper gives an account of the kinds of boats used for fishing in the waters off Singapore Island. The list is based on the returns of the licences issued by the Fisheries Department, Singapore. In addition a short note is given on the Pomehai, a small boat which is not at present used here officially, but which might at any time be found in operation in this area.

Appendix ⁷

Fishing Gear operated from Singapore Island.

The table below shows the different kinds of gear licensed for use off Singapore Island in 1948 and 1949. The most productive of these is the kelong, of which 247 were licensed for use in 1949. The next most important kinds, in numbers and productivity, are drift nets (*jaring hanyut*), portable fish traps (*bubu*) and beach seines (*pukat tarek*). Finally there are several kinds of low unit productivity which are exempt from licensing: they include *Pelontang* (of which approximately 250 were operated in 1949), Hand-lines (approximately 800 operated in 1949) and Cast-nets (*Jala*). At least the first two of these make a significant contribution to the quantity of fish reaching the markets in consequence of the large numbers in use.

Kind of Fishing Gear	Numbers Licensed	
	1948	1949
Kelong (in depths > 3 fathoms)	126	139
Kelong (in depths < 3 fathoms)	108	108
Belar (Shallow-water Stake)	29	95
Pukat Tarek (Beach Seine)	67	62
(Prawn Pond Net)	177	188
(Moro Ami)	3	4
Pukat Gonggong (Seine-Trawl Net)	1	1
Pukat Payang (Lampara)	2	4
Jaring Hanyut (Drift-Net)	250	281
Jaring Selangat (Drift-Net)	5	6
Jaring Kêtam (Crab Tangle-Net)	15	16
Jaring Karang (Reef Stake-Gill Net)	1	2
Tangkul (Lift-Net)	14	15
Sondong (Push-Net)	31	55
Rawai Umpan (Baited Long-Line)	19	29
Bubu (Portable Fish Trap)	97	255
Bintur (Crab Creel Trap)	1	2
Injap (Baited Crab Pot)	6	8
Ampang (Barrier-Net)	23	29

In 1949 there were 4,387 registered fishermen working from the Island (Chinese, 3,073; Malay, 1,301; Indian, 10; other nationalities, 3).

(7) Based on data supplied by the Fisheries Department, Singapore.

